Google

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

Stewart
CPE

SKETCHES

OF

THE CHARACTER, MANNERS,

AND

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND;

WITH DETAILS OF

THE MILITARY SERVICE

OF

THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID STEWART.

'Tis wonderful
That an invisible instinct should frame them
To loyalty unlearned; honour untaught;
Civility not seen from others; valour
That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
As if it had been sowed.

SHAKESPEARE.

THIRD EDITION.

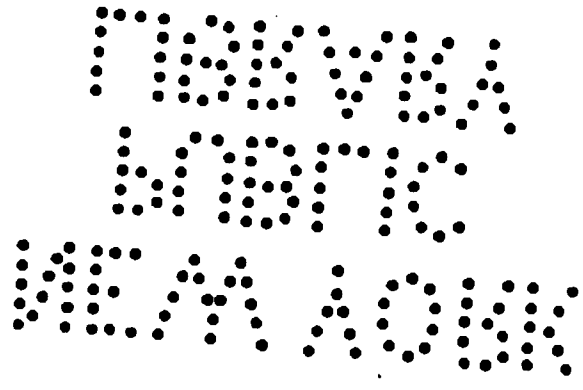
ASTOR LIBRARY
NEW-YORK.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN;
AND HURST, ROBINSON, AND CO. LONDON.

1825.



PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

I AM unwilling to lay the following Sketches before the public, without offering a few observations explanatory of the circumstances under which the work was originally undertaken. This is the more necessary, as it will serve, in some measure, to account for imperfections of style and composition, and afford me an opportunity of apologizing for the freedom with which I have presumed to offer opinions, probably not always agreeable, nor suited to many preconceived notions respecting the character, capability, and condition of the Highlanders. Any literary inaccuracies or defects which the more learned reader may discover, proceed from the inexperience of a plain practical soldier, who passed twenty-five years of his life in barracks, in military quarters, and in camps; accustomed, perhaps, to notice passing events, and to exercise his memory; but without the least anticipation or intention of attempting to arrange his recollections in their present form. I have in fact been led on by circumstances to make the attempt, without any premeditated plan. My statements, however, are grounded on authentic documents; on communications from people in whose intelligence and correctness I place implicit confidence; on my own personal knowledge and observation; and on the mass of general information, of great credibility and consistency, preserved among the

Highlanders of the last century. From the confidence derived from these circumstances, I fear I have been led to attach more importance to the subject than will generally be admitted to belong to it, and to express myself with a freedom and warmth which many may consider reprehensible. If I am found to have erred in this respect, and to have expressed myself in language unsuitable to the subject, or unbecoming the character which I am ambitious to maintain, my only defence is—an honest and perfect conviction of the truth of all I have advanced, and of the vital importance attached to several points touched upon, both in the Sketches and in the Military History.

The origin of these Sketches and Military Details was simply this:—When the Forty-second regiment was removed from Dublin to Donaghadee in the year 1771, the baggage was sent round by sea. The vessel having it on board was unfortunately driven on shore by a gale of wind, and wrecked; the greater part of the cargo and baggage was lost, and the portion saved, especially the regimental books and records, was much injured. A misfortune somewhat similar occurred, when the army, under the Earl of Moira, landed at Ostend in June 1794. The transports were ordered round to Helvoetsluys, with orders to wait the further movements of the troops. But the vessels had not been long there, when the enemy invaded Holland in great force, and, entering Helvoetsluys, seized on the transports in the harbour. Among the number of vessels taken were those which had conveyed the Forty-second to Flanders, having on board every article of regimental baggage, except

the knapsacks with which the officers and soldiers had landed at Ostend in light marching order. Along with the baggage, a well-selected library, and, what was more to be regretted, all that remained of the historical records of the regiment, from the period of its formation till the year 1793, fell into the hands of the enemy.

After the conclusion of the late war, his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief directed that the Forty-second should draw up a record of its services, and enter it in the regimental books, for the information of those who should afterwards belong to the corps. As none of the officers who had served previously to the loss of the records in 1794 were then in the regiment, some difficulty arose in drawing up the required statement of service; indeed, to do so correctly was found impossible, as, for a period of fifty-four years previous to 1793, the materials were very defective. In this situation, the commanding officer, in the year 1817, requested me to supply him with a few notices on the subject. After some hesitation and delay, I commenced; but merely with the intention of noting down as much as would cover about thirty or forty pages of the record book. I did not, indeed, expect that my knowledge of the subject would enable me to extend my statement to greater length, especially as I had kept no journal, and had never even been in the habit of taking any notes or memorandums of what I had heard or seen: but as I proceeded, I found that I knew more, and had a better recollection of circumstances, than I was previously aware of, although, in the multiplicity of facts I

have had to state, some inaccuracies may afterwards be discovered. I had, indeed, possessed considerable advantages. Several old officers of great intelligence belonged to the regiment when I joined it. One of these had not been a week absent from the day he entered in the year 1755. His wife, too, who was a widow when he married her, had joined the regiment with her first husband in the year 1744, and had been equally close in her attendance, except in cases where the presence of females was not allowed. She had a clear recollection of much that she had seen and heard, and related many stories and anecdotes with the animated and distinct recitation of the Highland senachies. Another officer, of great judgment, and of a most accurate and retentive memory, had joined the regiment in the year 1766; and a third in 1769. I had also the advantage of being acquainted with several Highland gentlemen who had served as private soldiers in the regiment when first organized. The information I received from these different sources, together with that which I otherwise acquired, led me on almost insensibly till the narrative extended to such length, that I had some difficulty in compressing the materials into their present size. It then struck me, that I could, without much difficulty, give similar details of the service of the other Highland regiments. In the course of this second investigation, I met in all of them much of the same character and principles. The coincidence was indeed striking, and proved that this similarity of conduct and character must have had some common origin, to discover the nature of which appeared an ob-

ject worthy of inquiry. The closest investigation only confirmed the opinion I had before entertained, that the strongly marked difference between the manners and conduct of the mountain clans and those of the Lowlanders, and of every other known country, originated in the patriarchal form of government, which differed so widely from the feudal system of other countries. I, therefore, attempted to give a sketch of those manners and institutions by which this distinct character was formed; and, having delineated a hasty outline of the past state of manners and character, the transition to the changes that had been produced, and the present condition of the same people, was obvious and natural. Hence I have been led on, step by step, from one attempt to another, till the whole attained its present form.

A work, thus undertaken as it were by accident, and without any previous plan or design, one part of the subject naturally leading to the other, may claim some indulgence for a writer whose only qualification is a tolerably intimate knowledge of the subject, conjoined with a great and earnest desire to do it justice. I trust, therefore, that, from the enlightened reader who takes these circumstances into consideration, and reflects on the difficulties which a plain soldier, unaccustomed to composition, had to encounter, in making such an attempt as that now respectfully, and with great diffidence, submitted to the Public, I shall meet with that liberal share of indulgence which I so much require, and which, all circumstances considered, will not, I trust, be denied me.

Garth, 24th April, 1822.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THESE Sketches, which, with extreme diffidence, I lately submitted to public notice, having met with a more favourable reception than I could ever have ventured to expect, and a large impression having been rapidly disposed of, I am now encouraged to offer a Second Edition, with a degree of satisfaction which I could neither have hoped for nor anticipated. I have been farther gratified, by receiving numerous communications, confirming the general correctness of the great multiplicity of facts and circumstances which I have had occasion to detail. In a few instances, indeed, the friendly observations of others have enabled me to correct some errors of no great importance, being principally mistakes in dates and omissions of names, of which I have gladly availed myself in this edition. It cannot but be satisfactory, that more numerous alterations have not yet proved necessary; as, in the great mass of statements I have heard, not always coinciding in terms or in

circumstances, I frequently experienced extreme difficulty in detailing military operations in such a manner as to afford satisfaction, or appear correct, to all who were present; every moment, every change of position, often assuming a different aspect, according to the distance, particular station, and capability of the observer to form a correct judgment of what passed under his notice.

I therefore publish the Second Edition without any material alterations, except a few additional anecdotes and observations, which, from the necessity of compression, and other circumstances, I was obliged to leave out in the first impression of the work.

Edinburgh, June 25. 1822.

PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

A Second Edition of 1300 copies having been rapidly thrown off, while the demand for the work continued in a great measure unabated, I made early preparations for a Third Edition, the printing of which was forthwith commenced. But owing to the distance of Garth from the Press, and having no daily Post, with other causes of interruption, this proceeded so slowly that the publication of the present Edition has, in consequence, been delayed for more than a year beyond the time at which, in justice to the work, it ought to have appeared. The delay thus occasioned has, however, been attended with one important advantage; it has afforded me time and ample opportunities of re-examining my statements, and of applying corrections, where such appeared necessary. If I have seen cause to make but few alterations, with hardly a qualification, even in those economical views which are, of course, most liable to be disputed, it is solely because the result of the most minute inquiries, and of personal observation, has strikingly confirmed the general accuracy of my

statements and reasonings, and affords me additional confidence in the truth and justness of the opinions which I was previously led to maintain. I employed three months of 1823 in this personal investigation, and travelled upwards of one thousand miles through the Highlands, always communicating with the most intelligent, and those best qualified by their judgment, general intelligence, and local knowledge, to give the most correct information, and unprejudiced opinions, on the subjects of my inquiries. Receiving the fullest confirmation from such men, I have now the more satisfaction in adding, that while I thus exerted myself to render the present Edition as correct as possible, the alterations are so few and unimportant as not to diminish in any degree, the value and general accuracy of the former Editions.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME FIRST.

PART I.

		Page
Section 1.	Geographical Situation and Extent of the Highlands—Celtic Kingdom	3
2.	System of Clanship—Patriarchal Sway of the Chiefs—Consequences of this System—Effects of the want of Laws, and of constant agitation and alarms on the Character of the People	23
3.	Devoted Obedience of the Clans—Spirit of Independence—Fidelity	49
4.	Arms—Warlike Array	71
5.	Highland Garb	77
6.	Bards—Pipers—Music	84
7.	General Means of Subsistence—Checks on Population—Salutary Influence of Custom in the Absence of Laws	90
8.	Love of Country—Early Associations—Traditional Tales and Poetry	96
9.	Disinterested, but mistaken, Loyalty and Fidelity—Conduct in 1745	102
10.	Abolition of Hereditary Jurisdictions—Disarming Act—Suppression of the Highland Garb	119

PART II.

PRESENT STATE AND CHANGES OF CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

Section 1.	Influence of Political and Economical Arrangements—Change in the Character of the Clans—Introduction of Fanaticism in Religion	125
2.	Causes and Consequences of these Changes—State when placed on small lots of Land—Poverty followed by Demoralization	143

Page

SECTION 3. Beneficial Results of Judicious Arrangements, and of allowing time to acquire a knowledge of Agricultural Improvements—Emigration—Agricultural Pursuits promote Independence and prevent Pauperism . . . 177

4. Illicit Distillation—Consequences of reducing the Highlanders from the condition of Small Tenantry—Policy of retaining an Agricultural Population . . . 199

PART III.

MILITARY ANNALS.

SECTION 1. Black Watch—Independent Companies—Embodied into a Regiment at Taybridge in 1740—March to England—Review—Mutiny 248

2. Embarked for Flanders, 1743—Battle of Fontenoy—Return to Britain in 1745—Three Additional Companies—Battle of Prestonpans—Descent on the Coast of France, 1746—Return to Ireland—Embark for Flanders, 1747—Thence for Ireland in 1749—The Number changed from the 43d to the 42d Regiment—Character of the Regiment 271

3. Embark for North America in 1756—Expedition against Louisbourg in 1757—Attack on Ticonderoga and Louisbourg in 1758—On Fort du Quesne—On Martinique and Guadaloupe in 1759 304

4. Operations under General Amherst in North America in 1760—Expedition under General Wolfe—Battle of the Heights of Abraham—Death of General Wolfe—Battle of Quebec—Fraser's Highlanders 331

5. Montgomery's Highlanders—Dominique taken in 1761—Martinique in 1762—Havannah taken in 1762 . 349

6. Fraser's, Montgomery's, and Royal Highlanders—St John's Newfoundland, 1762—Bushy Run, 1763—Fort Pitt, 1764—Ireland, 1767—Scotland, 1775 362

7. Highlanders embark for America in 1775—Battle of Brooklyn, 1776—Battle of White Plains—Capture of Fort Washington, 1777—Hessians surprised at Trenton—Pisquatua—Battle of Brandy-wine—General Wayne surprised—Attack of German Town—White Marsh—Battle of Monmouth, 1778—Rhode Island—Verplanks—Stony Point—Detachment of Recruits from London—Consequences—Charlestown taken, 1780—Some Highlanders deserted in 1783—Stationed in Halifax, 1786—Embark for England in 1789—Return to Scotland in 1790 373

Page

SECTION 8. Duties of the Regiment in Scotland—Disturbances in Rossshire in 1792—Embark for Flanders in 1793—Join the Allied Army at Menin—Relief of Nieuport—Return to England—Embark for the Coast of France—Embark for Flanders in June 1794—Nimeguen—Distressing March to Bremen—Return to England—Regiments augmented by Drafts from the newly raised Corps . . 415

9. Embark for the West Indies in 1795—Fleet scattered in a succession of Gales—One Division of the Highlanders driven back, the other reaches Barbadoes—Attack on St Lucia and St Vincent in 1796—Porto Rico, 1797—Return to England, and thence sail for Gibraltar—Expedition against Minorca in 1798—Expedition against Cadiz in 1800—Malta 429

10. Expedition to Egypt in 1801—Landing at Aboukir—Battle of the 13th of March—90th and 92d Regiments lead the Attack—Battle of Alexandria—Surrender of Cairo—Surrender of Alexandria—Indian Army . . 459

11. England—Highland Society—Reviewed by the King—March to Scotland—Reception—Recruits—2d Battalion added in 1803—March to England—Embark for Gibraltar in 1805—Spain, 1808—Battle of Corunna, 1809—Return to England 504

APPENDIX.

A, Parallel Roads 3
B, Ancient League between France and Scotland . . 4
C, Territories, Military Force, and Patronymic Designations of the Chiefs 6
D, War Cries, Signals, and Distinguishing Marks of the Clans . 10
E, Feuds—Garth and Macivor 12
F, Characteristic Anecdotes 13
G, Sketch of the Life and Character of Rob Roy . . 17
H, John Dhu Cameron, or Sergeant Mor . . . 24
I, Highland Armour 25
K, Bows and Arrows 27

		Page
L,	Highland Garb	28
M,	——— Weddings	30
N,	——— Music	31
O,	——— Game	33
P,	Honourable manner of Contracting Bargains	34
Q,	Patronymics	35
R,	Spelling of the Name of Stewart	36
S,	State of Education in the Highlands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	37
T,	Second-sight	41
*,	Prejudiced Views of Highland Character	42
U,	Lord President Forbes	44
V,	Supposed Ferocity of the Highlanders	46
W,	Disinterested Attachment, and Liberal Pecuniary Support afforded to Chiefs and Landlords when in Distress	48
X,	Equality of Property, and Operation of the New Systems	49
Y,	Report of Highland Convicts	50
Z,	Ancient Cultivation	52
AA,	Respectability and Independence of small Farmers in comparison with Day-labourers	54
BB,	Comparative Produce from Cultivation, and from Land in the state of Nature	55
CC,	Poor, and Poors' Funds	57
DD,	Letting Lands by Auction, Advertisements, or Private Offers	58
EE,	Influence of Public Opinion	59
FF,	Religious Education—Gaelic Schools	60
GG,	The best Soldiers destroyed by inattention to their Feelings and Dispositions	63
HH,	Remarkable Instance of Military Talent exhibited both in the Plans of the Commanders; and in their Execution	65
II,	Earl of Crawfurd, Colonel of the Highland Regiment	66

NOTES

EXPLANATORY OF

THE MAP OF THE CLANS.

It is proper to state, that the divisions into which the clans are arranged on the Map, are not intended to indicate that the chiefs, or heads of the principal branches of all the clans, were the sole proprietors of the lands classed under their respective names. In several instances, they were only occupiers and tenants at will of the lands on which they and their forefathers had lived for ages. But while the clansmen obeyed and followed the chiefs of their family and kindred, the superiors and proprietors of their lands seldom held any authority or feudal control, except in cases where the superior and his people entertained similar political views and sentiments.* The lands thus occupied by different clans and tribes, either as proprietors or tenants, are generally called their "Country" or territory; Brae Lochaber, for example, which was occupied for nearly five hundred years by the Macdonells of Keppoch, and their numerous descendants, is called "Keppoch's Country," although the fee-simple of the property had been vested for the greater part of the period in the families of Gordon and Mackintosh. The Dukes of Gordon and Argyle were feudal superiors of the whole of the Camerons' Country, the former nobleman being also proprietor of part of the lands, as also of a considerable portion of Badenoch, the "Country of the Macphersons," many of whom are his Grace's tenants. Indeed, this clan is so numerous in that extensive district, that, except in the

* Nothing can be more erroneous than an opinion, often repeated, and therefore sometimes believed, that whatever side the feudal superior took in any great political question or contest, he was invariably followed by his subservient adherents. Many instances to the contrary are stated in these Sketches, and I could produce many more, all highly creditable to the spirit of independence which long distinguished the clansmen.

case of an accidental emigration from the Duke's Lowland estates, there is not a tenant of the name of Gordon throughout its whole extent.

The Duke of Atholl possesses a very extensive property in Athole; but the district has, for centuries, been called the Country of the Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergusons, &c. With the exception of the Duke, there is not in the whole district a proprietor or occupier of land of the name of Murray; but many descendants, whose forefathers sprung from the Atholl family prior to the change of their name from Stewart to Murray, are still resident in the glens of Athole.

Part of two large parishes on the estate of Sutherland, including Strathnaver, from which the earldom of Sutherland derives its secondary title, is situated in Lord Reay's Country, or, as it is called in Gaelic, the Territory of the Mackays. The ranks of the Sutherland regiment of 1793 bore evidence to the propriety of this appellation, as *one hundred and four William Mackays*, almost all of them from Strathnaver, were in the corps, and seventeen in one company, Captain Sackville Sutherland's.

The small clans of Maclarens of Balquhidder in Perthshire, Macintyres of Argyle, Macreas of Ross, Gunns of Sutherland, and several others, were not proprietors, but, from the earliest history of the clans, till a very recent period, occupied their lands in undisturbed succession.

In defining the divisions and different territories on the Map, it was impossible to attain the correctness of a measured plan; consequently, there are some large estates, belonging to other proprietors, included in districts designated as the territory of a particular clan; but I hope this outline will afford a general, and tolerably correct, idea of the locality of the Highland clans, and will tend to illustrate the Lord President Forbes's Memorial on their Territories, Military Force, and Patronymics. As this document, which will be seen in the Appendix, was drawn up in 1746 and 1747, the divisions are in general made to suit that period. Thus the estates attached to the Castles of Comrie and Shian, and the lands of Aberfeldy, are included in the Country of Menzies, as they were in 1746, although they are now the property of the Earl of Breadalbane. There have been many other changes of property since that period, which it is unnecessary to mention.

REFERENCES

TO THE

MAP OF THE CLANS.

No.

1. SINCLAIRS.
2. MACKAYS.
3. SUTHERLANDS, including the GUNNS, or CLAN-GUINN.
4. ROSSES; formerly, when the chiefs of this clan were Earls of Ross, they possessed a large portion of the county.
5. MUNROES.
6. MACKENZIES, including their ancient followers, the MACRAES, MACLENNANS, &c.
7. MACLEODS. This clan formerly possessed the Island of Lewis, and the district of Assynt, in the county of Ross.
8. MACDONALDS of Sleate.
9. MACKINNONS.
10. MACDONELLS of Glengarry.
11. MACDONALD of Clanronald. *
12. CAMERONS.
13. MACDONELLS of Keppoch.
14. MACPHERSONS.
15. FRASERS.
16. GRANT of Glenmoriston.
17. CHISHOLMS.
18. MACKINTOSHES, including the MACGILLIVRAYS, MACBEANS, and MACQUEENS.
19. GRANTS of Grant.
20. GORDONS. In Glenlivet, and in the Braes of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, the GORDONS, STEWARTS, and FORBESES, are so intermixed, that their lands cannot be separately classed.
21. FARQUHARSONS.
22. STEWARTS of Athole, including the ROBERTSONS, FERGUSONS, RATTRAYS, SPALDINGS; also the STEWARTS of Grandtully.
23. ROBERTSONS.

* Although the chieftains of Macdonald are separately numbered, agreeably to the President's Memorial, they form only one clan. The branches of the Stewart family are likewise numbered separately, although they are but one clan. This applies to other clans when the name is repeated.

REFERENCES TO THE MAP.

No.

24. MENZIES. It has been mentioned that Glenquaich, and other parts of the estate of Breadalbane, were the property of this clan. They have also been for a long period superiors of part of Glenlyon. The MACDIARMIDS, in the latter glen, are considered one of the most ancient names in the Highlands.
25. MACNABS.
26. MACGREGORS. This clan was once numerous in Balquhidder and Monteith, also in Glenorchy, and they are still in great numbers in the district of Fearnan, on the north side of Loch Tay,—on the south side of Glenlyon,—in Fortingal,—and on the north side of Loch Rannoch.
27. In Monteith and Strathearn, the GRAHAMS, STEWARTS, and DRUMMONDS, are intermixed in the same manner as the landholders and tenants in the Braes of Banff and Aberdeen.
28. BUCHANANS. The lands of this clan formerly extended eastward to Kippen, in Stirlingshire.
29. MACFARLANES.
30. COLQUHOUNS.
31. STUARTS of Bute.
32. LAMONTS. This family formerly held considerable superiorities in Knapdale and Cowal.
33. MACLACHLANS. The superiorities of this clan were also more extensive.
34. MACNAUGHTONS.
35. CAMPBELLS. The property of the chief, chieftains, and gentlemen of this clan, extends from the south point of Kintyre, in Argyleshire, to the district of Grandtully, in Perthshire, two miles below Tay Bridge. The LAMONTS, MACLACHLANS, MACNABS, and others, are occasionally intermixed, but their lands bear a small proportion to the great tract of country possessed or occupied by the clan CAMPBELL. The extent of Lord Breadalbane's property will be seen by glancing over the Map, from the Island of Eisdale, in Argyleshire, to Grandtully Castle in Perthshire.
36. MACDOUGALLS. The lands occupied by this clan are so scattered, that, except the estate of the chief, and two others in his immediate neighbourhood, they cannot be distinguished. The MACDOUGALLS once possessed the whole of the district of Lorn. These countries were afterwards transferred to the Stewart family, and from them, by marriage, to the CAMPBELLS.
37. MACDONALDS of Glenco.
38. STEWARTS of Appin.
39. MACLEANS, including the MACQUARRIES. Morven on the Mainland, and part of the Isle of Mull, now the property of the Duke of Argyle, was formerly the inheritance of this clan.
40. MACNEILLS of Barra.

PART I.

A SKETCH

OF THE

MORAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTER,

AND OF THE

INSTITUTIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS

OF THE

HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HIGHLANDERS.

PART I.

SKETCHES OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

SECTION I.

Geographical Situation and Extent of the Highlands of Scotland—Inhabitants—Character—Antiquities.

THE tract of country known by the name of the Highlands of Scotland, constitutes the northern portion of Great Britain. Its maritime outline is bold, rocky, and, in many places, deeply indented by bays and arms of the sea. The northern and western coasts are fringed with groups or clusters of islands, while the eastern and southern boundaries are distinguished from that part of Scotland denominated the Lowlands, by the strong and peculiar features impressed on them by the hand of Nature. A range of mountains known in Roman history by the name of Mons Grampius, at a later period called Gransbane, * and now the Grampians, constitutes the line of demarcation between these

* Both derived from the Gaelic *garu-bein*, the rugged mountains.

two distinct parts of the kingdom. Within this range, as every classical reader knows, is the scene of that noble stand for liberty and independence, made by the Caledonians against the invasion of the Romans. The physical structure of the Grampian boundary is as remarkable as the general direction is striking, regular, and continuous. It forms, as it were, a lofty and shattered rampart, commencing north of the river Don, in the county of Aberdeen—extending across the kingdom in a diagonal direction, till it terminates in the south-west, at Ardmore, in the county of Dumbarton—and presenting to the Lowlands throughout, a front, bold, rocky, and precipitous. The Grampian range consists of rocks of primitive formation. The front towards the south and east presents, in many places, a species of breccia. In the centre, and following the line of the range, is a remarkable bed of valuable limestone, * with many strata of marble † and slate. In the districts of Fortingall, Glenlyon, and Strathfillan, are found quantities of lead and silver ore; and over the whole extent are numerous detached masses of red and blue granite, garnets, amethysts, rock crystals, and pebbles of great variety and brilliancy.

The continuation of this great chain, is broken by straths and glens, formed originally by the rivers and torrents to which they now afford a passage. The principal straths are on the rivers Leven, Earn, Dee and Don. But besides these great straths, there are many other glens and valleys,

* This great bed of limestone is first seen in Aberdeenshire. It sometimes rises to the surface for many miles, then sinks and disappears, following, as it were, the undulated and irregular direction of the surface of the mountainous country through which it passes. It runs from Brae-Mar to Athole, through the great forest, crossing the river Garry at Blair Castle, and the Tummel near the foot of Shichallain; and, taking a south-westerly direction, by Garth, Fortingall, and Breadalbane, passes through the centre of Lochtay, and the west end of Lochearn, and thence stretches through Monteith and Dumbartonshire, till it is lost in the Atlantic, north of the Clyde.

† This marble takes a fine polish. The prevailing colours are blue, green and brown, intermixed with streaks of pure white. In Glentilt, within the forest of Athole, a quarry of green marble has lately been opened, and wrought to advantage.

the lower entrances of which are so rugged and contracted, as to have been almost impassable till opened by art. These are known by the name of Passes, and are situated both on the verge of the outward line, and in the interior of the range. The most remarkable are Bealmacha upon Lochlomond, Aberfoyle and Leny in Monteith, the Pass of Glenalmond above Crieff, the entrance into Athole near Dunkeld, and those formed by the rivers Ardle, Islay, and South and North Esk. By the excellent roads now constructed along their sides, these passes, formerly so difficult to penetrate, furnish the easiest entrance for horses, and the only one for carriages. Immediately within the external boundary, are also many strong and defensible passes, such as Killicrankie, and the entrances into Glenlyon, Glenlochy, Glenogle, &c. *

On the line of the Grampians, are many insulated mountains of considerable altitude, such as Benlomond, Benlawers, Shichallain, &c. The views of the Highlands obtained on a clear day from the summits of these mountains, are peculiarly imposing and magnificent. † But when covered with clouds, or skirted with mists, their summits are often scarcely distinguishable from the vapours which envelope them; while their bleak and barren aspect, and the deep rocky

* An apology may be necessary for stating facts so generally known. But these boundaries formed one of the principal causes which preserved the Highlanders a distinct race from the inhabitants of the plains. For seven centuries, Birnam Hill, and the rocks westward of Dungarth Hill, at the entrance into Athole, formed the boundary between the Lowlands and Highlands, and between the Saxon and Gaelic languages. On the south and east of these boundaries, breeches are worn, and the Scotch Lowland dialect spoken, with as broad an accent as in Mid-Lothian. On the north and west are found the Gaelic, the kilt, and the plaid, with all the peculiarities of the Highland character. The Gaelic is the dialect in common use among the people on the Highland side of the boundary. This applies to the whole range of the Grampians: for example, at General Campbell's gate, at Monzie, nothing but Scotch is spoken, while at less than a mile distant, on the hill to the northward, we meet with the Gaelic.

† With a good glass Arthur's Seat and the higher grounds in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh are clearly distinguishable.

channels with which they are furrowed, testify the violence of the tempests which have swept over them. Towards their pointed summits there is little vegetative mould; but lower down we meet with a thin covering of stunted heath, inhabited only by birds of prey, and by the white hare and ptarmigan. Still farther down is the region of the mountain deer and muirfowl, producing more luxuriant heath intermixed with nourishing pasture, and supporting numerous flocks of sheep. Towards the base are many romantic glens, watered by mountain streams, or diversified by winding lakes, and in some places beautifully wooded, and capable of producing various kinds of grain. Many of these glens contain a crowded population, and an unexpected number of flocks and herds, the principal source of the riches of the country.

The space which the Gaelic population occupied within the mountains, includes the counties of Sutherland, Caithness, Ross, Inverness, Cromarty, Nairn, Argyle, Bute, the Hebrides, and part of the counties of Moray, Banff, Stirling, Perth, Dumbarton, Aberdeen, and Angus. It may be defined by a line drawn from the western opening of the Pentland Frith, sweeping round St Kilda, so as to include the whole cluster of islands to the east and south, as far as Arran; then stretching to the Mull of Kintyre, re-entering the main land at Ardmore in Dumbartonshire, following the southern verge of the Grampians to Aberdeenshire, cutting off the Lowland districts in that country, and in Banff and Elgin, and ending on the north-east point of Caithness.* Throughout its whole extent this county displays nearly the same features.

* The names of places in this county denote a considerable mixture of Gothic and Danish. The same observation applies to the Isle of Skye, although in that island the language and manners of the people are as purely Celtic as any now in existence. In Caithness, however, two-thirds of the inhabitants speak the dialect of the Lowland Scots. Part of that country bordering on the sea coast is an uninterrupted flat of great extent. In that portion the Lowland garb is worn, and Scotch spoken; but at the commencement of the high and moun-

The means of subsistence are necessarily limited to the produce of mountain pasture, and to the grain that can be raised in a precarious climate; and that, too, only on detached patches of land along the banks of rivers, in the glens and plains, or on the seacoast. Though the lakes and rivers in the interior, and the arms of the sea, with which the coast is indented, abound with fish, the distribution of this benefit among the general population is necessarily limited by the difficulties peculiar to so mountainous a region. The same cause precludes much intercourse with the Lowlands, and the importation of commodities so bulky as provisions. The inland parts of the country must therefore, in a great degree, depend on their own resources; and hence the number of inhabitants must be small in proportion to the area of territory.

From these circumstances, as well as from the sequestered situation in which the inhabitants were placed, a peculiar character and distinctive manners naturally originated. The ideas and employments, which their seclusion from the world rendered habitual,—the familiar contemplation of the most sublime physical objects,—the habit of concentrating their affections within the precincts of their own glens, or the limited circle of their own kinsmen,—and the necessity of union and self-dependence in all difficulties and

tainous country, we meet with the Gaelic; and formerly the Highland dress was worn. It would therefore appear, that this low and accessible district must at an early period have been invaded and occupied by strangers, whose progress into the interior was arrested when the natural conformation of the country enabled the original inhabitants to defend themselves, and prevent farther intrusion; otherwise it is not easy to account for the singular circumstance of an insulated district, situated 150 miles within the boundary of the Gaelic language, being inhabited by people differing in dress, habits, and dialect, from all around them.

A small district in the county of Cromarty, of five miles in length, and less than half a mile in breadth, presents the same singularity, the inhabitants having for ages spoken a language of which few or none of those around them understand a sentence. It is the same to this day, so remarkably has the distinction of languages been preserved, by people who, from close neighbourhood, must hold frequent intercourse.

dangers, combined to form a peculiar and original character. A certain romantic sentiment, the offspring of deep and cherished feeling,—strong attachment to their country and kindred,—and a consequent disdain of submission to strangers, formed the character of independence; while an habitual contempt of danger was nourished by their solitary musings, of which the honour of their clan, and a long descent from brave and warlike ancestors, formed the frequent theme. Thus, their exercises, their amusements, their modes of subsistence, their motives of action, their prejudices, and their superstitions, became characteristic, permanent, and peculiar.

Promptitude in decision, fertility in resource, ardour in friendship, and a generous enthusiasm, were qualities which naturally resulted from such a situation, such modes of life, and such habits of thought. Feeling themselves, in a manner, separated by Nature from the rest of mankind, and distinguished by their language, manners, and dress, they considered themselves the original possessors of the country, and regarded the Saxons of the Lowlands as strangers and intruders.

Whether the progenitors of this singular race of people were the aborigines of the Highlands of Scotland, is a question which it is now impossible to decide. But the earliest authentic records which history affords of the transactions of different tribes and nations, contain descriptions of the character, and accounts of the migrations of the Celts. Among this widely diffused race, though there were considerable varieties, arising from climate and situation, still, in the case of all those to whom the denomination was extended, there might be traced indelible marks of affinity, as well as a striking difference from other tribes. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, informs us, that, in his time, they formed the most considerable portion of the population of Gaul. Indeed, many circumstances render it probable, that the Celtic tribes emigrated originally from the eastern provinces of Europe, retaining, in their progress westward, their

religion, manners, and language. Traces of this migration may be discovered in the names of Albania, Iberia, Dalmatia, Caramania, * &c. as well as in many appellations which we still recognise in the western parts of Europe, all of which were once, and some still are, in part, inhabited by Celts.

The most luminous and distinct account of the government, manners, and institutions of this remarkable people, as they existed in Gaul, as well as the most authentic history of some of their enterprises and transactions, is to be found in Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War. The separation of a distinct class of men called the Druids, whom he describes † as the ministers of their religion, and the depositaries of their sciences and laws,—the retired and contemplative modes of life to which this order devoted themselves,—the mystery which they affected,—the reverence in which they were held,—the direction of their studies to the natural sciences, particularly to astronomy,—their opinions concerning a Providence,—and, above all, their doctrine of transmigration, with their pretensions to prophetical knowledge,—all strongly remind us of the character and institutions of the Magi.

The worship of Bel, or Baal, ‡ some traces of which still remain in the Highlands, is unquestionably of Eastern ori-

* Albani, Dalmat, Corrimoni, &c. are names quite common in the Highlands.

† See Book vi. Chapters 13, 14, and 16, of his Comm. de Bello Gallico.

‡ The anniversary of Bel (in Gaelic Bealdin) was celebrated by shepherds and children with a feast of milk, eggs, butter, cheese, &c. These remains of ancient superstitions were accompanied with many ceremonies and offerings for the protection of their flocks from the storms, eagles and foxes. This festival was held on May-day. When all was ready, a boy stood up, holding in his left hand a piece of bread, covered with a kind of hasty pudding, or custard of eggs, milk, and butter; and turning his face towards the East, he threw a piece over his left shoulder, and cried, "This to you, O Mists and Storms, that ye be favourable to our corns and pasture: This to thee, O Eagle, that thou mayest spare our lambs and kids: This to thee, O Raven," &c. These superstitious rites were common thirty years ago, but they have now disappeared even among children. Similar to this festival was the Sam-huin, or fire of peace,

gin. * The Highland superstitions concerning the enchantments of the Daoni-Si, or fairies, cannot fail to bring to the recollection of the classical reader the incantations of Medea, Queen of Colchis. †

The language of the Scotch Highlanders affords strong evidence of Oriental origin. It is well known, that, in the languages of Asia, the Hebrew for example, the present tense of the verb is wanting, and is supplied by inference or circumlocution. This is also the case in the Irish, the Welsh, and the Gaelic, which indeed are kindred dialects. The Gaelic presents in its construction the most prominent features of a primitive language, being for the most part monosyllabic, and, with few exceptions, having no word to express abstract ideas, or such terms of art as were unknown to a primitive people.

But to whatever conclusion we may arrive concerning the origin and early migrations of the Celtic race, it is certain that tribes described as Celtic, and exhibiting every indication of their having sprung from a common stock; preserving themselves unmixed in blood and unconnected in institutions with strangers, and retaining their own manners

the origin of which tradition ascribes to the Druids, who assembled the people in the open air for the purpose of administering justice. In many parts of the country are still seen the small conical hills on which these courts are said to have been held, and which are called Tomvoide, *i. e.* the Court Hill. Three of these conical court hills are near the Point of Lyon, where that river enters the Tay, three miles above Castle Menzies. The anniversary of these meetings was celebrated on the 1st of November, the Halloween of the Lowlands. Immediately after dusk, large fires were kindled in conspicuous places in every hamlet. The inhabitants at the same time assembled, and the night was passed in dancing, and the observance of numberless ceremonies and superstitions, the principal object of which was, to discover occult events, and pry into futurity. These superstitious rites are admirably described by Burns in his "Halloween," and are in every respect the same as those practised in the Highlands.

* See Dr Graham's (of Aberfoyle) able and learned Essay on the Authenticity of Ossian.

† See Ovid's Met. Lib. vii. fab. 2, and compare the description of Medea's cauldron, and its effects, with the fairy tale related by Dr Graham in his elegant and entertaining work, entitled, "Picturesque Sketches of Perthshire."

and language, were extensively diffused over the west of Europe. From the Straits of Gibraltar to the northern extremity of Scotland, not merely on the seacoast, but to a considerable distance into the interior, we find traces of their existence, and memorials of their history, deducible not only from the testimony of ancient writers, but from the names of mountains and rivers, the most permanent vestiges of the original language of a country. Thus, we have, in France, the Garonne, in Gaelic Garu-avon, rough or rapid river; the Seine, the Sequana of Cæsar, the Seuin-avon, or silent running river: in Lombardy, the Eridanus, the Ard-an-er-avon, or east running river: and in Scotland, Iar-avon, or Irvine, the west running river.* But it would be endless to follow the derivations in Scotland, where a great majority of ancient names of places, rivers, and mountains, is unquestionably Celtic. Thus, even in the Lothians and Berwickshire, we have Edinburgh, Dalkeith, the river Esk, Inveresk, Inverleith, Balgone, Dunbar, Dunse, Dunglass, Drumore, Mordun, Drumseugh, Dundas,† Dalmeny, Abercorn, Garvald, Innerwick, Cramond, Corstorphine, and Dunian, in Roxburgh, with many others as purely Celtic as any names within the Grampians. In Galloway, and the western districts, Celtic names are almost the only ancient appellations of places, and of the common people, the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of whom we have authentic accounts.

Some may smile at derivations like these; but others, again, will trace, in such affinities of language, if not the only, at least the surest vestiges that still remain, of the vicissitudes and affiliations of nations whose annals extend

* In Gaelic, Er is east; Iar west. Thus we have Iaragael or Argyle, that is Western Gael; Iar, or Ayr, the West country; the Err, Earn, &c. streams running eastward.

† Dundas, Dun-dos, a hill with a tuft of wood. This etymon bears an analogy to the heraldic bearings of Dundas, (a tuft of wood with a lion attempting to push through it), a family as ancient as the period when the Gaelic was the language of Mid-Lothian. The old Castle of Dundas has stood eight hundred years.

beyond the reach of authentic history. Unluckily for the inquirer into Celtic antiquities, such vestiges form almost the only basis on which his conclusions or conjectures can rest. Amongst ancient authors, such subjects of research excited little attention; and long before the period at which modern history commences, they had been almost annihilated by the fierce and more numerous tribes, who occupied great part of the country possessed by the ancient Celts. When the Celts migrated to the westward, tribes of a very different language and character advanced upon their settlements, and spread farther to the northward. These tribes, denominated Teutones * and Goths, had probably their original seats in Scythia. They gradually occupied Hungary, Germany, and Scandinavia, encroaching everywhere upon the territories of the Celts, overturning the Roman empire itself, and at length establishing themselves in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the eastern districts of Britain. By these invasions, the Celts were either driven westward, or intermixed with their invaders. Their name and national distinctions were lost, excepting in a few inaccessible regions on the shores of the Atlantic, from which they could not be dislodged. There they still remain detached portions of an original race, preserving their physical conformation, and their peculiar institutions, nearly unchanged, until within the last fifty years; and are as easily distinguishable from the general mass of the population with which they are combined in political union, as they were from the Scythian and German tribes in the days of Cæsar.

In the provinces of Gallicia and Biscay in the west, and in the valleys of the Pyrenees in the south of France, and north of Spain, the inhabitants, differing, as they evidently

* Mr Grant, of Corrimonie, in his learned work, entitled, "Thoughts on the Gael," gives an etymology of the appellation Teutones, which he conjectures to have been the name given by the Gaelic emigrants from the east to the hordes which advanced in the same direction, upon their northern borders, peopling Russia and Scandinavia. These were called Tuadaoine, that is, *Men of the North*, or Teutones.

do, in manners and appearance, from the other subjects of the respective kingdoms to which they belong, exhibit a striking confirmation of this hypothesis. But it is in Lower Bretagne, in Wales, in the Isle of Man, in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, that the most distinct traces of the Celtic manners and language are to be found. In manners, indeed, the inhabitants of Bretagne bear but a faint resemblance to their Celtic brethren of other countries; but the similarity of their language proves, that originally it was the same with that now spoken in Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, &c. In language, however, the Gallicians differ less from their fellow subjects of the Spanish monarchy, than they do in physical formation, and peculiar customs. The Biscayans are remarkable for their difference in both respects; and the Basques, or inhabitants of the western Pyrenees, are distinguishable from the subjects of the two kingdoms to which they belong, by their bodily appearance and habits, as well as by a high spirit of independence, and pride of ancestry,—and, in many respects, they exhibit striking marks of an original and unmixed race. *

Many points of resemblance between the Basques and Scottish Highlanders may, no doubt, be attributed as much to similarity of situation, as to a common origin. Similarity of situation, however, will not account for the remarkable traits of resemblance between the inhabitants of La Vendée and those of the north of Scotland. Widely as they differ in their external features, the manners and customs of the people of both countries are so nearly similar, that a Highlander, in reading the Memoirs † of the Wars in La Vendée during the French Revolution, would almost think he was perusing the history of the events of the years 1745

* The Basques wear a blue bonnet of the same form, texture and colour, as that worn by the Scottish Highlanders; and in their erect air, elastic step, and general appearance, bear a remarkable resemblance to the ancient race of Highlanders, whose manners and habits remained unchanged till towards the commencement of the late reign, but of which scarcely a trace now remains.

† Memoirs of Madame Larochejaquelin. Edinburgh, 1816.

and 1746, in Scotland. In the picture which has been drawn of the zeal with which the followers and adherents of the Seigneurs crowded round the castles of their Lords; in the cordial affection and respectful familiarity subsisting between them; in their pastoral modes of life, and love of the chase; in the courage with which they took the field, and the perseverance with which they maintained their ground against disciplined armies; in their invincible fidelity to the cause they had espoused; in their remarkable forbearance from pillage or wanton destruction, in which they exhibited a noble contrast to the ferocious rapacity of the republican troops; and in their kindness to their prisoners,—we are strikingly reminded of the chiefs, the clanships, and the warfare of the Scotch mountaineers.

In tracing the remains of the Celtic race, we find that in a great proportion of Wales, in the Isle of Man, and in Ireland, the language is still preserved; * but, owing to a greater admixture with strangers, at an earlier period, ancient manners are much changed, whereas, in the Highlands of Scotland, which successfully resisted their intrusion, and were never subdued by either Roman or Goth, and where the repeated attacks of Danes and Norwegians were uniformly repulsed, the remains of the language, manners, superstitions, and mythology of the Celts, are found in greater purity and originality, than in any other country.

The earliest historical records bear testimony to the warlike spirit of the people; while the facts disclosed by the Roman historians, prove that their commanders in Britain found the Caledonians very formidable enemies; and it is not to be supposed that they would record defeats and disappointments which did not befall them. According to Tacitus, the celebrated Caledonian general, Galgacus, brought

* It is observed by Mr Grant of Corrimonie, that, in Connaught, and the west of Ireland, to which strangers had least access, the language still spoken differs very little from that of the Scotch Highlanders. The correctness of this observation I have had an opportunity of noticing in my intercourse with Irish soldiers, to whom I have often acted as interpreter.

against Agricola an army of upwards of 30,000 men, of whom 10,000 were left dead on the field of battle; which sufficiently demonstrates their numbers, their firmness, and their spirit of independence. Though defeated, they were not subdued, and, after three years of persevering warfare, the Roman general was forced to relinquish the object of his expedition. Exasperated by this obstinate resistance, the Emperor Severus determined to extirpate a people who had thus prevented his countrymen from becoming the conquerors of Europe. Having collected a large body of troops, he took the command in person, and entered the mountains of the Caledonians. Notwithstanding his immense preparations, however, he was completely defeated, and driven back to the plains with the loss of 50,000 men; and subsequently, while one legion was found sufficient to keep the southern parts of the country in subjection, two were required to repel the incursions of the Gael.

Some centuries posterior to this, we find the people forming a separate kingdom, confined within the Grampian boundaries. * This has been always known as the kingdom of the Scots; but to the Highlanders, only as that of the Gael, or Albanich. † The whole country immediately beyond the Grampian range, (that is, the Lowlands of Perth, Angus, and Mearns), was in possession of the Picts. Abernethy, said to have been their capital, ‡ is only twenty miles

* This, according to the traditions of the Highlanders, is the era of Ossian, when they had a kingly government within the mountains, with all the consequent chivalry, heroism, and rivalry of young men of family. See Appendix, A.

† The epithets England and Scotland, or Scots and English, are totally unknown in Gaelic. The English are Sassanachs, the Lowland Scots are Guals, the low country is Gualdach, (the Country of Strangers), the Highlanders are Gael and Albanich, and the Highlands Gaeldach.

‡ There are remarkable subterranean ruins in Abernethy. These have only been partially examined; but they seem of great extent. The stones consist of the same red freestone which abounds in the neighbourhood, and have been prepared and squared for building, but not cut into an ornamental form; at least as far as they have been examined. The mortar, as in all old buildings, is so hardened by time, that the stones give way to a blow, while the cement

distant from Birnam hill, the outward boundary at that entrance into the Highlands; and Brechin, supposed to have been another of their towns, is nearly the same distance from the eastern boundary.

These two nations of Picts and Scots, the one inhabiting the lowland territory, and the other the mountainous region, differing considerably in manners, but speaking the same language, * were sometimes in alliance, but more frequently in a state of hostility, till the succession of Kenneth Macalpin, in right of his mother, to the throne of the Picts, A. D. 843, when the Scots and Picts were finally united under one sovereign. Gaelic continued to be the language of the Court and of the people till the reign of Malcolm III. surnamed Caenmor, who had married the sister of Edgar Etheling, A. D. 1066. From that period the Gaelic language was gradually superseded by the Saxon, until it entirely disappeared in the Lowlands.

Towards the close of the eighth century, ambassadors, it is said, were sent by Charlemagne to Achaius, King of the Scots, or, according to the Highlanders, Righ na Gael, or Albanich, *i. e.* King of the Gael, or of Albany. The result of this friendly communication is stated to have been an alliance between France and Scotland. † This is indeed involved in all the uncertainty of early tradition: yet it is re-

resists. As a striking instance of the revolutions of time, even in a country not subjected to violent convulsions of the earth, all these buildings are completely covered, in some parts to a considerable depth, with the soil, which consists of a dry loam, occasionally intermixed with gravel. The surface is quite smooth, producing crops of corn and hay, and showing no vestige of what is underneath, except where holes have been dug when the proprietor, Mr Paterson of Carpow, a few years ago, made use of some of the stones for building a new house. The whole deserves the notice of the antiquary.

* That the Picts, inhabiting the low and fertile districts on the east of Scotland, and to the north of the Roman province, were Gael, or Celts, and that they spoke the Gaelic language, seems to be clearly proved by Mr Grant, in his "Thoughts on the Gael." If the Picts spoke a language different from the Celtic, every trace of it has disappeared; the names of towns, rivers, mountains, valleys, &c. being either Celtic or Saxon.

† See Appendix, B.

corded by ancient chronicles; and, as far as it goes, confirms the belief of the number and comparative civilization of the Caledonians; for at whatever period the friendly connection between the two countries commenced, it continued uninterrupted till James VI. of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England. The tradition that Charlemagne appointed two Caledonian professors to preside over his academical establishments at Padua and Paris, may, in like manner, be regarded as a testimony in favour of the learning of the Celts at that period. Before the age of Charlemagne, indeed, the college of Icolm-kill had reached the height of its celebrity. *

When the succession of the Alpine Kings to the throne of the Picts caused the seat of royalty to be transferred from the mountains to the more fertile regions of the Lowlands, and when the marble chair, the emblem of sovereignty, was removed from Dunstaffnage to Scone, the stores of learning and history, preserved in the College of Iona, were also carried to the South, and afterwards destroyed by the barbarous policy of Edward I. Deficient and mutilated as the records in consequence are, it is impossible to ascertain the degree of civilization which this kingdom of glens and mountains had attained; but, judging from the establish-

* Martin, in his Description of the Western Islands, printed in 1703, says of Icolm-kill, "This monastery furnished bishops to several dioceses of England and Scotland. One of these was Bishop of Lindisfern, now Holy Island." Bede states, in his third Book, that Oswald, King of Northumberland, took refuge from domestic treason in the island of Iona, where he was instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and learned the Gaelic language. He returned home in 634, and founded the monastery of Lindisfern; and, on applying to Iona, obtained a bishop, named Aidan, to whom, as he knew Gaelic only, the Saxon king acted as interpreter, when preaching to his subjects. Caxton, who wrote in 1482, says, "King Oswald axed the Scottes, and had it granted, that Bishop Aidanus schold come and teche his people: Thence the Kinge gave him a place of a Bishope's See in the island of Lyndesfern; then men mighte see wonders; for the Bishop preached in Scottishe (i. e. in Gaelic, as the word was then understood by the English), and the Kinge tolde forth in Englishe, to the people, what it was he said or meent." Fol. 226.

ment of the College of Icolm-kill, at a period, when darkness prevailed in other parts of Europe, a considerable portion of learning must be admitted to have been diffused. Hence the feelings of even Dr Johnson were powerfully awakened by the associations naturally arising from the sight of this celebrated spot. "We were now," says he, "treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy, as would conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force on the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warm among the ruins of Iona."

Such a seat of learning and piety could not fail to influence the manners of the people. Inverlochay, their capital, maintained a considerable intercourse with France and Spain.* Yet, of the progress made in the arts by the Scots of that remote period, no specimens have descended to our times except the remains of their edifices. The Castle of Inverlochay, although it has been in ruins for nearly five hundred years, is still so entire as to have furnished a model for the present Castles of Inverary and Taymouth; so far had our ancestors, at a very early period, advanced in the knowledge and practice of architecture, or rather so small has the advancement yet been, that models are still taken from the works of "savage clans and roving barbarians."† The

* Hollingshed Chronicles.

† Modern architects of the first celebrity have not disdained to imitate the ornamental and magnificent designs of the "dark ages," when required to

underground foundations round that part of Inverlochay which is still standing, show that it was originally of great extent. Dunstaffnage Castle, which has been also in ruins for many centuries, exhibits equal strength of walls, but not the same regularity of plan. This may have been owing to its situation, as it is built on a rock, to the edges and incurvations of which the walls have been adapted. Urquhart Castle, which has likewise stood in ruins for many centuries, is one of the finest specimens of castle building in the country. But it must be confessed that Scotland in general, and particularly the Highlands, possesses no castles that can bear comparison with the splendid baronial residences of the more wealthy nobility of England and Wales.

In many parts of the Highlands, however, ruins and foundations of places of strength, and of castles, are so frequent, as to exhibit proofs of the existence of a population more numerous than that of latter ages. The marks and traces of the plough also evidently demonstrate that cultivation was, at one period, more extended than at present. Fields on the mountains, now bleak and desolate, and covered only with heath and fern, exhibit as distinct ridges of the plough as are to be seen on the plains of Moray.*

produce plans for public and private buildings of more than usual elegance; but, seeing that the specimens they exhibit in different parts of the country, are so inferior to the originals they attempt to copy, perhaps the harsh epithets of ignorance and barbarity, so often applied to those ages, might be somewhat softened. The men who designed and erected the cathedrals of Elgin and Dunkeld could not be so savagely ignorant as they have been represented. They certainly were not ignorant of one elegant branch of the fine arts, as is proved by the superb and magnificent edifices they built and consecrated to Divine Worship; an example which might be imitated with advantage by their Presbyterian descendants, of whom it has been said, that the "Scotch build castles and fine houses for themselves, and barns for the worship of God!"

* It has been said, in accounting for the existence of these marks of more extended cultivation, that, in ancient times, the valleys were thickly wooded, and much infested with wolves and other wild animals; and that the inhabitants were, in some measure, compelled to cultivate the high grounds, which were more clear of woods and wild beasts. But as wolves could not be such objects of terror to an armed population, and as it is not probable men were so

Woods and cultivation gave a genial warmth to the climate, which planting and other improvements would probably yet restore. As an instance of these marks of the ancient population, I shall confine my observations to one district. In a small peninsula, situated between the rivers Tummel and Garry, extending from Strowan, four miles west from Blair Athole, to the Port of Lochtummel, about ten miles in length, and four miles in breadth, ending at the Point of Invergarry, below the Pass of Killiekrankie, there are so many foundations of ancient habitations, (and these of apparent note), as to indicate a remarkably numerous population. They are nineteen in number. One circular building, near the house of Fincastle, is sixty-two feet in diameter; the walls are seven and a half feet thick, and a height of five feet is still remaining. In the district of Foss there are four. On the estate of Garth there are eight, some with walls nine feet thick; the stones in two of which are so weighty, that they could scarcely have been raised to the walls without the aid of machinery. In Glenlyon * there are seven; and, in a word, they are scattered all over the country. Respecting these buildings, various opinions are entertained; but one thing is certain, that they must have been erected at a great expense of labour, and that a numerous people only would have required so many buildings, either for shelter or defence. Tradition assigns them to the age of Ossian, and they are accordingly denominated

void of common sense, however savage they might be, as to cultivate the more barren and exposed parts of a country, and leave the warm and sheltered untouched; it may, with some confidence, be supposed, that a stronger necessity than the dread of savage animals compelled the inhabitants to cultivate, as high as the soil and climate would produce any return for their labour. Being shut up in their mountains by the hostility of their neighbours on the plains, from whom no supply could be obtained except by force of arms, the number of inhabitants required that every spot capable of cultivation should be rendered as productive as possible: hence the higher parts were necessarily cleared and cultivated, when the low grounds were found insufficient.

* In ancient poetry, it is stated that the Fingallians had twelve castles in Glenlyon, but the ruins of seven only are visible at this day.

Chaistail na Fiann, "the Castles of the Fingallians." The adjacent smaller buildings are pointed out by names expressive of the purposes to which they were appropriated. In Glenlyon, for instance, is shown the kennel for Fingal's dogs, and the house for the principal hunters. All this, to be sure, is tradition, and will be received as such; but the traces of a numerous population in former times, are nevertheless clear and incontrovertible.

But, whatever might have been the population and state of civilization of ancient Albion, the country was destined to experience one of those revolutions which are so frequent in human affairs. The extension of their dominions occasioned the frequent absence of the kings from the ancient seat of their government. At length when, about the year 1066, the Court was removed by Malcolm Ceanmor, never to return to the mountains, the sepulchres, as well as the residence of the future kings of Scotland, were henceforth destined to be in the south; and Dunfermline became the royal cemetery instead of Icolm-kill, where so many kings, chiefs, bishops, eminent ecclesiastics, and men of learning, lie entombed. That university, which had for ages been the fountain whence religion and learning were diffused among the people, was now deserted. The removal of the seat of authority was speedily followed by the usual consequences. The Highlanders were impoverished. Nor was this the only evil that resulted from the transference of the seat of government. The people, now beyond the reach of the laws, became fierce and turbulent, revenging in person those wrongs for which the administrators of the laws were too distant and too feeble to afford redress. Thence arose the institution of chiefs, who naturally became the judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their clansmen and followers, and who, surrounded by men devoted to the defence of their rights, their property, and their power, established within their own territories a jurisdiction almost wholly independent of their liege lord. *

* In 1057 Malcolm Ceanmor formed several thaneships throughout the king-

dom into lordships and earldoms; those in the Highlands were said to be Monteith, Lennox, Athole, Mar, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Badenoch, and Sutherland. Many descendants of these noble families still exist in the country; but there is no representative of any in a direct line, except the present Countess of Sutherland, whose title, the most ancient in the kingdom, will soon merge in the superior title to which the son will succeed. It is a curious circumstance, that, although there exists only one direct descendant of the thanes who were promoted on the occasion above mentioned, the families of many of those who remained as thanes, such as Mackintosh, Campbell, Macdougal, Maclean, Cameron, Menzies, Grant, &c., are to be traced in direct and unbroken male lineage, down to the present day. The direct succession of the Lords of the Isles ended in the fifteenth century; yet there are many thousands of their descendants, besides numerous descendants of several other families of that early period, cadets and branches of which have come down in lineal descent, although that of the chiefs has been interrupted.

SECTION II.

System of Clanship—Consequences of this system—Effects of the want of Laws on the Manners and Character of the People.

The division of the people into clans and tribes, under separate chiefs, whose influence remained undiminished till after the year 1748, constitutes the most remarkable circumstance in their political condition, and leads directly to the origin of many of their peculiar sentiments, customs, and institutions. The nature of the country, and the motives which induced the Celts to make it their refuge, almost necessarily prescribed the form of their institutions. Unequal to contend with overwhelming numbers, who drove them from the plains, and, anxious to preserve their independence, and their blood uncontaminated by intermixture with strangers, they defended themselves in those strong holds, which are, in every country, the sanctuaries of national liberty, and the refuge of those who resist the oppression and domination of a more powerful neighbour. Thus, in the absence of their monarchs, and defended by their barrier of rocks, they did not always submit to the authority of a distant government, which could neither enforce obedience, nor afford protection. The division of the country into so many straths, valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, gave rise, as a matter of necessity, to various little societies; and individuals of superior property, courage, or talent, under whose banners they had fought, or under whose protection they had settled, naturally became their chiefs. Their secluded situation rendered general intercourse difficult, while the impregnable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy.

Every small society had arms sufficient for its own protection, artisans skilful enough to furnish the rude manufactures required within their own territory, pasture for their cattle, wood for every purpose, moss and turf for fuel, and space for their hunting excursions. As there was nothing to tempt them to change their residence, to court the visits of strangers, or to solicit the means of general communication, every society became insulated. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possessing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions. Thus every district became a petty independent state. The government of each community, or clan, was patriarchal, * a sort of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by laws. Many members of each clan considered themselves, and actually were, branches and descendants of the same family. The central stem of this family was the chief. But the more these connections of blood and friendship tended to preserve internal harmony, the more readily the clans broke out into violence on occasion of any external injury or affront. The laws of the state affording no protection, clans and individuals, when oppressed or insulted, were obliged to revenge, or seek for redress in their own persons, and thence turbulence, aggressions, and reprisals necessarily resulted. In this state of agitation,

* The feudal system, which had obtained such general influence over all the east and south of Europe, did not extend to the inaccessible districts, where the remains of the Celts had taken shelter. In Wales, in Ireland, in the western and middle borders of Scotland, and in the Highlands, the patriarchal government was universal. Opposed to this was the feudal system of their Saxon invaders, who established it as far as their power extended. It was long the policy of the Scottish legislature to oppose the feudal government, and support the power exercised by the chief, *jure sanguinis*, over the obedience and service of his clan, while the power assumed by the feudal superior of his freehold was disregarded. In this manner the Duke of Gordon, feudal superior of the lands and estates held by the Camerons, Macphersons, Macdonells of Keppoch, and others, had no vassalage or command over these clans, who always followed the orders of their patriarchal chiefs, Lochiel, Clunie, Keppoch, &c.

all knowledge of letters was lost, except among a few; but a kind of traditionary lore, scarcely less efficient, was preserved by means of the Bards and Senachies, or the Elders of Clans and Tribes. With very few laws, and no controlling power to enforce the execution of the few they had, they presented the rare spectacle of a people so beneficially influenced by the simple institutions and habits which they had formed for themselves, that, with all the defects consequent on such a state, they were prepared, with a little cultivation, to become valuable members of society.

In this insulated state, with a very limited admission of strangers, intermarriages and consanguinity were the natural consequence; and many members of the clan bore the same name with the chief.* In this manner a kind and

* A supposition has been entertained, that many changed their names, and assumed names different from that of the clan or family. This was not frequent, and proceeded from a custom, (very necessary where so many were of the same name), of adding a distinguishing denomination to the Christian name; and sometimes when a man, from respect or gratitude, named his child after a friend, it was continued to the descendants. But instances abound of the wide extension of the same name and clan by lineal descent. Of these the following is one: James Stewart, son of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan and Badenoch, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, second son of King Robert II., first of the Stewarts, is said to have built the Castle of Garth, and settled there some time after the year 1390.† There are now living in the district of Athole, within its ancient boundary, 1937 persons of the name of Stewart, descendants of this man, in the male line, besides numbers in other parts of the kingdom. The descendants through the female line being considerably more numerous, as few women leave the country, in proportion to the number of men who enter the army, and resort to different parts of the world, we have thus upwards of 4000 persons now living in one district, descended of this individual.

† In the Cathedral of Dunkeld, there is a statue in armour of this "Wolf of Badenoch," or Alaster Mor Mac-in-Righ, "Alexander the King's son," as he is called in the Highlands. The statue seems to have been designed as part of a tomb, but is now greatly mutilated. The Earl of Buchan died in 1394. His descendants, now resident in Athole, are so numerous, that if each subscribed one shilling, this tomb and statue of their common ancestor might be completely repaired and restored to its original state, and would form an elegant, and interesting ornament to the magnificent ruin, in which it has lain upwards of four hundred years.

cordial intimacy, and a disposition towards mutual support, were preserved, in a manner totally unknown in modern times. To all, the chief * stood in the several relations of

Facts of this nature are easily ascertained in the Highlands, where descent from honourable ancestors is not forgotten or neglected by the poorest individual. It may therefore be believed, that, in former times, the bond of friendship was close and strong, in societies where so much importance was attached to consanguinity. It has likewise been alleged, that the more ancient names and people must have been removed by violence, or extirpated to make room for the more recent clans. This opinion seems founded on conjecture rather than fact. Such changes often occur from natural causes. The name of Cunnison or Macconich was prevalent in Athole in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; yet not an individual of that name now remains. All died out without violence or expulsion. In the same period there were twenty-four small landed proprietors, (or wadsetters, as they were called), of the name of Macairbre in Breadalbane; but not a man of that name is now to be found, nor is there even a tradition of one of them having ever been extirpated, or their lands taken from them by force. All became extinct by natural causes. One of these M'Cairbres, probably their chief, possessed Finlarig Castle, afterwards one of the principal seats of the family of Glenorchy. The following communication, from Archibald Fletcher, Esq. advocate, exhibits a more recent instance of the extinction of clans and names without violence. 'About fifty years ago I visited my cousin, Donald Fletcher of Bernice, who then lived at Baravourich in Glenorchy, the original country of the Fletchers, and who, in the figurative language of the country, are said to be the first "that raised smoke or boiled water" in that district. On the two farms of Baravourich and Achalader, there were at that time eighty persons of my own name and descent, but when I went there two years ago, there was not a human being of my name remaining.'

In the former editions M'Cairbre was by mistake spelt M'Rabie. Great antiquity is given by tradition to the M'Cairbres; they are said to be descended from Cairbre Rua, frequently mentioned by Ossian. Archibald Fletcher Esq., advocate, is descended from the M'Cairbres in the female line, and in failure of the male line, may be considered as their representative.

* It may be proper to mention, that many families of the same descent had two names, one common to the whole clan, as Macdonald, Macleod, &c. the other to distinguish a branch, which last was called the *bun sloine*, or genealogical surname, taken from the Christian name, or whatever designation marked the first man who branched off from the original family. In this manner, Campbell of Strachur is always called Macarstair or Macarthur, Campbell of Asknish, Macivor, and a tribe of the Robertsons in Perthshire, descendants from Strowan, are also called Clanivor; a tribe descended from Stewart of

landlord, leader, and judge. He could call out the young men to attend him at the chase, or to fight under his banners—a mandate which generally met with ready obedience.

The zeal and courage which the Highlanders displayed in the cause of the Stuart princes, particularly in 1745, excited such alarm, and produced such extraordinary effects, as to give an exaggerated idea of their numbers. The peculiarity of their situation, and the sources of their power, which could no longer be despised, were minutely examined, and a Memorial, * said to have been drawn up by the Lord President Forbes of Culloden, was transmitted to Government, detailing the force of every clan, the tenures of every chieftain, and the amount of retainers which he could bring into the field. This enumeration proceeds on the supposi-

Garth are Clan Duilach, from their immediate ancestor, who was so denominated from his black eyes. Another tribe of the same family are called Camachas, or Crookshanks, from a bend or deformity in his leg, by which their ancestor was distinguished from others of his name. A class of the Stewarts of Appin are called Combich; and in this manner, through nearly all the clans, tribes, and families in the Highlands; never, at the same time, forgetting the proper surname of their chief, or stem of their family. Thus, all the Macarthurs of Strachur † are Campbells, as are all the Macivors of Argyleshire; while the Macivors of Athole and Breadalbane are Robertsons, and the Duilach, Camachas, and Combich, are Stewarts, and so sign their names, and are designated in all writings, while in common conversation the *bun sloine*, or genealogical surname, is their usual appellation. To a stranger, the accuracy with which these genealogical connections were preserved may appear ridiculous, but the people filled up many idle hours very innocently with matters of this kind, never failing to bring forward the best traits in the character of their relations. Few men disclaim a relationship to persons of honour, worth, or high station. No claims of this nature were allowed by the Highlanders to sleep; and it is to be wished their conduct would continue, as formerly, to be influenced by the dread of disgracing the honourable race whose blood they believed filled their veins.

† There is a very ancient clan of this name, quite distinct from the branch of the Campbells. The Chief's estate lay on the side of Loch-owe in Argyleshire.

* See Appendix, C.

tion that the chieftain calculated upon the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who were infirm from age, those who, from tender years, or natural inability, were unable to carry arms, and those whom it was found necessary to leave at home, for conducting the business of the country. Besides the clans enumerated in this curious document, there were a number of independent gentlemen, who had many followers, as also several small clans, or "tribes" as they are commonly called, which have been omitted in the Lord President's report.

After treating of the general character of the Highlanders, the Memorial particularizes each clan, and subjoins statements of their respective forces, as under.*

In the enumeration below, the reader will find exhibited in one view the power by which this mixture of patriarchal and feudal government was supported. When the kindred and followers of the chief saw him thus surrounded by a body so numerous, faithful, and brave, they could conceive

Duke of Argyll	3000
Breadalbane	1000
Lochnell and other chieftains of the Campbells	1000
Macleans	500
Maclachlans	200
Stewart of Appin	300
Macdougals	200
Stewart of Grandtully	300
Glan Gregor	700
Duke of Athole	3000
Farquharsons	500
Grant of Gordon	300
Grant of Grant	850
Macintosh	800
Macphersons	400
Frasers	900
Grant of Glenmorriston	150
Chisholms	200

no power superior to his;* and how far soever they looked back into the history of their tribe, they found his progenitors at their head. Their tales, traditions, and songs, continually referred to the exploits or transactions of the same

Duke of Perth	300
Seaforth	1000
Cromarty, Scatwell, Gairloch, and other chieftains of the Mackenzies	1500
Menzies's	300
Munro's	300
Ross's	500
Sutherlands	2000
Mackays	800
Sinclairs	1100
Macdonald of Slate	700
——— Clanranald	700
——— Glengary	500
——— Keppoch	300
——— Glencoe	130
Robertsons	200
Camerons	800
M'Kinnons	200
Macleods	700
The Duke of Montrose, Earls of Bute and Moray, Macfarlanes, Colquhouns, M'Neils of Barra, M'Nabs, M'Naughtans, Lamonts, &c. &c.	5,600
	31,930

In this statement the President has not included his own family of Culloden, and his immediate neighbours Rose of Kilravock, and Campbell of Calder; nor has he noticed Bannatyne of Kaimes, the Maccallasters, Macquarries, and many other families and names. As an instance of uninterrupted lineal descent, through a series of turbulent ages, that of the family of Kilravock is remarkable. Colonel Hugh Rose is the twenty-sixth Laird, and the nineteenth of the name of Hugh in regular succession, since the estate came into the possession of his family.

* When the first Marquis of Huntly waited upon King James VI. in Edinburgh, on being created Marquis, in the year 1590, he stood in the presence chamber with his head covered; and on being reminded of his seeming want of respect, he humbly asked pardon, assigning as an excuse, that as he had just come from a country where all took off their bonnets to him, he had quite forgotten what he owed to his present situation.

line of kindred and friends, living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, from one generation to another, thus became, in the eye of a Highlander, as natural as the transmission of blood, or the regular laws of descent. The long unbroken line of chiefs * is as great a proof of the general mildness of their sway, as of the fidelity of their followers; for the independent spirit displayed on various occasions by the people, proves that they would not have brooked oppression, where they looked for kindness and protection. "This power of the chiefs is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of their families; for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own." †

This was the late Lord Lovat, who, with all his good and bad qualities, possessed, in a singular degree, the art of securing the love and obedience of his clan. Though attaint-

* Twenty-one Highland chiefs fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn. The number of their direct descendants now in existence, and in possession of their paternal estates, is remarkable. The chiefs at Bannockburn were, Stewart, Macdonald, M'Kay, Mackintosh, Macpherson, Cameron, Sinclair, Drummond, Campbell, Menzies, Maclean, Sutherland, Robertson, Grant, Fraser, Macfarlane, Ross, Macgregor, Monro, Mackenzie, and Macquarrie. Cumming, Macdougall of Lorn, M'Nab, and a few others, were also present, but unfortunately in opposition to Bruce.—In consequence of the distinguished conduct of the chief of the Drummonds in this battle, the King added the calthropes to his armorial bearings, and gave him an extensive grant of lands in Perthshire. It is said to have been by Sir Malcolm Drummond's recommendation that the calthropes, which proved so destructive to the English cavalry, were made use of on that day.

When we consider the state of turbulence, and misrule which prevailed in the Highlands, an unbroken succession, for five hundred years, of so great a proportion of the chief agitators and leaders, is the more remarkable, as there has been a greater change of property within the last forty years of tranquillity, abundance, and wealth, than in the preceding two hundred years of feuds, rapine, and comparative poverty.

† Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his friend in London.

ed and outlawed, and though his estate was forfeited, and given to Mackenzie of Fraserdale, as next heir in the female line, his mother being eldest daughter of a former Lord Lovat; yet such was the fidelity of the clan to their real chief, that they flocked to his standard at the first summons, quitting his rich rival, who, being possessed of the estate, had the power of rewarding his friends and supporters. The individuals might change, but the ties that bound together one, were drawn more closely, though by insensible degrees. around the succeeding; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree in spring preserve, in point of relative position, to those which dropped off in the preceding autumn. *

* The attachment and friendship of kindred, families, and clans, were confirmed by many ties. It has been an uniform practice in the families of the Campbells of Melford, Duntroon, and Dunstaffnage, that, when the head of either family died, the chief mourners should be the two other lairds, one of whom supported the head to the grave, while the other walked before the corpse. In this manner friendship took place of the nearest consanguinity; for even the eldest sons of the deceased were not permitted to interfere with this arrangement. The first progenitors of these families were three sons of the family of Argyll, who took this method of preserving the friendship, and securing the support of their posterity to one another.

In a manner something similar the family of Breadalbane had their bonds of union and friendship, simple in themselves, but sufficient to secure the support of those whom they were intended to unite. The motto of the armorial bearings of the family is "Follow me." This significant call was assumed by Sir Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenorchy, who was a Knight Templar of Rhodes, and is still known in the Highlands by the designation of Caillain Dhu na Roidh, "Black Colin of Rhodes." Several cadets of the family assumed mottos analogous to that of this chivalrous knight, and when the chief called "Follow me," he found a ready compliance from Campbell of Glenfalloch, a son of Glenorchy, who says, "Thus far," that is, to his heart's blood, the crest being a dagger piercing a heart;—from Achlyne, who says, "With heart and hand;"—from Achallader, who says, "With courage;"—and from Barcaldine, who says, *Paratus sum:* Glenlyon, more cautious, says, *Quæ recta sequor.* A knight and baron, neighbours but not followers, Menzies of Menzies, and Flemyng of Moness, in token of friendship say, "Will God I shall," and "The deed will show." An ancestor of mine, also a neighbour, says, "Beware."

Many important consequences, regarding the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, and from this establishment of patriarchal government. The authority of the king was rendered feeble and inefficient. His mandates could neither arrest the depredations of one clan against another, nor allay their mutual hostilities. Delinquents could not, with impunity, be pursued into the bosom of a clan which protected them, nor could his judges administer the laws, in opposition to their interests or their will. Sometimes he strengthened his arm, by fomenting animosities among them, and by entering occasionally into the interest of one, in order to weaken another. * Many instances of this species of policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was unhappily a mere record of internal violence. The consequence of this absense of general laws was an almost perpetual system of aggression, warfare, depredation, and contention. These little sovereignities touched at so many points, yet were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly, in many respects, yet were, in others, so distant; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little of a disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the rest, that there was scarcely ever a profound peace, or perfect cordiality between them. Among their chiefs the most deadly feuds frequently arose from opposing interests, or from wounded pride. These feuds were warmly espoused by the whole clan, and were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from generation to generation.

It would be curious to trace all the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity, (or *Manrent*, as they are called,) with which opposing clans strengthened themselves, and their coalitions with friendly neighbours, against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals, or to preserve the

* This was acting on the old maxim, "*Divide et impera.*"

balance of power.* By these bonds,† they pledged themselves to assist each other; but, however general their internal insurrections and disputes might be, however extended their cause of quarrel with rivals or neighbours, they invariably bound themselves to be loyal and true to the king: "always, excepting my duty to our Lord the King, and to our kindred and friends," was a special clause.‡ In these

* It is rather a humiliating consideration for the votaries of ambition, who have made war and politics their sole study, to find, from the history of past ages, that no less art, sagacity, address, and courage, have been displayed in the petty contests of illiterate mountaineers, than in their most refined schemes of policy and their most brilliant feats of arms. That they should be able, by intrigue and dexterity, to attach new allies, and detach hostile tribes from their confederates, is a still more mortifying proof how nearly the unassisted powers of natural talent, approach to the practices of the most profound politicians.

† As a curious document of this nature, I may mention a bond of amity and mutual defence entered into by a number of gentlemen of the name of Stewart in Athole, Monteith, and Appin, to which each affixed his seal and signature, binding himself to support the others against all attacks and encroachments, especially from the Marquis of Argyll, who had sided with the Covenanters. This bond is dated at Burn of Keltney, 24th June 1654. The long continued feuds between the Argyle and Atholemen, which were latterly much embittered by political differences, were the cause of many skirmishes and battles. The last of these was a kind of drawn battle, in the reign of Charles II., each party retiring different ways. When the Atholemen heard that the Argylemen were on their march to attack them, they immediately flew to arms, and, moving forward, encountered their foes in Breadalbane, near the east end of Lochtay. The conflict was most desperate. The dead were carried to a considerable distance and buried in a small knoll, now included in the parks of Taymouth, where their bones were found in great numbers in 1816, when Lord Breadalbane cut down a corner of this knoll in the formation of a road.

‡ Of these bonds of Manrent, the instances are too many to be enumerated. One in possession of Lord Bannatyne, is a bond between his ancestor the Laird of Kames, chief of the Bannatynes or Maccamelyne, as they are called in Gaelic, and Sir John Stewart, ancestor to the Marquis of Bute, dated 20th May 1547, in which they engage to stand by and support each other, against all persons except the King and the Earl of Argyll; this latter reservation being to enable the chief of the Bannatynes to fulfil a bond of Manrent, he had previously come under to Argyll. This latter bond is dated 14th April 1538.

Nor were these engagements confined to chiefs and heads of families: humbler individuals thus bound themselves; but a particular exception never to be

treaties of mutual support and protection were included smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and such families or clans as had lost their chiefs. Those of the name of Stewart, for instance, whose estates lay in the district of Athole, and whose chiefs by birth, being at one period Kings of Scotland, and afterwards of Great Britain, were latterly in exile, ranged themselves under the family of Athole, though they were themselves sufficiently numerous to raise 1000 fighting men. When such unions took place, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs of the greater, * but their ranks were separately marshalled, and led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary, for the success of combined operations. From these, and other causes, the Highlands were for ages, as constant a theatre of petty warfare, as Europe has been of important struggles. The smaller the society, and the more closely connected together, the more keenly did it feel an injury, or resent an insult offered by a rival tribe. A haughty or contemptuous expression uttered against a chief, was considered by all his followers, in the light of a personal affront; † and the driving away the cattle of one clansman, was looked upon as an act of aggression against the whole. The rage for vengeance, and the desire of reprisals, spread throughout the little community, like the violence of an insult offered to an individual,

forgotten or infringed, was their fidelity to the chief of their own blood and family.

* In this manner the M'Raes followed the Earl of Seaforth, the Gunns and Mathiesons the Earls of Sutherland, the M'Colls, the Stewarts of Appin, and the M'Gillivrays and M'Beans, the Laird of Mackintosh, &c. &c.

† "When a quarrel begins in words between two Highlanders of different clans, it is esteemed the very height of malice and rancour, and the greatest of all provocations, to reproach one another with the vices or personal defects of their chiefs, or that of the particular branch whence they sprung; and, in a third degree, to reproach the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance, to whom their enmity, like that of exasperated brothers, is most outrageous."—Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.

heightened by the sympathy of numbers. Submission to insult would have been present disgrace, and would have invited future aggression. Immediate hostility was therefore the result, and the gathering word of the clan found an echo in every breast. *

If no immediate opportunity of obtaining complete satisfaction occurred; if the injured party was too weak to repel attack, and to vindicate their honour in the field, or to demand compensation for their property, still the hostile act was not forgotten, nor the resolution of avenging it abandoned. Every artifice by which cunning could compensate the want of strength was practised; alliances were courted, and favourable opportunities watched. Even an appearance of conciliation was assumed, to cover the darkest purposes of hatred; and as revenge is embittered in all countries where the laws are ill executed, and where the hand of the individual must vindicate those rights which public justice does not protect, so this feeling was cherished and honoured when directed against rival tribes. †

To such a pitch were those feelings carried, that there are instances, both in tradition and on record, in which these feuds led to the most sanguinary conflicts, and ended in the extermination of one of the adverse parties. ‡

The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility, encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge

* See Appendix, D.

† In the present enlightened times, were the laws unable to afford protection, and were individuals, or collective bodies, forced to arm in order to redress their own wrongs,—would murder, turbulence, and spoliation of property, be less prevalent than they were in the Highlands when unprotected by the general laws of the realm? Were the return of such scenes of license and rapine a probable occurrence, I fear much the warmest advocate of modern civilization would hardly venture to anticipate, that they would be blended with those frequent and softening traits of honourable feeling which distinguished the inroads of the wild mountaineers.

‡ See Appendix, E.

was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable occupation. Their love of distinction, and a conscious reliance on their own courage, when under the direction of these perverted notions, only tended to make their feuds more implacable, their condition more agitated, and their depredations more rapacious and desolating. Superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching the clansmen, that, to revenge the death of a relation or friend, was a sacrifice agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of implacable hatred, and vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all our feelings,—reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.*

As the general riches of the country consisted in flocks and herds, the usual mode of commencing attacks, or of making reprisals, was by an incursion to carry off the cattle of the hostile clan. A predatory expedition was the general declaration of enmity; and a command given by the chief to clear the pastures of the enemy, constituted the usual letters of marque. Such inroads were frequently directed to the Lowlands, where the booty was richest, and

* Another custom contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. Martin, who studied, and understood the character and manners of the Highlanders, says, "Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe was obliged in honour to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned or declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other, that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen; but I have not heard of an instance of this practice for these sixty years since." Martin's Description of the Western Islands. London, printed 1703.

where less vigilance was exercised in protecting it. Regarding every Lowlander as an alien, and his cattle as fair spoil of war, they considered no law for his protection as binding. The Lowlanders, on the other hand, regarded their neighbours of the mountains as a lawless banditti, whom it was dangerous to pursue to their fastnesses, in order to recover their property, or to punish aggressions. Yet, except against the Lowlanders, or a hostile clan, these freebooters maintained, in general, the strictest honesty towards one another, and inspired confidence in their integrity. In proof of this, it may be mentioned, that instances of theft from dwelling-houses scarcely ever occurred, and highway robbery was totally unknown, except in one case so recent as the year 1770, when a man of education, and of respectable family, but of abandoned character, formed and headed a gang of robbers. * In the interior of their own society, all property was safe, without the usual security of bolts, bars and locks. † An open barn, or shed, was the

* His name was Mackintosh. He was a man of education, and knowledge of the world, who disgraced the respectable family from which he was descended, and the community to which he belonged. He was bred in a school such as the Highlands had rarely witnessed. His father, who, by a base stratagem, had usurped possession of an estate to which he had no right, lived, after the death of his wife, in a kind of seraglio, despised and shunned by the neighbouring gentry, though his abilities were good, and his manners prepossessing. He was the Colonel Charteris of his district, with this honourable distinction in favour of the Highlanders, that he was shunned as much as the other was countenanced. This example accounts too well for the bold profligacy of his heir, who excelled in all personal accomplishments, possessed engaging and elegant manners, and was remarkably handsome. The last exploit of this man was an attempt to rob Sir Hector Munro on his journey to the North, after his return from India in 1770. Mackintosh escaped to America, and afterwards joined Washington's army. One of his accomplices was taken and executed at Inverness in 1773.

† A late scientific tourist gives an unintentional testimony to the probity and honesty of the people towards one another. Noticing the wretched dwellings of the inhabitants of St Kilda, with an interior dark and smoky, he adds, "Each house has a door with a lock and key, *a luxury quite unknown in other parts of the Highlands.*" It were well that this luxury should long continue unknown, and

common summer receptacle of their clothes, cheese, and every thing that required air; and although iron bars and gates were necessary to protect the houses and castles of the chiefs and lairds from hostile inroads, when at feud, no security was required in time of peace, and while the castle gates were open, the dwellings of the people had no safeguard.* But on the other hand, open depredations were carried on with

that the people should remain ignorant of the necessity of securing their houses. If the progress of civilization, as the change of manners is called, compel the Highlanders to lock their doors against nightly depredators, it may create a question, whether ignorance and integrity, or knowledge and knavery, be preferable; or whether people can indeed be called ignorant, who are attentive to their religous duties,—who exercise the moral virtues of integrity and filial reverence,—who are loyal to their king, brave and honourable in the field, and equally firm in opposing an enemy and in supporting a friend. If these traits of character are exhibited by a people called ignorant and uncivilized, the terms may have perhaps been misapplied. On this subject Martin says of the Highlanders of the seventeenth century, "I am not ignorant that foreigners have been tempted, from the sight of so many wild hills, to imagine that the inhabitants, as well as the places of their residence, are equally barbarous, and to this opinion their habit as well as their language has contributed. The like is supposed by many that live in the south of Scotland; but the lion is not fierce as he is painted, neither are the people here so barbarous as people imagine. The inhabitants have humanity, use strangers hospitably and charitably. I could bring several instances of barbarity and theft by stranger seamen in the Isles, *but there is not one instance of any injury* offered by the islanders to any seaman or stranger. For the humanity and hospitable temper of the islanders to sailors I shall only give two instances." †

* My father, still adhering to old customs, does not lock his doors to this day. I know not how long this custom may with safety be continued: recent symptoms of a deplorable change in morals will undoubtedly compel people to guard their property with more care. It will then be no longer, as I have known it, that gentlemen have been half their lives in the commission of the peace, without having occasion to act against a criminal, unless in issuing warrants to recover the fines of Excise Courts, or on account of assaults on Excise officers, and accidental frays. Clothes and linens will no longer be seen drying and bleaching in all parts of the country, and at all hours, without guard or protection; nor open sheds hung round with all the Sunday's apparel of the lads and lasses. The rude Highlanders are undergoing a process of civiliza-

† See Appendix F.

systematic order, and they saw no greater moral turpitude in levying a *creach*, * heading a foray, or in "lifting" the cattle which "cropped the grass of an enemy," than we now discover in the reprisals and exploits of our men of war and privateers, or in the killing of deer and game, the latter of which subjects the offenders to punishment, if detected, while no shame or disgrace attaches to the deed, whether discovered or not.

In a country in which the ablest and most active of the people despised the labour necessary to raise their subsistence from the soil, and in which the use of arms was thought the most honourable occupation, every excuse was eagerly seized for commencing hostilities. If overtaken in their depredations, the plunderers were generally prepared for resistance, and for ennobling an act of robbery, by the intre-

tion by new manners, new morals, and new religion, the progress of which is at once rapid and deplorable. An inquiry into the cause of this loss of principle and morals in an age when so much is done to enlighten and educate, would certainly be extremely interesting.

* *Creach* is a very appropriate term, and means, to impoverish. If there was much resistance in these forays, and if lives were lost, great destruction frequently ensued in revenge for the loss sustained; but in common incursions, either against the Lowlanders, or rival tribes, personal hostilities were avoided except in retaliation of some previous death or insult. The creachs of the Highlanders, though sufficiently calamitous, were trifling when compared with the raids or forays on the borders of England and Scotland. The following account of the devastation committed by the English upon the Scotch, in the year 1544, will serve as a specimen of the miseries to which the border countries were exposed. The sum-total of mischief done in different forays, from the 2d of July to the 17th of November of that year, is thus computed:—"Towns, towers, steads, parish churches, castle houses, cast down and burnt, 192; Scots slain, 403; prisoners taken, 816; nolts, i. e. horned cattle, taken, 10,386; sheep, 12,498; nags and geldings, 1296; goats, 200; bolls of corn, 850; insight gear, (i. e. household furniture,) not reckoned." In another inroad by the Earl of Hertford, in the year 1545, he burnt, rased, and destroyed in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh, "Monasteries and friars' houses, 7; castles, towers, and piles, 16; market towns, 5; villages, 243; milns, 13; hospitals, 3. All these were cast down and burnt." As the Scots were equally ready and skilful in this irregular warfare, we have many similar instances of the damage done in their wasteful and destructive raids or inroads into England.

pidity of their defence. Such an event, however, was rather avoided than courted; and the rapidity of their retreat, joined to the acuteness of their vision, formed generally their best security, as well as one of their readiest means for recovering their cattle. It is said, that habit had rendered their sight so acute, that, where a common observer could perceive nothing, they could trace the cattle, by the yielding of the heath over which they had passed. If cattle were thus traced to a man's property, without any marks of their having proceeded beyond his boundary, he was held responsible, and an immediate quarrel ensued, unless he agreed to make ample restitution, or compensation for the loss.

Besides those persons who committed occasional spoliations, which they did not regard as dishonourable, and which they exercised at times as the means of weakening or punishing their enemies, there was a peculiar class, called *Kearnachs*. This term, originally applied to the character of soldiers, was equivalent to the catherons of the Lowlands, the kernes of the English, and the catervæ of the Romans,—denominations, doubtless, of the same import. * In their best

* It has been suggested by a learned author, that the Lake, celebrated in the Poem of the "Lady of the Lake," and known by the name of Loch *Katrine*, derives its name from the word above mentioned, and is the Loch of Kearnachs, or Catherons.—Some of these kearnachs died in my remembrance. They had completely abandoned their old habits, and lived a quiet domestic life, but retained much of the chivalrous spirit of their youth, and were respected in the country. One man was considered an exception to this general description, as it was supposed that he was not altogether convinced of the turpitude of cattle-lifting. However, as he had the character of being a brave soldier, these suspicions against his moral opinions were less noticed. His name was Robert Robertson, but he was called in the country *Rob Bane*. He was very old when I knew him, but he had not lost the fire and animation of earlier years.—In autumn 1746, a party, consisting of a corporal and eight soldiers, marching north to Inverness, after passing Tummel Bridge, halted on the road-side, and placed their arms against a large stone some yards behind them. Robert Bane observed the soldiers, and the manner in which they disposed of their arms. This, as he said, was a good opportunity to make a dash at his old friends the *Seidaran dearag*, or red coat soldiers, whom he had met at Gladsmuir, Falkirk, and Culloden. None of his neighbours were at home to assist him; but he sallied out by himself, armed with his gun, pistols, and broadsword, and, pro-

days, the kearnachs were a select band, and were employed in all enterprises where uncommon danger was to be encountered, and more than common honour to be acquired. Latterly, however, their employments were less laudable, and consisted in levying contributions on their Lowland neighbours, or in making them pay tribute, or *Black Mail* * for protection. The sons of the tacksmen, or second order of gentry, frequently joined these parties, and considered their exploits as good training in the manly exercises proper for a soldier.

The Highlanders of the counties of Perth, Stirling, and Dumbarton, inhabiting chiefly a border country, had the

ceeding with great caution, got close to the party undiscovered, when he made a sudden spring, and placed himself between the soldiers and their arms. Brandishing his sword in one hand, and pointing his gun with the other, he called out to them in broken English, to surrender instantly, or he would call his party, who were in the wood behind, and would kill them all. The soldiers were so taken by surprise, that they permitted the kearnach to carry off their arms for the purpose of delivering them, as he said, to his companions in the wood. He quickly returned, however, and desiring the soldiers to follow him quietly, else those in the woods would be out, he conducted them to Tummel Bridge inn, where he left them, and repairing to the wood, took possession of the arms as fair spoil of war. The soldiers soon discovered the truth, and hurried back to recover their arms, and get hold of the man who, by his address and courage, had thus disgraced them; but the kearnach had taken care to place himself and his prize out of danger. When the soldiers reached Inverness, they were tried and punished for the loss of their arms. In the course of the following year, Bane went to Inverness, not expecting that he would be recognised; but he was mistaken. The day he arrived he met one of the soldiers who knew him, and instantly laying hold of him, called for assistance, secured, and sent him to jail. While he lay there, three men who were confined in the same room, broke through the prison wall and made their escape. He refused to accompany them, saying that he took nothing from his prisoners but their arms, which he considered as no crime, and, therefore, had no occasion to fear or to escape from punishment. The circumstance coming to the knowledge of his Clansman, Mr Robertson of Inches, who lived in the neighbourhood, he made so favourable a representation of his case, that the kearnach was liberated without trial, and allowed to return home as a reward for his conduct in not availing himself of such an opportunity of escaping the intended punishment, which in those days was sometimes very summary.

* See Appendix, G.

most frequent encounters with their southern neighbours, and also skirmishes with the Lochaber, Badènoch, and northern kearnachs, whom on their return from their expeditions to the south, they sometimes attacked, with an intention of stripping them of their booty, either on their own account, or for the purpose of restoring it to the owners.

The borderers being thus placed in the centre of agitation, and having arms always ready, were prepared to turn out whenever their services might be required. The clan Farquharson, and the Highlanders of Braemar, placed in the same circumstances with regard to the Lowlands of the counties of Banff, Aberdeen, and Kincardine, as the Athole Highlanders were in regard to those of Perth, Stirling, and Angus, acquired similar habits; and both of them being actuated by similar political principles, they generally took the field together on all important occasions. An instance of the warlike disposition thus cherished, appeared in the rebellion during the reign of Charles I., when the Marquis of Montrose always found "his brave Atholemen" his never-failing support, both in his numerous victories, and under his greatest reverses. At his call they were always ready. On one occasion, being dressed in the common Highland garb, and attended only by the Laird of Inchbrakie and one servant, he came among them so unexpectedly, that some Irish soldiers who had been sent over by the Earl of Antrim, under Macdonnell,* (or Alister M'Colla, as he was called by the Highlanders,) "could hardly be persuaded the man they saw was the Marquis of Montrose, till he was saluted by the Atholemen, who knew him perfectly, and almost paid him the honours of a guardian angel;"† and the following day, "the Atholemen, to the number of eight

* This brave loyalist, and able partisan, was a native of the county of Antrim. The Marquis of Montrose placed the utmost confidence in his talents and intrepidity, intrusting to his command the most difficult enterprises. To this day his memory is held in the highest veneration by the Highlanders, who retain many traditional anecdotes of him.

† Bishop Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose.

hundred, put themselves in arms, and offered their services most cheerfully to Montrose." In the same manner we find (as will be afterwards noticed), that "fifteen hundred men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom," * joined Lord Dundee to support King James. The storming of the town of Dundee, and the skilful and masterly retreat effected by Montrose and his Atholemen in the face of a greatly superior force, affords another instance in point, and is the only further example of the same kind which I shall adduce. In the year 1645, Montrose, being deceived by false information from his spies, mistook the motions of the enemy, and resolving to punish the town of Dundee, "a most seditious town, being the securest haunt and receptacle of the rebels in those parts, and a place that had contributed as much as any other towards the rebellion," marched from Dunkeld, at twelve o'clock at night, with one hundred and fifty horse, six hundred Atholemen, and a detachment of Irish, and reaching Dundee at ten o'clock next morning, instantly stormed and carried the town; but he had scarcely taken possession, when he received information that General Baillie and Colonel Hurry, two veteran and experienced officers, with eight hundred horse, and three thousand infantry, were on their march towards him, and within little more than a mile of the town. Montrose immediately recalled his men, and marched off pursued by the enemy, who, dividing their force, sent one part to intercept, and the other to pursue him. During the retreat he occasionally halted, and opposed their successive attacks, and by a circuitous route regained the Grampians through the pass of Glen Esk, with a trifling loss.—"And this was that so much talked-of expedition to Dundee, infamous indeed for the mistakes of the scouts, but as renowned as any for the valour, constancy, and undaunted resolution of the General; and admirable for the hardiness of the soldiers in encountering all extremities with patience: for threescore

* General Mackay's Memoirs.

miles together (Scotch miles, equal to ninety English), they had been often in fight, always upon their march, without either meat or sleep, or intermission, or the least refreshment; which, whether foreign nations or aftertimes will believe, I cannot tell; but, I am sure, I deliver nothing but what is most certain of my own knowledge: And truly, amongst expert soldiers, and those of eminent note, both of England, Germany, and France, I have not seldom heard this expedition of Montrose preferred to his greatest victory." *

The endless feuds between the Argyle and Atholemen assisted in preserving the military spirit and the use of arms. In the charter-chest of Stewart of Ballechin there is a commission to his ancestor, the Laird of Ballechin, from the Marquis of Atholl, then Lord-Lieutenant of Argyleshire, dated in 1685, authorizing him to march with a strong body of Atholemen into that county, and to take possession of the property of the Marquis of Argyll, and of several gentlemen then attainted for rebellion. In what spirit these orders were carried into effect, will appear from the circumstance that eighteen gentlemen, of the name of Campbell, were executed at Inverary. The commission granted to Ballechin is highly curious, and prescribes all the intended operations and proposed plans with great accuracy and precision. †

* Dr Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose.

† I am informed by my friend Mr Stewart of Ballechin, that, in the preceding editions, I had misapprehended the nature of this document; and that it was a commission from the Marquis of Atholl as Lord Lieutenant of Argyleshire to his ancestor, under the authority of which he marched into that county, and, taking possession of Inverary, held courts there. Many were tried on a charge of rebellion, and refusing to take the Test Oath; and eighteen men were executed. I find also that Ballechin got a charter from the Crown in 1685, containing a grant of a considerable portion of lands in Argyleshire. Having only had a cursory glance of these documents a number of years ago, it is probable I may not have had a proper recollection of their real import. But in whatever view this transaction is considered, whether as a feudal in-

How little the Highlanders were accustomed to attach any ideas of moral turpitude to such exploits, may be learned from the conduct and sentiments of several of those freebooters, who, at no very distant period, became the victims of a more regular administration of the laws, and who were unable to comprehend in what their criminality consisted. After the troubles of 1745, many who had been engaged in them, afraid to return to their own country, over which the king's troops were dispersed, and having no settled residence or means of support, formed several associations of freebooters, which laid the borders of the Highlands under contribution.

An active leader among these banditti, Donald Cameron, or Donald Bane Leane, was tried in Perth for cattle stealing, and executed at Kinloch Rannoch in 1752, in order to strike terror into his band in that district. At his execution he dwelt with surprise and indignation on his fate. He had never committed murder, nor robbed man or house, or taken any thing but cattle off the grass of those with whom he was at feud; why therefore punish him for doing that which was a common prey to all? Another freebooter, Alexander Stewart, (commonly called Alister Breac, from his being marked with the small pox), was executed in 1753. He was despised as a pitiful thief, who deserved his fate, because he committed such acts as would have degraded a genuine Kearnach.

road, or a proceeding under authority, it equally proves the object for which I introduced the subject;—namely, to show, in a strong light, the fatal effects which may be expected when a weak and inefficient government is unable to execute an important measure, except by employing the inhabitants of one district to coerce and punish those of another; thus adding fresh matter of irritation and hostility to former feuds, and exciting a spirit of revenge and retaliation—a feeling which would not have existed, at least in the same degree, had a sufficient force, from a distant country, been employed. Were the weavers of Glasgow sent to quell a riot or insurrection among the weavers of Paisley, and were they to hang a number of the rioters, the heart-burnings, jealousies, and spirit of revenge, which such rencounters would occasion, may easily be imagined.

But they were not the actors alone who attached no criminality, or at least disgrace, to the "lifting of cattle," as we find from a letter of Field Marshal Wade to Mr Forbes of Culloden, then Lord Advocate, dated October 1729, describing an entertainment given him on a visit to a party of Kearnachs. The Marshal says, "The Knight and I travelled in my carriage with great ease and pleasure to the feast of oxen which the highwaymen had prepared for us, opposite Lochgarry, where we found four oxen roasting at the same time, in great order and solemnity. We dined in a tent pitched for that purpose. The beef was excellent; and we had plenty of bumpers, not forgetting your Lordship's and Culloden's health; and, after three hours' stay, took leave of *our benefactors, the highwaymen*, * and arrived at the hut at Dalnachardoch before it was dark." †

The constant state of warfare, aggression, and rapine, in which the clans lived, certainly tended to improve their ingenuity, and inured them to hardships and privations, which, indeed, their abstemious mode of living, and their constant exposure to all varieties of weather in their loose and light dress, enabled them to bear without inconvenience. ‡ On the other hand, this incessant state of warfare

* The Marshal had not at this period been long enough in the Highlands to distinguish a kearnach, or "lifter of cattle," from a highwayman. No such character as the latter then existed in the country; and it may be presumed he did not consider these men in the light which the word would indicate;—for certainly the Commander-in-Chief would neither have associated with men whom he supposed to be really highwaymen, nor partaken of their hospitality.

† Culloden Papers.

‡ Habituated as the people were, from the nature of the country, and their pastoral employment, to traverse extensive tracts exposed to tempests and floods, and to cross rapid torrents, and dangerous precipices, the young Highlander acquired a presence of mind which prepared him for becoming an active and intelligent soldier, particularly in that independent species of warfare practised in the woods of America, and lately so much in use with our light troops, in which men must depend upon their own resources and personal exertions. These habits are not so readily acquired in a level country, where there are few natural obstructions or difficulties, and these few easily surmountable by art.

In Mr Jamieson's excellent edition of Burt's Letters, the following instance

gave a cast of savage ferocity to their character, while their quarrels and hereditary feuds kept them in a state of alarm and disquietude, and obliged them to have recourse to stratagems and intrigues. These naturally gave rise to habits of duplicity, which had a baneful influence on their morals. Whilst a summary and arbitrary course of proceeding was sanctioned by ideas of honour, passion had no check from legal control, and retaliation must have frequently been accompanied by licentious cruelty, and a disregard of all moderation and justice.* To avoid the disorders produced

is given of presence of mind in a Highland lad, who, with a Lowland farmer, was crossing a mountain stream, in a glen, at the upper end of which a waterspout had fallen. The Highlander had reached the opposite bank, but the farmer was looking about and loitering on the stones over which he was stepping, wondering at a sudden noise he heard, when the Highlander cried out, "Help, help, or I am a dead man," and fell to the ground. The farmer sprung to his assistance, and had hardly reached him when the torrent came down, sweeping over the stones, with a fury which no human force could have withstood. The lad had heard the roaring of the stream behind the rocks, which intercepted its view from the farmer, and fearing that he might be panic struck if he told him of his danger, took this expedient to save him. A young man like this might have been trusted on an out-post in front of an enemy; and, possessing such presence of mind, would have been equally capable of executing his own duties, and of observing the movements and intentions of the enemy.

* An old historian has drawn the following picture of the state of Scotland after the murder of James I., and during the minority of his son, James II., under the administration of Livingston of Callander, the governor, and the Lord Chancellor Crichton, the imbecillity of whose government was such as to leave the turbulence of the nobility without control. The strong arm of the law had never been felt in the Highlands, and hence arose the summary modes of avenging private wrongs, to which the people had recourse in the absence of judicial redress. Yet they may be said to have lived in a state of peace and repose, compared with the distractions and turbulence of the south, whenever the laws and the executive authority were for a time suspended. "Through this manner," says the author, "the whole youth of Scotland began to rage in mischief; for as long as there was no man to punish, much herships and slaughter was in the land and boroughs, great cruelty of nobles among themselves, for slaughters, theft, and murder, were there patent; and so continually, day by day, that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and fame that was the greatest brigand, thief, or murderer. But they were the cause of this mischief that were the governors and magistrates of the realm. And this op-

by perpetual strife, a plan was adopted for compensating injuries by a composition in cattle. The amount of the reparation to be made was generally determined by the principal men of the tribes, according to the rank and wealth of the parties, and the nature of the injury. Thus the aggressions of the rich could not escape with impunity; and, complete redress being the object of the arbiters, the composition was considered more honourable, as well as affording greater security against future encroachments, in proportion to the largeness of its amount. These ransoms, or compensations, were called *Erig*.

pression and mischief reigned not only in the south-west parts, but also the men of the Isles invaded sundry parts of Scotland at that time, both by fire and sword, and especially the Lennox was wholly overthrown. Traitors became so proud and insolent, that they burned and herried the country wherever they came, and spared neither old nor young, bairn or wife, but cruelly would burn their houses and them together if they made any obstacles. Thus they raged through the country without any respect either to God or man."

Of the reign of James V. the same author writes, "the King went to the south with 12,000 men, and after this hunting he hanged Johnnie Armstrong, Laird of Kilnocky, over the gate of his castle, and his accomplices, to the number of thirty-six persons, for which many Scotchmen heartily lamented, for he was the most redoubted chieftain that had been for a long time on the borders of Scotland or of England. It is said, that, from the borders to Newcastle, every man of whatsoever estate paid him tribute to be free of his trouble. This being done, the king passed to the Isles, and there held justice courts, and then punished both thief and traitor, according to their deserts; syne brought many of the great men of the Isles captive with him, such as Macconnells, Macleod of the Lewis, Macneils, Maclean, Macintosh, John Muidart, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others that I cannot rehearse at this time, some of them to be put in wards, and some had in courts, and some he took in pledges for good rule in time coming; so he brought the Isles in good rule and peace both north and south, whereby he had great profit, service, and obedience of people a long time thereafter; and as long as he had the heads of the country in subjection, they lived in great peace and rest, and there was great riches and policy by the king's justice." †

† Lindsay of Pitscottie's History of Scotland.

SECTION III.

Devoted obedience of the Clans—Spirit of Independence—Fidelity.

THE chief generally resided among his retainers. His castle was the court where rewards were distributed, and the most enviable distinctions conferred. All disputes were settled by his decision;* and the prosperity or poverty of his tenants depended on his proper or improper treatment of them. These tenants followed his standard in war, attended him in his hunting excursions, supplied his table with the produce of their farms, and assembled to reap his corn, and to prepare and bring home his fuel. They looked up to him as their adviser and their protector. The cadets of his family, respected in proportion to the proximity of the relation in which they stood to him, became a species of sub-chiefs, scattered over different parts of his domains, holding their lands and properties of him, with a sort of subordinate jurisdiction over a portion of his people; and were ever ready to afford him their counsel and assistance in all emergencies.

Great part of the rent of land was paid in kind, and generally consumed where it was produced. One chief was distinguished from another, not by any additional splendour of dress or equipage, but by having a greater number of fol-

* During fifty-five years, in which the late Mr Campbell of Achallader had the charge of Lord Breadalbane's estate, no instance occurred of tenants going to law. Their disputes were referred to the amicable decision of the noble proprietor and his deputy; and as the confidence of the people in the honour and probity of both was unlimited, no man ever dreamed of an appeal from their decision. Admitting even that their judgment might occasionally be erroneous, the advantages of these prompt and final decisions, to a very numerous tenantry, among whom many causes of difference naturally arose from their mixed and minute possessions, were incalculable.

lowers, * by entertaining a greater number of guests, and by the exercise of general hospitality, kindness, and condescension. What his retainers gave from their individual property was spent amongst them in the kindest and most liberal manner. At the castle every individual was made welcome, and was treated according to his station, with a degree of courtesy and regard to his feelings unknown in many other countries. † This condescension, whilst it raised the clansman in his own estimation, and drew closer the ties between him and his superior, seldom tempted him to use any improper familiarities. He believed himself well born, ‡ and was

* Macdonell of Keppoch being questioned as to the amount of his income, "I can call out and command 500 men," was the answer.

† Dr Johnson, noticing this interchange of kindness and affectionate familiarity between the people and their landlords, thus describes a meeting between the young Laird of Coll, (elder brother of the present,) and some of his attached and dutiful retainers:—"Wherever we moved," says the Doctor, "we were pleased to see the reverence with which his subjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dress: his only distinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as soon as he appeared, they forsook their work and clustered round him; he took them by the hand, and they were mutually delighted. He has the proper disposition of a chieftain, and seems desirous to continue the custom of his house. The bagpiper played regularly when dinner was served, whose person and address made a good appearance, and brought no disgrace on the family of Rankin, which has long supplied the Lairds of Coll with hereditary music."—Doctor Johnson's Tour.

‡ This pride of ancestry, when directed as it was among this people, produced very beneficial effects on their character and conduct. It formed strong attachments, led to the performance of laudable and heroic actions, and enabled the poorest Highlander begging his bread to support his hardships without a murmur. Alexander Stewart claimed a descent from one of the first families in the kingdom, and through them from the Kings of Scotland; but being poor and destitute, he went about the country as a privileged beggar. He took no money, nor any thing but a dinner, supper, or night's accommodation, such as a man of his descent might expect on the principles of hospitality. He never complained of bad fare, lodging, or any other privation. Seeing (he said) that one king of his family and name had been assassinated, another had died in a wretched cottage or mill, a queen and a king of the same blood had lost their heads upon the scaffold, and the descendants of these kings, exiles from the country of their fathers, had been supported by the benevolence of strangers; and seeing that eminent men of his blood had endured misfortunes and want

taught to respect himself in the respect which he showed to his chief; and thus, instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering a ready obedience to his chieftain's call as a slavish oppression, he felt convinced that he was supporting his own honour in showing his gratitude and duty to the generous head of his family. "Hence, the Highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried in the outward expression of their manners the politeness of courts without their vices, and in their bosoms the high point of honour without its follies." *

"Nothing," says Mrs Grant, "can be more erroneous than the prevalent idea that a Highland chief was an ignorant and unprincipled tyrant, who rewarded the abject submission of his followers with relentless cruelty and rigorous oppression. If ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was curbed and directed by the elders of his tribe, who, by inviolable custom, were his standing counsellors, without whose advice no measure of any kind was decided." †

But though the sway of the chief was thus mild in prac-

with firmness and resignation,—ought not he to do the same? and would he discredit his honourable descent by unavailing complaints against that Providence which suffered the high as well as the low to be visited by misfortune?

These may be called prejudices, but it were well if all prejudices had a similar effect in making men contented under poverty and destitution; and when such are their effects, perhaps the term prejudice, as usually understood, does not apply.

Alexander Macleod, from the Isle of Skye, was some years ago seized with a fatal illness in Glenorchy, where he died. When he found his end approaching, he earnestly requested that he might be buried in the burying-ground of the principal family of the district, as he was descended from one as ancient, warlike, and honourable; and stated that he could not die in peace if he thought his family would be dishonoured in his person, by his being buried in a mean and improper manner. Although his request could not be complied with, he was buried in a corner of the churchyard, where his grave is preserved in its original state by Dr Macintyre, the venerable pastor of Glenorchy.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

† Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.

tice, it was in its nature arbitrary, and, on proper occasions, was exercised with full severity. There is still to be seen among the papers of the family of Perth, an application from the town of Perth to Lord Drummond, dated in 1707, requesting an occasional use of his Lordship's executioner, who was considered an expert operator. The request was granted, his Lordship reserving to himself the power of recalling him whenever he had occasion for his services. Some time before the year 1745, the Lord President Forbes, travelling from Edinburgh to his seat at Culloden, dined on his way at the Castle of Blair Athole, with the Duke of Atholl. In the course of the evening a petition was delivered to his Grace, which having read, he turned round to the President, and said, "My Lord, here is a petition from a poor man, whom Commissary Bisset, my baron bailie, * has condemned to be hanged; and as he is a clever fellow, and is strongly recommended to mercy, I am much inclined to pardon him." "But your Grace knows," said the President, "that, after condemnation, no man can pardon but his Majesty." "As to that," replied the Duke, "since I have the power of punishing, it is but right that I should have the power to pardon;" and calling upon a servant who was in waiting, "Go," said he, "send an express to Logierait, and order Donald Stewart, presently under sentence, to be instantly set at liberty." †

* A civil officer, to whom the Chief's authority was occasionally delegated.

† The family of Atholl possessed many superiorities in Perthshire; and when they held their courts of regality at Logierait, their followers, to the number of nearly a hundred gentlemen, many of them of great landed property, assembled to assist in council, or as jurymen on such trials as it was necessary to conduct on this principle; and, as these gentlemen were accompanied by many of their own followers and dependants, this great chief appeared like a sovereign, with his parliament and army. Indeed, the whole was no bad emblem of a king and parliament, only substituting a chief and his clan for a king with his peers and commoners. The hall in which the feudal parliament assembled (a noble chamber of better proportions than the British House of Commons), has lately been pulled down; and thus one of the most conspicuous vestiges of the almost regal influence of this powerful family has been destroyed,

Independently of that authority which the chiefs acquired by ancient usage and the weakness of the general government, the lords of regality, and great barons and chiefs, possessed the rights of jurisdiction, both in civil and criminal matters, and either sat in judgment themselves, or appointed judges of their own choice, and dependant upon their authority. Freemen could be tried by none but their peers. The vassals were bound to attend the courts of their chiefs, and, among other things, to assist as jurymen in the trials of delinquents. When they assembled on these occasions, they established among themselves such regulations as, in their opinion, tended to the welfare of the community; and, whenever it became necessary, they voluntarily granted such supplies as they thought the necessity of their superiors required. Their generosity was particularly shown on the marriage of the chief, and in the portioning of his daughters and younger sons. These last, when they settled in life, frequently found themselves supplied with the essential necessaries of a family, and particularly with a stock of cattle, which, in those patriarchal days, constituted the principal riches of the country. *

The laws which the chief had to administer were extremely simple. Indeed, his sway was chiefly paternal. Reverence for his authority, and gratitude for his protection, which was generally extended to shield the rights of his clansmen against the aggression of strangers, were the

and many recollections of the power and dignity to which it owed its foundation obliterated.

* The above information I received from several old gentlemen who remembered the practice. These were intelligent persons, much habituated to conversation, faithful in recollection, and clear in the communication of their knowledge, from having been chroniclers of what to them was of the greatest importance,—the history, the policy, the biography, and the character of their ancestors and contemporaries. To a common observer, no part of their communication would have appeared more extraordinary than the control exercised by the Elders or Seniors of the clan or district, the ready obedience yielded to their judgment and remonstrance, and the firmness and independence of sagacious peasants, in setting effective limits to arbitrary power.

natural result of his patriarchal rule. This constituted an efficient control, without many examples of severity. At the same time, the mutual dependence of the clansmen on one another, and their frequent meetings for consulting on their common interests, or for repelling common danger, tended to produce and cherish the social and domestic virtues, together with that ease and familiarity which, when well regulated, prove a source of much endearment, and render it necessary for every individual to cultivate a corresponding spirit of civility and complaisance. These manners and dispositions, both of the people and their superiors, furnish a ready explanation of the zeal with which the former followed their chiefs, protected their persons, and supported the honour of their country and name. In the battle of Inverkeithing, between the Royalists and Oliver Cromwell's troops, five hundred of the followers of the Laird of M'Lean were left dead on the field. In the heat of the conflict, seven brothers of the clan sacrificed their lives in defence of their leader, Sir Hector Maclean. Being hard pressed by the enemy, he was supported and covered from their attacks by these intrepid men; and as one brother fell, another came up in succession to cover him, crying "Another for Hector." This phrase has continued ever since as a proverb or watch-word when a man encounters any sudden danger that requires instant succour.

The late James Menzies of Culdares, having engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and been taken at Preston in Lancashire, was carried to London, where he was tried and condemned, but afterwards reprived.* Grateful for this cle-

* Two brothers of Culdares were taken prisoners at the same time, and sent to Carlisle Castle. After a confinement of some months they were released, in consideration of their youth and inexperience; and immediately set off to London to visit their brother, then under sentence of death. Being handsome young men, with fresh complexions, they disguised themselves in women's clothes, and pretending to be Mr Menzies's sisters, were admitted to visit him in prison. They then proposed that one of them should exchange clothes with

mency, he remained at home in 1745, but, retaining a predilection for the old cause, he sent a handsome charger as a present to Prince Charles when advancing through England. The servant who led and delivered the horse was taken prisoner, and carried to Carlisle, where he was tried and condemned. To extort a discovery of the person who sent the horse, threats of immediate execution in case of refusal, and offers of pardon on his giving information, were held out ineffectually to the faithful messenger. He knew, he said, what the consequence of a disclosure would be to his master, and his own life was nothing in the comparison. When brought out for execution, he was again pressed to inform on his master. He asked if they were serious in supposing him such a villain. If he did what they desired, and forgot his master and his trust, he could not return to his native country, for Glenlyon would be no home or country for him, as he would be despised and hunted out of the Glen. Accordingly, he kept steady to his trust, and was executed. This trusty servant's name was John Macnaughton, from Glenlyon in Perthshire; he deserves to be mentioned,* both on account of his incorruptible fidelity,

their brother, and that he should escape in this disguise. But this he peremptorily refused, on the ground that, after the lenity shown them, it would be most ungrateful to engage in such an affair; which, besides, might be productive of unpleasant consequences to the young man who proposed to remain in prison, particularly as he was so lately under a charge of treason and rebellion. They were obliged to take, what they believed to be, their last farewell of their brother, whose firmness of mind, and sense of honour, the immediate prospect of death could not shake. However, he soon met with his reward: he received an unconditional pardon, returned to Scotland along with his brothers, and lived sixty years afterwards in his native glen,—an honourable specimen of an old Highland Patriarch, beloved by his own people, and respected by all within the range of his acquaintance. He died in 1776.

* A picture of Prince Charles, mounted on this horse, is in my possession, being a legacy from the daughter of Mr Menzies. A brother of Macnaughton lived for many years on the estate of Garth, and died in 1790. He always went about armed, at least so far armed, that when debarred wearing a sword or dirk, he slung a large knife in his belt. He was one of the last I recollect of the ancient race, and gave a very favourable impression of their general

and of his testimony to the honourable principles of the people, and to their detestation of a breach of trust to a kind and honourable master, however great might be the risk, or however fatal the consequences to the individual himself.

manner and appearance. By trade he was a smith; and although of the lowest order of the people, he walked about with an air and manner that might have become a Field-Marshal. He spoke with great force and fluency of language, and, although most respectful to those to whom he thought respect due, he had an appearance of independence and ease, that strangers, ignorant of the language and character of the people, might have supposed to proceed from impudence. As he always carried arms when legally permitted, so he showed on one occasion that he knew how to handle them. When the Black Watch was quartered on the banks of the rivers Tay and Lyon in 1741, an affray arose between a few of the soldiers and some of the people at a fair at Kenmore. Some of the Breadalbane men took the part of the soldiers, and, as many were armed, swords were quickly drawn, and one of the former killed; when their opponents, with whom was Macnaughton, and a smith, (to whom he was then an apprentice,) retreated and fled to the ferry-boat across the Tay. There was no bridge, and the ferryman seeing the fray, chained his boat. Macnaughton was the first at the river side, and leaping into the boat, followed by his master the smith, with a single stroke of his broadsword he cut the chain, and crossing the river, fixed the boat on the opposite side,—and thus prevented an immediate pursuit. Indeed, no further steps were taken. The Earl of Breadalbane, who was then at Taymouth, was immediately sent for. On inquiry, he found that the whole had originated from an accidental reflection thrown out by a soldier of one of the Argyle companies against the Atholemen, then supposed to be Jacobites, and that it was difficult to ascertain who gave the fatal blow. The man who was killed was an old warrior of nearly eighty years of age. He had been with Lord Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon, at the battle of Sheriffmuir; and, as his side lost their cause, he swore never to shave again. He kept his word, and as his beard grew till it reached his girdle, he got the name of Padric na Phaisaig, "Peter with the Beard." Lachlan Maclean, presently living near Tay bridge, in his ninety-fifth year, and in perfect possession of all his faculties, was present at this affray.

This intelligent old man died since the publication of the former editions, in his ninety-seventh year, and, as is very common with men of his strength of constitution, preserved his faculties to his last hour. I happened to call upon him a week previous to his death. He was then in perfect health, and, besides repeating the above story and some others with his usual accuracy, he recited several portions of Ossian's poems with remarkable spirit and animation, warming as he proceeded in his recitation.

For the further exemplification of this attachment of Highlanders to their superiors, I may refer to the celerity with which regiments were raised by them, even in more peaceable times, when the spirit of clanship had been considerably broken, and the feudal tenures in a great measure dissolved. Of this some remarkable instances will be found in the history of the Highland regiments. We have innumerable examples, too, of the force of that disinterested fidelity which, till a very recent period, spurred on the Highlanders to follow their chieftains to the cannon's mouth, and produced displays of national feeling and intrepidity, which have procured for them a name and character not to be soon forgotten. The promptitude and zeal with which they formerly adopted the quarrels of their chiefs, and obeyed the slightest signal for action, are described in the following verses with an ardour and rapidity which present as lively and graphical a picture as words can convey.

" He whistled shrill,
And he was answered from the hill;
Wild as the scream of the curlew
From crag to crag the signal flew;
Instant thro' copse and heath arose
Bonnets and spears and bended bows,
On right, on left, above, below,
Sprung up at once the lurking foe;
From shingles green the lances start,
The bracken bush sends forth the dart,
The rushes and the willow wand
Are bristling into axe and brand,
And every tuft of broom gives life
To plaided warriors, armed for strife.
That whistle garrisoned the glen
With full four hundred fighting men,
As if the yawning hill to heaven
A subterranean host had given.
Watching their leaders' beck and will,
All silent then they stood, and still,
Like the loose crags, whose threatening mass,
Long tottering o'er the hollow pass,
As if an infant's touch could urge
Their headlong passage down the verge;

With step and weapon forward flung,
Upon the mountains' sides they hung." *

Yet the strength of this attachment and zeal did not extinguish the proper sense of independence. In some instances they even proceeded so far as to depose such chiefs as had degraded their name and family, or were unfit for their situations, transferring their allegiance to the next in succession, if more deserving. This happened in the case of the families of Macdonald of Clanranald and Macdonell of Keppoch. Two chiefs were deposed and set aside. The rejected chief of the former clan was killed, without issue, in an attempt to preserve his estate and authority; † the descendants of the latter are still in existence. But, even when they did not resort to such severe measures, their chiefs were often successfully opposed. ‡

* Lady of the Lake.

It may be thought absurd to quote a poetical description to authenticate a well-known fact. That, however, being established, the poetical description is merely introduced, because the delineation is perfect, and the ardour and rapidity of the diction present a livelier picture of what actually existed, than any other words can convey. The poet displays consummate judgment in seizing, for the purpose of description, a circumstance in the highest degree picturesque and poetical.

† The rejected chief of Clanranald was supported by his friend and brother chief Lord Lovat, and the clan Fraser. As was usual in those times, the question was decided by the sword. The strength of both sides being mustered, a desperate conflict ensued, and the Macdonalds confirmed their independence by victory. The hereditary chief was killed, together with his friend Lord Lovat, and a great number of followers of each party. The next in succession considered as more deserving, was appointed to head the clan. In this battle, which took place in July 1544, the combatants threw off their jackets and vests, and fought in their shirts. From this circumstance it has been called *Blar na Lein*, the "Battle of the Shirts."

‡ A son of a former Laird of Grant, known in tradition by the name of Laird Humphry, presented, in his conduct and fate, a striking illustration of the power occasionally exerted by the Elders of a clan. He was, in some respects, what the Highlanders admire,—handsome, courageous, open-hearted, and open-handed. But, by the indulgence of a weak and fond father, and the influence of violent and unrestrained passions, he became licentious and depraved, lost all respect for his father, and used to go about with a number of idle young men

About the year 1460, the head of the family of Stewart of Garth was not only deprived of his authority by his friends and kindred, but confined for life on account of his ungovernable passions and ferocious disposition. The cell in the Castle of Garth in which he was imprisoned, was till lately regarded by the people with a kind of superstitious terror. This petty tyrant was nicknamed the "*Fierce Wolf*;" perhaps from his being a character similar to that of his immediate predecessor Alaster Mor Mac in Rhi, the "Wolf of Badenoch," noticed in page 25; and if the traditionary stories related of him have any claim to belief, the appellation was both deserved and characteristic.

The clan M'Kenzie possessed such influence over their chief, the Earl of Seaforth, that they prevented him from demolishing Brahan Castle, the principal seat of the family. Some time previous to the year 1570 the Laird of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Earl of Breadalbane, resolved to build a castle on a small knoll, high upon the side of Lochtay, and accordingly laid the foundation, which is still to be seen.* This situation was not agreeable to his advisers, who interfered, and induced him to change his plan, and build the Castle of Balloch, or Taymouth. It must be confessed that the clan showed more taste than the Laird in fixing on a situation for the family mansion. †

trained up to unbounded licentiousness. These dissolute youths visited in families, remained until every thing was consumed, and after every kind of riotous insult, removed to treat another in the same manner, till they became the pest and annoyance of the whole country. Laird Humphry had, in the meantime, incurred many heavy debts. The Elders of the clan bought up these debts, which gave them full power over him; they then put him in prison in Elgin, where they kept him during the remainder of his life, leaving the management of the estate in the hands of his younger brother. The debts were made a pretext for confining him, the Elders not choosing to accuse him of various crimes of which he had been guilty, and the consciousness of which made him submit more quietly to the restraint,

* At a short distance from the present hermitage at Taymouth.

† This fact vindicates the taste of the chief from the reflections thrown out against it by all tourists, pretending to that faculty, who have uniformly blam-

In this manner it required much kindness and condescension on the part of the chief to maintain his influence with his clan, who all expected to be treated with the affability and courtesy due to gentlemen. "And as the meanest among them," says the author of the Letters before mentioned, "pretended to be his relations by consanguinity, they insisted on the privilege of taking him by the hand wherever they met him. Concerning this last (he adds) I once saw a number of very discontented countenances, when a certain Lord, one of the chiefs, endeavoured to evade this ceremony. It was in the presence of an English gentleman, of high station, from whom he would willingly have concealed the knowledge of such seeming familiarity with slaves of wretched appearance; and thinking it, I suppose

ed his choice of so low a situation. His memory would have escaped these reflections, had it been known that the choice was made in due respect to the will of the "Sovereign people," who said, that if he built his castle on the edge of his estate, which was the site they proposed, his successors must of necessity exert themselves to extend their property eastward among the Mensies's and Stewarts of Athole. This extension, however, was slow, for it was not till one hundred and seventy years afterwards, that the late Lord Breadalbane got possession of the lands close to Taymouth. But the present Earl has fulfilled the expectations of his ancient clan, by extending his estate eight miles to the eastward. Previous to this extension, so circumscribed was Lord Breadalbane, that the pleasure-grounds on the north bank of the Tay, as well as those to the eastward of the castle, were the property of gentlemen of the name of Menzies.

The son of Sir Colin Campbell, who built the Castle of Taymouth, possessed seven castles, viz. Balloch or Taymouth, Finlarig, Edinample, Lochdochart, Culchurn, Achallader, and Barcaldine. Except Lochdochart, these were handsome edifices, and gave the name of Donach na Castail, or "Duncan of the Castles," to Sir Duncan Campbell, the Laird of Glenorchy and first Baronet of the family. He was also distinguished by the name of Duncan Dhu na curic, from his dark complexion, and the cap or cowl he constantly wore, instead of the bonnet, to which only the eyes of the people were in those days accustomed. His picture, now in Taymouth, painted by Jamieson, the Scottish Vandyke, represents him in this black cap. He was a liberal patron of this artist, the most eminent of his day in Scotland. There are several specimens of his art in Taymouth. Sir Duncan Campbell also planted and laid out several of these noble avenues at Taymouth and Finlarig, which are now so ornamental, and show to how great a size trees grow even in those elevated glens.

a kind of contradiction to what he had often boasted at other times, viz. his despotic power in his clan."

This condescension on the part of the chiefs gave a feeling of self-respect to the people, and contributed to produce that honourable principle of fidelity to superiors and to their trust which I have already noticed, and which was so generally and so forcibly imbibed, that the man who betrayed his trust was considered unworthy of the name which he bore, or of the kindred to which he belonged. This interesting feature in the character of the Scotch Mountaineers is well known; but it may be gratifying to notice a few more examples of the exercise of such an honourable principle amongst a race which has often been considered as ferocious and uncivilized.

Honour and firmness sufficient to withstand temptation may in general be expected in the higher classes of society; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion and heroism not often displayed even in the best societies. All who are acquainted with the events of the unhappy insurrection of 1745, must have heard of a young gentleman of the name of M'Kenzie, who had so remarkable a resemblance to Prince Charles Stuart, as to give rise to the mistake to which he cheerfully sacrificed his life, continuing the heroic deception to the last, and exclaiming, with his expiring breath, "Villains, you have killed your Prince!" Such an instance of heroic devotion would perhaps appear extravagant even in poetry or romance. *

* The similarity of personal appearance was said to be quite remarkable. The young gentleman was sensible of this, and at different times endeavoured to divert the attention of the troops in pursuit of the fugitive prince to an opposite quarter of the mountains to that in which he knew Charles Edward was concealed after the battle of Culloden. This he effected by showing his person in such a way as that he could be seen, and then escaping by the passes or woods, through which he could not be quickly followed. On one occasion, he unexpectedly met with a party of troops, and immediately retired, intimating by his manner as he fled, that he was the object of their search; but his usual good fortune forsook him. The soldiers pursued with eagerness, anxious to secure the promised reward of L.30,000. Mackenzie was overtaken and

The late Macpherson of Cluny, father of Colonel Macpherson, chief of that clan, was engaged in the rebellion of 1745. * His life was, of course, forfeited to the laws, and much diligence was exerted to bring him to justice. But neither the hope of reward, nor the fear of danger, could induce any one of his people to betray him, or to remit their faithful services. He lived for nine years chiefly in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which was burnt to the ground by the king's troops. This cave was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, in order that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time had slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of one hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of L.1000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and, as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties occasionally marching into the country, to intimidate †

shot, exclaiming, as he fell, in the words noticed above; and it was not till the head was produced at the next garrison, for the purpose of claiming the reward, that the mistake was discovered.

* It is honourable to the memory of a respectable lady to record the circumstances of Cluny's defection, which exaggerated his faults in the eyes of government, and furnished a motive for pursuing him with more determined hostility. He was, in that year, appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to government. His clan were, however, impatient to join the adventurous descendant of their ancient sovereigns, when he came to claim what they supposed his right. While he hesitated between duty and inclination, his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, and a staunch Jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath, assuring him that nothing could end well that began with perjury. His friends reproached her with interfering, and hurried on the husband to his ruin.

† The late Sir Hector Munro, then a lieutenant in the 34th regiment, and, from his zeal, and knowledge of the country and the people, intrusted with the command of a large party, continued two whole years in Badenoch, for the

his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment. But though the soldiers were animated with the hope of the reward, and though a step of promotion to the officer who should apprehend him was superadded, yet so true were his people, so strict to their promise of secrecy, * and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. At length, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year.

It would be endless to adduce particular examples of fidelity often tried and never found to fail, in periods of the greatest civil commotion, when the interests and feelings of men were so often opposed to their duties, and when the whole frame of society was shattered by the contending factions. After the troubles of 1715 and 1745, although many thousands were forced to flee from their houses, and conceal themselves from the vengeance of government, very few instances of treachery occurred. The only persons who, on these occasions, sacrificed their honour to their interests,

purpose of discovering the chief's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the clan could alone have saved him from the diligence of this party. At night Cluny came from his retreat to vary the monotony of his existence, by spending a few of the dark hours convivially with his friends. On one occasion, he had been suspected, and got out by a back window just as the military were breaking open the door. At another time, seeing the windows of a house kept close, and several persons going to visit the family after dark, the commander broke in at the window of the suspected chamber, with two loaded pistols, and thus endangered the life of a lady newly delivered of a child, on account of whose confinement these suspicious circumstances had taken place. This shows that there was no want of diligence on the part of the pursuers. Cluny himself became so cautious, while living the life of an outlaw, that, on parting with his wife, or his most attached friends, he never told them to which of his concealments he was going, or suffered any one to accompany him;—thus enabling them, when questioned, to answer, that they knew not where he was.

* In a character of the Highlanders, drawn near 300 years ago, the author says, "As to their faith and promise, they hold it with great constancie."

were some renegade Highlanders, who, having abjured their country, had lost along with it all its characteristic principles. This general feeling of honour, and standard of public virtue in the country, formed the surest pledge of the conduct of individuals. Of the many who knew of Prince Charles's places of concealment, was one poor man, who being asked why he did not give information, and enrich himself by the reward of L.30,000, answered, "Of what use would the money be to me? A gentleman might take it, and go to London or Edinburgh, where he would find plenty of people to eat the dinners, and drink the wine which it would purchase; but, as for me, if I were such a villain as to commit a crime like this, I could not remain in my own country, where nobody would speak to me, but to curse me as I passed along the road." No prohibitory law, no penal enactment, or abstract rule of morality, could have operated so powerfully on the mind, as a feeling of this sort. *

* In those times of strife and trouble, instances that would fill a volume might be given of fidelity and unbroken faith. The following will show that this honourable feeling was common amongst the lowest and most ignorant. In the years 1746 and 1747, some of the gentlemen "*who had been out*" in the rebellion, were occasionally concealed in a deep woody den near my grandfather's house. A poor half-witted creature, brought up about the house, was, along with many others, intrusted with the secret of their concealment, and employed in supplying them with necessaries. It was supposed that when the troops came round on their usual searches, they would not imagine that he could be intrusted with so important a secret, and, consequently, no questions would be asked. One day two ladies, friends of the gentlemen, wished to visit them in their cave, and asked Jamie Forbes to show them the way. Seeing that they came from the house, and judging from their manner that they were friends, he did not object to their request, and walked away before them. When they had proceeded a short way, one of the ladies offered him five shillings. The instant he saw the money, he put his hands behind his back, and seemed to lose all recollection. "He did not know what they wanted;—he never saw the gentlemen, and knew nothing of them," and turning away, walked in a quite contrary direction. When questioned afterwards why he ran away from the ladies, he answered, that when they had offered him such a sum (five shillings were of some value eighty years ago, and would have purchased two sheep in the Highlands), he suspected they had no good intention, and that their fine clothes and fair words were meant to entrap him into a disclosure of the gentlemens' retreat.

This sensibility to dishonour among their kindred and neighbours, guided and controlled the conduct of many, whose principles in other respects were not unimpeachable. In September 1746, Prince Charles Edward lay two days without food in the mountains of Lochaber. The inhabited parts of the country were full of troops, and Charles having moved to some distance from the place he had agreed on with his friends, they knew not where to send him supplies. In this extremity, he proposed to ask assistance from some men whom they had observed in the morning going into a hut or cave a short way from the place where he then was. He had only two attendants, Macdonell of Lochgarry, and an Irishman. The latter urged him not to trust men of their suspicious appearance; but he answered, that he had often reposed confidence in similar circumstances, and never had cause to repent it, and that he would now put these men to the proof. He then proceeded to the hut, and, on entering, found six men sitting round a stone, on which was placed a wooden plate with a piece of beef for their dinner.

The men, struck by his tall figure and appearance, with an old bonnet and a plaid flung across his shoulders, started up at his entrance, when one of them, who at once recognised him, cried out, "Oh Dougal Mahony," (pretending he knew him as one of the Prince's Irish followers,) "I am happy you are come so opportunely; sit down and take a share of our beef; I wish your master Prince Charles had as good." After they had dined, the Highlander led the Prince out of sight of his companions, and, throwing himself on his knees, begged pardon in the humblest manner for the freedom he had taken in addressing him as an Irishman; which, he stated, he did, because he knew not whether the Prince might desire to trust his companions. Charles answered, that he had no desire to conceal himself from them; however, the Highlander, more cautious, went and spoke to each of the men separately, informing them who their guest was, and that he expected they would be faithful to him. The instant every man was informed, he

flew with eagerness to the Prince, and assured him that no reward, not all the kingdom of Scotland could give, would induce them to betray him,—a crime which would render them infamous, banish them for ever from their native country, and cause them to be disowned by their kindred and friends. *

The implied punishment of treachery was a kind of outlawry or banishment from the beloved society, in which affection and good opinion were of such vital importance. Whilst the love of country and kindred, and dread of the infamy which inevitably followed treachery, acted thus powerfully, the superstitions of the people confirmed the one and strengthened the other. A noted freebooter, John Du Cameron, † or the Sergeant Mor, as he was called, was apprehended by a party of Lieutenant Hector Monro's detachment, which had been removed from Badenoch to Ramnoch in the year 1753. It was generally believed in the country, that this man was betrayed by a false friend, to whose house he had resorted for shelter in severe weather. The truth of this allegation, however, was never fully established. But the supposed treacherous friend was heartily despised; and having lost all his property by various misfortunes, he left the country in extreme poverty, although he rented from government a farm on advantageous terms, on the forfeited estate of Strowan. The favour shown him by government gave a degree of confirmation to the suspicions raised against him; and the firm belief of the people to this day is, that his misfortunes were a just judgment upon him for his breach of trust towards a person who had, without suspicion, reposed confidence in him.

Such were the principles which, without the restraints of

* He remained some time with these men, who supplied him with all the comforts they could command, and, among other things, plundered an officer's baggage to procure him a change of linen,—a luxury to which he had for some time been a stranger. This robbery made a noise at the time, and was frequently mentioned as an instance of the thievish disposition of the Highlanders.

† See Appendix, H.

law, gave a kind of chivalrous tone to the feelings of the people, and combined cordial affection and obedience to superiors, with that spirit of independence which disdained to yield submission to the unworthy. I have already noticed instances of the deposition of worthless chiefs:—the following is a remarkable one of the desertion of a chief by his people. Powerful in point of influence and property, neither the one nor the other was able to act on his followers in opposition to what they considered their loyalty and duty to an unfortunate monarch. In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Atholl, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were, in reality, assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and, filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; and then, with colours flying, and pipes playing, "fifteen hundred of the men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom,"* put themselves under the command of the Laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery, and heroic and daring exploits, had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose.† They knew him not as the "Bloody Clavers" of the southern and western districts; on the contrary, to the Highlanders, he was always kind and condescending. Soon after this defection, the battle of Killicrankie, or of Renrorie, (as the Highlanders call it), was fought, when one of those incidents occurred which were too frequent in turbu-

* General Mackay's Memoirs.

† In this instance, the paramount principle of loyalty triumphed over feudal influence.

lent times. Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, with his clan, had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated king, while his second son, a captain in the Scotch Fusileers, was under General Mackay on the side of government. As the General was reconnoitring the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill, a little above the house of Urrard, and to the westward of the great Pass, he turned round to young Cameron, who stood next to him, and, pointing to the Camerons, "There," said he, "is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied the other, "what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so it happened. Dundee delayed his attack "till," according to an eyewitness, "the sun's going down, when the Highlandmen advanced on us like madmen, without shoes or stockings, covering themselves from our fire with their targets. At last they cast away their muskets, drew their broadswords, and advanced furiously upon us, broke us, and obliged us to retreat; some fled to the water, some another way."* In short, the charge was like a torrent, and the route complete; but Dundee fell early in the attack.† The consternation occasioned by the death of the General pre-

* The author of the Memoirs of Lord Dundee, speaking of this battle, says, "Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in with sword, target, and pistol, upon the enemy, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe, as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breast; others had skulls cut off above their ears, like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

† It has generally been believed that Lord Dundee was killed at the close of the action; but the following extract of a letter from James VII. to Stewart of Ballechin, who commanded the Atholemen after their desertion from Lord Tullibardine, shows that he fell early.

vented an immediate pursuit through the great Pass. Had they been closely followed, and had a few men been placed at the southern entrance, not a man of the king's troops would have escaped. This uninterrupted retreat caused General Mackay to conclude, that some misfortune had befallen Lord Dundee. "Certainly," said he, "Dundee has been killed, or I should not thus be permitted to retreat."

The 21st, or Scotch Fusileers, was on the left of General Mackay's front line, Hastings' and Leslie's (now the 13th and 15th) regiments in the centre, and Lord Leven's (now the 25th) on the right; the whole consisting of two regiments of cavalry, and nine battalions or detachments of infantry, the strength of which is not particularly specified. After the right of the line had given way, the regiments on the centre and left (the left being covered by the river Garry, and the right by a woody precipice below the House of Ur-

"James R. "*From our Court at Dublin Castle, the last day of November* 1689, *and the fifth year of our reign.*

"The news we have received of the brave Viscount Dundee's death has most sincerely affected us. But we are resolved, by extraordinary marks of favour, to make his family conspicuous, when the world may see lasting honours and happiness are to be acquired by the brave and loyal. What he has so happily begun, and you so successfully maintained, by a thorough defeat of your enemies, we shall not doubt a generous prosecution of, when we consider that the Highland loyalty is inseparably annexed to the persons of their kings: Nor no ways fear the event, whilst the justice of our cause shall be seconded by so many bold and daring assertors of our royal right. If their courage and yours, and the rest of the commanders under you, were not steady, the loss you had in a General you loved and confided in, *at your entrance into action*, with so great inequality of numbers, were enough to baffle you; but you have showed yourselves above surprise, and given us proof that we are, in a great measure, *like to owe the re-establishment of our monarchy to your valour.* We are therefore resolved to send immediately our Right Trusty the Earl of Seaforth, to head his friends and followers; and as soon as the season will permit the shipping of horse, our beloved natural son, the Duke of Berwick, with considerable succours, will be sent to your assistance." * * * *

Addressed "To our Trusty and well beloved Cousin, Stewart of Ballechan,"

rard) stood their ground, and for a short time withstood the shock of the Highlanders' charge with the broadsword; but at length they gave way on all sides. Hastings' fled through the pass on the north side. The Fusileers, dashing across the river, were followed by the Highlanders, one party of whom pressed on their rear, while the others climbed up the hills on the side of the pass, and, having expended their ammunition, rolled down stones, and killed several of the soldiers before they recrossed the river at Invergarry. This was the only attempt to pursue. *

* In this battle Lochiel was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and, turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lochiel, that seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. This is a species of duty perhaps not often practised by aid-de-camps.

SECTION IV.

Arms of the Clans.

In attempting to explain how a people living within their mountains, in an uncultivated and sequestered corner of a country, should, as warriors, prove a ready and efficient support to their friends, and formidable to their enemies, it may be proper, first of all, to describe their arms. These consisted of a broadsword girded on the left side, and a dirk, or short thick dagger, on the right, used only when the combat was so close that the sword could be of no service. * In ancient times they also carried a small short-handled hatchet, or axe, to be used when they closed upon the enemy. A gun, a pair of pistols, and a target, completed their armour. † In absence of the musket, or when short of ammunition, they used the Lochaber axe, a species of long lance, or pike, with a formidable weapon at the end of it, adapted either for cutting or stabbing. This lance had been almost laid aside since the introduction of the musket; but a ready substitute was found, by fixing a scythe at the end of a pole, with which the Highlanders resisted the charge of cavalry, to them the most formidable kind of attack. In 1745 many of the rebels were armed in this manner, till they supplied themselves with muskets after the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk. Thus, the Highlanders united the offensive arms of the moderns with the de-

* See Appendix, I.

† Rea, in the History of the Rebellion of 1715, describing the march of a party along the side of Lochlomond, says, "That night they arrived at Luss, where they were joined by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, and James Grant of Pluscarden, his son-in-law, followed by forty or fifty stately fellows in their hose and belted plaids, armed each of them with a well-fixed gun on their shoulders, a strong handsome target, with a sharp pointed steel, of about half an ell in length screwed into the navel of it, on his arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk and knife in his belt."

fensive arms of the ancients. Latterly, the bow and arrow * seem to have been but rarely used. This is the more remarkable, as these weapons are peculiarly adapted to that species of hunting which was their favourite amusement; I allude to the hunting of deer, or what is commonly called "deer-stalking," where the great art consists in approaching the animal unobserved, and in wounding him without disturbing the herd. It is evident that the use of the bow and arrow must have ceased long before the disarming act, as we find in it no mention made of them, nor do we learn that the Highlanders ever availed themselves of the omission.

In addition to the weapons already mentioned, gentlemen frequently wore suits of armour, and coats of mail. With these, however, the common men seldom encumbered themselves, both on account of the expense, and because they were ill adapted to the hills and steeps of their country, and to their frequent, long, and expeditious marches.

Thus armed, the Highlanders were arrayed for battle, in that order which was best calculated to excite a spirit of emulation. Every clan was drawn up as a regiment, and the companies in every regiment were formed of the tribes or families of the clan. The regiments, thus composed, were under the control of the head or chief of the whole, while the smaller divisions were under the immediate command of the chieftains of whose families they were descended, or of those who, from their property, assumed the feudal rights of chieftainship. Thus, the Athole Brigade, which was sometimes so numerous as to form two, three, or more regiments, was always commanded by the head of the family of Atholl, in person, or by a son or friend in his stead. At the beginning of the last century, as we learn from the Lockhart Papers, "the Duke of Atholl was of great importance to the party of the Cavaliers, being able to raise 6000 of the best men in the kingdom, well armed, and ready to sacrifice their all for the king's service."

* See Appendix, K.

In 1707, his Grace took the field, with 7000 men of his own followers, and others whom he could influence, to oppose the Union with England.* With this force he marched to Perth, in the expectation of being joined by the Duke of Hamilton, and other noblemen and gentlemen of the South; but as they did not move, he proceeded no farther, and, disbanding his men, returned to the Highlands. In 1715, the Atholemen were commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, and in 1745, by his brother, Lord George Murray; but the smaller divisions and tribes were under the command of gentlemen, who had the entire direction of their own followers, yielding obedience to the superior only in general movements. In consequence of this arrangement, each individual was under the immediate eye of those he loved and feared. His clansmen and kindred were the witnesses of his conduct, and ready either to applaud his bravery, reproach his cowardice, or observe any failure of duty.

Before commencing the attack, they frequently put off their jackets and shoes, that their movements might not be impeded. Their advance to battle was a kind of trot, such as is now, in our light infantry discipline, called double-quick marching. When they had advanced within a few yards of the enemy, they poured in a volley of musketry,

* A friend of mine, the late Mr Stewart of Crossmount, carried arms on that occasion, of which he used to speak with great animation. He died in January 1791, at the age of 104, having been previously in perfect possession of all his faculties, and in such full habit of body, that his leg continued as well formed and compact as at forty. He had a new tooth at the age of ninety-six. Mrs Stewart, to whom he had been married nearly seventy years, died on the Tuesday preceding his death. He was then in perfect health, and sent to request that my father, who lived some miles distant, would come to him. When he arrived the old man desired that the funeral should not take place for eight days, saying, that he had now out-lived his oldest earthly friend, and prayed sincerely that he might be laid in the same grave. He kept his bed the second morning after her death, and died the following day, without pain or complaint. They were buried in the same grave on the succeeding Tuesday, according to his wish.

which, from the short distance, and their constant practice as marksmen, was generally very effective; then dropping their muskets, they dashed forward sword in hand, reserving their pistols and dirks for close action. "To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the same thing, because, in close engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops would withstand them." * When they closed with the enemy, they received the points of the bayonets on their targets; and thrusting them aside, resorted to their pistols and dirks, to complete the impression made by the musket and broadsword. It was in this manner that the Athole Highlanders and the Camerons, who were on the right of Prince Charles Edward's followers at Culloden, charged the left wing of the royal army. After breaking through Barrell's and Munroe's (the 4th and 37th regiments), which formed the left of the royal army, they pushed forward to charge the second line, composed of Bligh's and Semple's (the 20th and 25th regiments). Here their impetuosity met an effectual check, by the fire of those corps, when they came within a few yards, and still more by Wolfe's (the 8th foot), and Cobham's and Lord Mark Kerr's (the 10th and 11th Light Dragoons), who had formed *en potence* on their right flank, and poured in a most destructive fire along their whole line. At the same moment they were taken in rear by the Argyle, and some companies of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, who had advanced in that direction, and had broken down an old wall that covered the right of the rebels. By this combination of attacks in front, right flank, and rear, they were forced to give up the contest, and to charge back again, sword in hand, through those who had advanced and formed on the ground they had passed over in charging to their front. In this desperate conflict they left half their number dead on the field. The same kind of charge was made by the Stewarts of Appin, Frasers, and Mackintoshes upon the regiments in their front. These were the Scotch

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

Fusileers and Ligonier's (the 21st and 48th regiments,) which they drove back upon the second line, but, being unable to penetrate, numbers were cut down at the mouths of the cannon, before they gave up the contest.* The Reverend Dr Shaw, in his manuscript History of the Rebellion,

* Home in his History of the Rebellion, says that the "Athole brigade, in advancing, lost thirty-two officers, and was so shattered that it stopped short, and never closed with the king's troops." The Athole brigade had not so many officers in the field; nineteen officers were killed, and four wounded. Many gentlemen who served in the ranks were killed, which might occasion the mistake. I have conversed with several who were in the battle, and among others, with one gentleman still alive (1821) in my neighbourhood, all of whom differed from Mr Home's account.

Mr Home, during some years, spent part of every summer in the Highlands, ostensibly for the benefit of his health and for amusement, but actually in collecting materials for his history. The respectability of his character, and the sauvity of his manners, procured him everywhere a good reception. But his visits were principally made to Jacobite families, to whom the secret history of those times was familiar. They told him all they knew with the most unreserved confidence; and nothing could exceed their disappointment when the history appeared, and proved to be a dry detail of facts universally known, while the rich store of authentic and interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the history of the times, and of the peculiar features of the Highland character, with which they had furnished him, had been neglected or concealed, from an absurd dread of giving offence to the Royal Family by a disclosure of the cruelties wantonly practised, or by relating circumstances creditable to the feelings and character of the unfortunate sufferers. It is now very well known with what generous sympathy the late King viewed the sacrifice to mistaken loyalty, and the countenance and protection which he afforded to such individuals as lived to see him on the throne, and which he extended to their descendants. It is equally well known that there is not one individual in his family who would not listen with deep interest to the details of the chivalrous loyalty, the honourable sacrifices, and the sufferings sustained with patience and fortitude by those who are long since gone to their account, and who are no more objects of dislike or hostility to them than Hector or King Priam.

The only way in which the meagreness of this long meditated history can possibly be accounted for, in reference to the high name of the author, and the expectations entertained by the public, is the circumstance of an accident which befel Mr Home a few years before the publication of this work. In travelling through Ross-shire, his carriage was overturned, and he received a severe contusion on the head, which had such an effect upon his nerves, that both his memory and judgment were very considerably affected ever after.

says, " The enemy's attack on the left wing of the royal army was made with a view to break that wing, to run it into disorder, and then to communicate the disorder to the whole army. This could not easily be effected, when a second and third line were ready to sustain the first. But it must be owned the attack was made with the greatest courage, order, and bravery, amidst the hottest fire of small arms, and continued fire of cannon with grape-shot, on their flanks, front, and rear. They ran in upon the points of the bayonets, hewed down the soldiers with their broad-swords, drove them back, put them into disorder, and possessed themselves of two pieces of cannon. The rebels' left wing did not sustain them in the attack, and four fresh regiments coming up from the Duke's second line under General Huske, they could not stand under a continual fire both in front, in flank, and rear, and therefore they retired. It was in this attack that Lord Robert Kerr, having stood his ground, after Barrell's regiment was broke and drove back, was killed." And farther we learn from the Lockhart papers, that " Lord George Murray attacked, at the head of the Atholemen, who had the right of the army that day, with all the bravery imaginable, as the whole army did, and broke the Duke of Cumberland's line in several places, and made themselves masters of two pieces of cannon,—though they were both fronted and flanked by them, who kept a close firing from right to left,—and marched up to the points of their bayonets, which they could not see for smoke till they were upon them." Such were the strength and dexterity with which these people used their arms, if not always to conquer, at least to amaze and confound regular troops.

SECTION V.

The Highland Garb.

AMONG the circumstances that influenced the military character of the Highlanders, we must not omit their peculiar garb, which, by its lightness and freedom, enabled them to use their limbs, and handle their arms with ease and dexterity, and to move with great speed when employed with either cavalry or light infantry. In the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in the civil wars of Charles I., and on various other occasions, they were often mixed with the cavalry, affording to detached squadrons the incalculable advantage of support from infantry, even in their most rapid movements. The author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier," speaking of the Scottish army in 1640, says, "I observed that these parties had always some foot with them, and yet if the horses galloped or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage. These were those they call Highlanders; they would run on foot with all their arms and all their accoutrements, and keep very good order too, and kept pace with the horses, let them go at what rate they would." The almost incredible swiftness of these people, owing, in a great measure, no doubt, to the lightness of their dress, by which their movements were totally unencumbered, constituted the military advantage of the garb; although, in the opinion of Lord President Forbes, it possessed others, which his Lordship stated in a letter addressed to the Laird of Brodie, at that time Lord Lyon for Scotland. "The garb is certainly very loose, and fits men enured to it to go through great marches, *to bear out against the inclemency of the weather*, to wade through rivers, to shelter in huts, woods, and rocks, *on occasions when men dressed in the Low country garb could not endure*. And it is

to be considered, that, as the Highlanders are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me to be, an utter impossibility, without the advantage of this dress, for the inhabitants to tend their cattle, and go through the other parts of their business, without which they could not subsist, not to speak of paying rents to their landlords."

The following account of the dress is from an author who wrote prior to the year 1597. "They," the Highlanders, "delight in marbled cloths, especially that have long stripes of sundrie colours; * they love chiefly purple and blue; their predecessors used short mantles, or plaids of divers colours, sundrie ways divided, and among some the same custom is observed to this day; but, for the most part now, they are brown, most near to the colour of the hadder, to the effect when they lye among the hadders, the bright colour of their plaids shall not bewray them, with the which rather *coloured* than clad, they suffer the most cruel tempests that blow in the open fields, in such sort, that in a night of snow they sleep sound." † The dress of the Highlanders was so peculiarly accommodated to the warrior, the hunter, and the shepherd, that, to say nothing of the cruelty and impolicy of opposing national predilections, much dissatisfaction was occasioned by its suppression, and the rigour with which the change was enforced. People in a state of imperfect civilization retain as much of their ancient habits, as to distinguish them strongly from the lower orders in more advanced society. The latter, more laborious, less high-minded, and more studious of convenience and

* From "Remarks on the Chartularies of Aberdeen," by John Graham Dalyell, Esquire, we learn that these Chartularies contain general Statutes and Canons of the Scottish Church for the years 1242 and 1249, as also private regulations and ordinances for the See of Aberdeen from 1256 downwards. In these ordinances it is enacted, that "Ecclesiastics are to be suitably apparelled, avoiding red, green, and striped clothing, and their garments shall not be shorter *than to the middle of the leg*," that is, they are not to wear tartan plaids, and kilts.

† Certayne Mattere concerning Scotland. London, printed 1603.

comfort, are less solicitous about personal appearance, and less willing to bear personal privations in regard to food and accommodation. To such privations the former readily submit, that they may be enabled to procure arms and habiliments which may set off to advantage a person unbent and unsubdued by conscious inferiority, with limbs unshackled, and accustomed to move with ease and grace. The point of personal decoration once secured, it mattered not to the Highlander that his dwelling was mean, his domestic utensils scanty, and of the simplest construction, and his household furniture merely such as could be prepared by his own hands. He was his own cooper, carpenter, and shoemaker, while his wife improved the value of his dress by her care and pride in preparing the materials. To be his own tailor or weaver he thought beneath him; these occupations were left to such as, from deficiency in strength, courage, or natural ability, were disqualified for the field or the chase. Gentlemen on horseback, old men, and others, occasionally wore the truis. * These were both breeches and stockings in one piece, made to fit perfectly close to the limbs, and were always of tartan, though the coat or jacket was sometimes of green, blue, or black cloth. The waistcoat and short coat were adorned with silver buttons, tassels, embroidery, or lace, according to the fashion of the times, or the taste of the weaver. But the arrangements of the belted plaid were of the greatest importance in the toilet of a Highlandman of fashion. This was a piece of tartan two yards in breadth, and four in length, which surrounded the waist in large plaits, or folds, adjusted with great nicety, and confined by a belt, buckled tight round the body, and while the lower part came down to the knees, the other was drawn up and adjusted to the left shoulder, leaving the right arm uncovered, and at full liberty. In wet weather, the plaid was thrown loose, and covered both

* See Appendix, L. My grandfather always wore the Highland garb except when in mourning; that is, the truis on horseback, and the kilt when at home.

shoulders and body; and when the use of both arms was required, it was fastened across the breast by a large silver bodkin, or circular brooch, often enriched with precious stones, or imitations of them, having mottos engraved, consisting of allegorical sentences, or mottos of armorial bearings. These were also employed to fix the plaid on the left shoulder. A large purse of goat's or badger's skin, answering the purpose of a pocket, and ornamented with a silver or brass mouth-piece, and many tassels, hung before.* A dirk, with a knife and fork stuck in the side of the sheath, and sometimes a spoon, together with a pair of steel pistols, were essential accompaniments. The bonnet, which gentlemen generally wore with one or more feathers, completed the national garb. The dress of the common people differed only in the deficiency of finer or brighter colours, and of silver ornaments, being otherwise essentially the same; a tuft of heather, pine, holly, oak, &c. supplying the place of feathers in the bonnet. The garters were broad, and of rich colours, wrought in a small primitive kind of loom, the use of which is now little known,—and formed a close texture, which was not liable to wrinkle, but which kept the pattern in full display.† The silver buttons‡ were frequently found among the bet-

* The ladies have recently adopted this purse, as a substitute for the female pocket, which has disappeared. The form and mouth-pieces of the *Reticule* are a perfect model of the Highlanders' purses. In 1824, the ladies have farther followed the fashion of the ancient Highlanders, by adopting, as a new fashion, a belt with a square buckle, exactly of the same form and manufacture as that used in old times, only that the modern belt is of course not so broad, and the size of the buckle is less.

† These garters are still made on the estate of General Campbell of Monzie, and on the banks of Lochow in Argyleshire.

‡ The officers of the Highland regiments of Mackay's and Monroe's, who served under Gustavus Adolphus, in the wars of 1626 and 1638, "in addition to rich buttons, wore a gold chain round the neck to secure the owner, in case of being wounded or taken prisoner, good treatment, or payment for future ransom." In the Highlands, buttons of large size, and of solid silver, were worn, that, in the event of falling in battle, or dying in a strange country,

ter and more provident of the lower ranks,—an inheritance often of long descent. § The belted plaid, which was generally double, or in two folds, formed, when let down so as to envelop the whole person, a shelter from the storm, and a covering in which the wearer wrapt himself up in full security, when he lay down fearlessly among the heather. This, if benighted in his hunting excursions, or on a distant visit, he by no means considered it a hardship; nay, so little was he disturbed by the petty miseries which many feel from inclement weather, that, in storms of snow, frost, or wind, he would dip the plaid in water, and, wrapping himself up in it when moistened, lie down on the heath. The plaid thus swelled with moisture was supposed to resist the wind, so that the exhalation from the body during sleep might surround the wearer with an atmosphere of warm vapour. Thus their garb contributed to form their constitutions in early life for the duties of hardy soldiers, while their habits, their mental recollections, and the fearless spirit they nourished, rendered them equally intrepid in the attack, and firm in resisting an enemy.

In dyeing and arranging the various colours of their tartans, they displayed no small art and taste, preserving at the same time the distinctive patterns (or sets, as they were called) of the different clans, tribes, families, and districts.

and at a distance from their friends and their home, the value of the buttons might defray the expenses of a decent funeral.

§ "The women," says Martin, "wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine kerchief of linen strait about the head.* The plaid was tied before on the breast, with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of one hundred merks value, with the figures of various animals curiously engraved. A lesser buckle was worn in the middle of the larger. It had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, and this was set round with several precious stones of a lesser size."

* This is still worn by old women in Breadalbane, Fortingal, and other districts in Perthshire; and the silver buckles or brooch, richly ornamented with stones, are still preserved in families as relics of ancient fashions.

Thus a Macdonald, a Campbell, a Mackenzie, &c. was known by his plaid; and in like manner the Athole, Glenorchy, and other colours of different districts, were easily distinguishable. Besides those general divisions, industrious housewives had patterns, distinguished by the set, superior quality, and fineness of the cloth, or brightness and variety of the colours. In those times when mutual attachment and confidence subsisted between the proprietors and occupiers of land in the Highlands, the removal of tenants, except in remarkable cases, rarely occurred, and consequently, it was easy to preserve and perpetuate any particular set, or pattern, even among the lower orders. *

I have dwelt the longer on the particulars of this costume, as much of the distinctive character of the people was connected with it. In Eustace's Classical Tour, he has some ingenious strictures on the European habit contrasted with the Asiatic costume. The former, he says, is stiff, formal, confined, full of right angles, and so unlike the drapery which invests the imperishable forms of grace and beauty left us by ancient sculptors, as to offer a revolting contrast to all that is flowing, easy, and picturesque in costume. The Asiatic dress, he observes, is only suited to the cumbrous pomp, and indolent effeminacy of Oriental customs: it impedes motion, and incumbers the form which it

* At Inch Ewan, in Breadalbane, a family of the name of Macnab occupied the same farm, for nearly four centuries, till within these few years, the last occupier resigned. A race of the name of Stewart, in Glenfinglas, in Menteith, has for several centuries possessed the same farms, and, from the character and disposition of the present noble proprietor, (the Earl of Moray) it is probable that, without some extraordinary cause, this respectable and prosperous community will not be disturbed. It would be endless to give instances of the great number of years during which the same families possessed their farms, in a succession as regular and unbroken as that of the landlords. The family of Macintyre possessed the farm of Glenoe, in Nether Lorn, from about the year 1300 down till 1810. They were originally foresters of Stewart Lord Lorn, and were continued in their possession and employments after the succession of the Glenorchy and Breadalbane families to this estate by a marriage with a co-heiress of the last Lord Lorn of the Stewart family in the year 1435.

envelops. In one corner of Great Britain, he continues, a dress is worn by which these two extremes are avoided: it has the easy folds of a drapery, which takes away from the constrained and angular air of the ordinary habits, and is, at the same time, sufficiently light and succinct to answer all the purposes of activity and ready motion. With some obvious and easy alterations, he thinks it might, in many cases, be adopted with advantage.

SECTION VI.

Bards—Pipers—Music.

WHILE the common people amused themselves, as I will have occasion to notice afterwards, with recitals of poetry and imaginary or traditionary tales, every chief had his bard, whose office it was to celebrate the warlike deeds of the family and of individuals of the clan; to entertain the festive board with the songs of Ossian, of Ullin, and of Oran; and to raise the feelings and energies of the hearers by songs and narratives, in which the exploits of their ancestors aud kinsmen were recorded. The bards were an important order of men in Highland society. In the absence of books they constituted the library, and concentrated the learning of the tribe. By retentive memories, indispensable requisites in their vocation, they became the living chronicles of past events, and the depositaries of popular poetry. They followed the clans to the field, where they eulogized the fame resulting from a glorious death, and held forth the honour of expiring in the arms of victory in defence of their beloved country, as well as the disgrace attending dastardly conduct, or cowardly retreat. Before the battle they passed from tribe to tribe, and from one party to another, giving to all exhortations and encouragement; and when the commencement of the fight rendered it impossible for their voice to be heard, they were succeeded by the pipers, who, with their inspiring and warlike strains, kept alive the enthusiasm which the bard had inspired. When the contest was decided, the duties of these two public functionaries again became important. The bard was employed to honour the memory of the brave who had fallen, to celebrate the actions of those who survived, and to excite them to future deeds of valour. The piper, in

his turn, was called upon to sound mournful lamentations for the slain, and to remind the survivors how honourably their friends had died. By connecting the past with the present, by showing that the warlike hero, the honoured chief, or the respected parent, who, though no longer present to his friends, could not die in their memory; and that, though dead, he still survived in fame, and might sympathize with those whom he had left behind, a magnanimous contempt of death was naturally produced, and sedulously cherished. It has thus become a singular and characteristic feature of Highland sentiment, to contemplate with easy familiarity the prospect of death, which is considered as merely a passage from this to another state of existence, enlivened with the assured hope of meeting their friends and kindred who had gone before them, and of being followed by those whom they should leave behind. The effect of this sentiment is perceived in the anxious care with which they provide the necessary articles for a proper and becoming funeral. Of this they speak with an ease and freedom, equally remote from affectation or presumption, and proportioned solely to the inevitable certainty of the event itself. Even the poorest and most destitute endeavour to lay up something for this last solemnity. To be consigned to the grave among strangers, without the attendance and sympathy of friends, and at a distance from their family, was considered a heavy calamity; * and even to this day,

* This feeling still exists with considerable force, and may afford an idea of the despair which must actuate people when they can bring themselves to emigrate from a beloved country, hallowed by the remains of their forefathers, and where they so anxiously desired that their own bones might be laid. Lately, a woman aged ninety-one, but in perfect health, and in possession of all her faculties, went to Perth from her house in Strathbrane, a few miles above Dunkeld. A few days after her arrival in Perth, where she had gone to visit a daughter, she had a slight attack of fever. One evening a considerable quantity of snow had fallen, and she expressed great anxiety, particularly when told that a heavier fall was expected. Next morning her bed was found empty, and no trace of her could be discovered, till the second day, when she sent word that she had slipt out of the house at midnight, set off on foot through the

people make the greatest exertions to carry home the bodies of such relations as happen to die far from the ground hallowed by the ashes of their forefathers. "A man well known to the writer of these pages," says Mrs Grant, "was remarkable for his filial affection, even among the sons and daughters of the mountains, so distinguished for that branch of piety. His mother being a widow, and having a numerous family, who had married very early, he continued to live single, that he might the more sedulously attend to her comfort, and watch over her declining years with the tenderest care. On her birth-day, he always collected his brothers and sisters, and all their families, to a sort of kindly feast, and in conclusion, gave a toast, not easily translated from the emphatic language, without circumlocution,—*An easy and decorous departure to my mother*, comes nearest to it.* This toast, which would shake the nerves of fashionable delicacy, was received with great applause, the old woman remarking, that God had been always good to her, and she hoped she would die as decently as she had lived; for it is thought of the utmost consequence to die decently." The ritual of decorous departure, and of behaviour to be observed by the friends of the dying on that solemn occasion, being fully established, nothing is more common than to take a solemn leave of old people, as if they were going

snow, and never stopped till she reached home, a distance of twenty miles. When questioned some time afterwards why she went away so abruptly, she answered, "If my sickness had increased, and if I had died, they could not have sent my remains home through the deep snows. If I had told my daughter, perhaps she would have locked the door upon me, to prevent my going out in the storm, and God forbid that my bones should lie at such a distance from home, and be buried among *Gaull-na machair*, 'the strangers of the plain.'"

Now, since this woman, who was born on the immediate borders of the plains had such a dread of leaving her bones among strangers, as she considered a people whom she was accustomed to meet frequently, and among whom her daughter and family resided; how much stronger must this feeling be in the central and northern Highlands, where the majority of the people never saw the plains or their inhabitants!

* "Crioch Onerach!" may you have an honourable exit or death, is a common expression to a friend, in return for a kindly word or action.

on a journey, and pretty much in the same terms. People frequently send conditional messages to the departed. *If you are permitted, tell my dear brother, that I have merely endured the world since he left it, and that I have been very kind to every creature he used to cherish, for his sake.* I have, indeed, heard a person of a very enlightened mind, seriously give a message to an aged person, to deliver to a child he had lost not long before, which she as seriously promised to deliver, with the wonted salvo, *if she was permitted.*" * Speaking in this manner of death as a common casualty, a Highlander will very gravely ask you where you mean to be buried, or whether you would prefer such a place of interment, as being near to that of your ancestors.

With this freedom from the fear of death, they were, and still are, enthusiastically fond of music and dancing, and eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity of indulging this propensity. † Possessing naturally a good ear for music, they displayed great agility in dancing. Their music was in unison with their character. They delighted in the warlike high-toned notes of the bagpipes, and were particularly charmed with solemn and melancholy airs, or Laments (as they call them) for their deceased friends,—a feeling, of which their naturally sedate and contemplative turn of mind rendered them peculiarly susceptible; while their sprightly reels and strathspeys were calculated to excite the most exhilarating gaiety, and to relieve the heart from the cares and inquietudes of life. ‡

* Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.

† At harvest-home, halloween, christenings, and every holiday, the people assembled in the evenings to dance. At all weddings, pipes and fiddles were indispensable. These weddings were sometimes a source of emolument to the young people, who supplied the dinner and liquors, while the guests paid for the entertainment, more agreeably to their circumstances and inclinations than in proportion to the value of the entertainment itself. Next morning the relations and most intimate friends of the parties re-assembled with offerings of a cow, calf, an article of furniture, or whatever was thought necessary for assisting the establishment of a young housekeeper. See Appendix, M.

‡ See Appendix, N.

Such were and still are some of the most striking and peculiar traits in the character of this people. "Accustomed to traverse tracts of country, which had never been subjected to the hands of art, contemplating every day the most diversified scenery, surrounded every where by wild and magnificent objects, by mountains, lakes, and forests, the mind of the Highlander is expanded, and partakes in some measure of the wild sublimity of the objects with which he is conversant. Pursuing the chase in regions not peopled, according to their extent, he often finds himself alone, in a gloomy desart, or by the margin of the dark frowning deep; his imagination is tinged with pleasing melancholy; he finds society in the passing breeze, and he beholds the airy forms of his fathers descending on the skirts of the clouds. When the tempest howls over the heath, * and the elements are mixed in dire uproar, he recognises the airy spirit of the storm, and he retires to his cave. Such is, at this day, the tone of mind which characterizes the Highlander, who has

* Previous to a tempest, some mountains in the Highlands emit a loud hollow noise like the roaring of distant thunder; and the louder the noise, the more furious will be the tempest, which it generally precedes about twelve or twenty-four hours. From this warning, when "the spirit of the mountain shrieks," * the superstitious minds of the Highlanders presage many omens. Beindouran in Glenorchy, near the confines of Perth and Argyle, emits this noise in a most striking manner. It is remarkable that it is emitted only previous to storms of wind and rain. Before a fall of snow, however furious the tempest, the mountain, which is of a conical form, and 3500 feet in height, is silent. In the same manner several of the great waterfalls in the Highland rivers and streams give signals of approaching tempests and heavy falls of rain. Twenty-four or thirty hours previous to a storm, the great falls on the river Tummel, north of Shichallain, emit a loud noise, which is heard at the distance of several miles. The longer the course of the preceding dry weather, the louder and the more similar to a continued roll of distant thunder is the noise; consequently, it is louder in summer than in winter. When the rain commences the noise ceases. It forms an unerring barometer to the neighbouring farmers. Why mountains and waterfalls in serene mild weather emit such remarkable sounds, and are silent in tempests and rains, might form an interesting subject of physical inquiry.

* Ossian.

not lost the distinctive marks of his race by commerce with strangers, and such, too, has been the picture which has been drawn by Ossian." * Such scenes as these impressed the warm imaginations of the Highlanders with sentiments of awe and sublimity; and, without any moroseness or sullenness of disposition, produced that serious turn of thinking so remarkably associated with gaiety and cheerfulness.

* Dr Graham of Aberfoyle, on the Authenticity of Ossian.

SECTION VII.

General means of Subsistence—Filial Affection—Influence of Custom—Disgrace attached to Cowardice, &c.

In former times the population, which, as already stated, appears to have been greater than at a later period, would seem at first sight to have greatly exceeded the means of subsistence, in a country possessing so small an extent of land fit for cultivation. Their small breed of cattle throve upon the poorest herbage, and was, in every respect, well calculated for the country. In summer, the people subsisted chiefly on milk, prepared in various forms; while in winter they lived, in a great measure, on animal food: the spring was with them a season of severe abstinence. Many were expert fishers and hunters. In those primitive times, the forests, heaths, and waters, abounding with game and fish, were alike free to all, and contributed greatly to the support of the inhabitants. Now, when mountains and rivers are guarded with severe restrictions, fish and game are become so scarce, as to be of little benefit to the people, and to form only a few weeks' amusement to the privileged. *

The little glens, as well as the larger straths, were, however, peopled with a race accustomed to bear privations with patience and fortitude. Cheered by the enjoyment of a sort of wild freedom, cordial attachments bound their little societies together. A great check to population was, however, found in those institutions and habits, which, except in not preventing revengeful retaliation and spoliations of cattle, served all the purposes for which laws are commonly enforced.

* See Appendix, O.

While the country was portioned out amongst numerous tenants, none of their sons were allowed to marry till they had obtained a house, a farm, or some certain prospect of settlement, unless, perhaps, in the case of a son, who was expected to succeed his father. Cottagers and tradesmen were also discouraged from marrying, till they had a house, and the means of providing for a family. These customs are now changed. The system of converting whole tracts of country into one farm, and the practice of letting lands to the highest bidder, without regard to the former occupiers, and their future ruin or prosperity, occasions gloomy prospects, and the most fearful and discouraging uncertainty of tenure. Yet, as if in dispite of the theory of Malthus, these discouragements, instead of checking population, have removed the restraint which the prudent foresight of a sagacious peasantry had formerly imposed on early marriages. Having now no sure prospect of a permanent settlement, by succeeding to the farms inherited by their fathers, nor a certainty of being permitted to remain in their native country *on any terms*, they marry whenever inclination prompts them. The propriety of marrying when young, they defend on this principle, that their children may rise up around them, while they are in the vigour of life, and able to provide for their maintenance, and that they may thus ensure support to their old age; for no Highlander can ever forego the hope, that, while he has children able to support him, he will never be allowed to want. On the other hand, the affection of children to their parents has led to the most zealous exertions, and the greatest sacrifices in providing for their support and comfort. Children are considered less as a present incumbrance, than as a source of future assistance, and as the prop of declining age. Whatever their misfortunes might be, they believed, that, while their offspring could work, they would not be left destitute. It is pleasing to observe, that, among many changes of character, this laudable feeling still continues in considerable force. If a poor man's family are

under the necessity of going to service, they settle among themselves which of their number shall in turn remain at home, to take charge of their parents, and all consider themselves bound to share with them whatever they are able to save from their wages.

The sense of duty is not extinguished by absence from the mountains. It accompanies the Highland soldier amid the dissipations of a mode of life to which he has not been accustomed. It prompts him to save a portion of his pay, to enable him to assist his parents, and also to work when he has an opportunity, that he may increase their allowance,—at once preserving himself from idle habits, and contributing to the happiness and comfort of those who gave him birth. I have been a frequent channel through which these offerings of filial bounty were communicated, and I have generally found, that a threat of informing their parents of misconduct, has operated as a sufficient check on young soldiers, who always received the intimation with a sort of horror. They knew that the report would not only grieve their relations, but act as a sentence of banishment against themselves, as they could not return home with a bad or a blemished character. Generals M'Kenzie Fraser and M'Kenzie of Suddie, who successively commanded the 78th Highlanders, seldom had occasion to resort to any other punishment than threats of this nature, for several years after the embodying of that regiment.

Honesty and fair dealing in their mutual transactions were enforced by custom * as much as by established law, and generally had a more powerful influence on their character and conduct, than the legal enactments of latter periods. Insolvency was considered as disgraceful, and *prima facie* a crime. "Bankrupts were forced to surrender their all, and were clad in a party-coloured clouted garment, with the hose of different sets, and had their hips dashed against a stone in presence of the people, by four men, each

* See Appendix, P.

taking hold of an arm or a leg. This punishment was called *Toncruaidh.*" *

Where courage is considered honourable and indispensable, cowardice is of course held infamous, and punished as criminal. Of the ignominy that attached to it, Mrs Grant relates the following anecdote: "There was a clan, *I must not say what clan it is,* † who had been for ages governed by a series of chiefs singularly estimable, and highly beloved, and who, in one instance, provoked their leader to the extreme of indignation. I should observe that the transgression was partial, the culprits being the inhabitants of one single parish. These, in a hasty skirmish with a neighbouring clan, thinking discretion the best part of valour, sought safety in retreat. A cruel chief would have inflicted the worst of punishments—banishment from the bounds of his clan,—which, indeed, fell little short of the curse of Kehama. This good laird, however, set bounds to his wrath, yet made their punishment severe and exemplary. He appeared himself with all the population of the three adjacent parishes, at the parish-church of the offenders, where they were all by order convened. After divine service they were all marched three times round the church, in presence of their offended leader and his assembled clan. Each individual, on coming out of the church-door, was obliged to draw out his tongue with his fingers, and then cry audibly, '*Shud bleider heich,*' i. e. 'This is the poltroon who fled,' and to repeat it at every corner of the church. After this procession of ignominy, no other punishment was inflicted, except that of being left to guard the district when the rest were called out to battle." Mrs Grant adds. "It is credibly asserted, that no enemy has seen the back of any of that name ever since. And it is certain, that, to

* The Reverend Dr M'Queen's Dissertation.

† I may now mention, what the accomplished author suppressed, that this chief was the Laird of Grant, grandfather of the late estimable representative of that honourable family.

this day, it is not safe for any person of another name to mention this circumstance in presence of one of the affronted clan." *

Under the protection of the same principle, were placed the fidelity of domestic attachment, and the sacred obligation of the marriage vow. "The guilty person, whether male or female, was made to stand in a barrel of cold water at the church door, after which the delinquent, clad in a wet canvas shirt, was made to stand before the congregation, and at close of service the minister explained the nature of the offence." †

This punishment was, however, seldom necessary. The crime was not frequent, and the separation of a married couple among the common people almost unknown. However disagreeable a wife might be to her husband, he rarely contemplated the possibility of getting rid of her. As his wife he bore with her failings: as the mother of his children, he supported her credit: a separation would have disgraced his family, and have entailed reproach on his posterity. For the illicit intercourse between the sexes, in an unmarried state, there was no direct punishment beyond those established by the church; but, as usual among the people, custom supplied the defect, by establishing some marks of reprehension and infamy. These were often of a nature which showed a delicacy of feeling, not to be expected among an uneducated people, were it not that these established habits so well supplied the want of education, and of what is usually termed civilization. Young unmarried women never wore any close head dress, but only the hair tied with bandages or some slight ornament. This continued till marriage, or till they attained a certain age; but if a young woman lost her virtue and character, then she was obliged to wear a cap, and never afterwards to appear with her hair uncovered, in the dress of virgin innocence.

* Mrs Grant on the Superstitions of the Highlanders.

† Dr M'Queen's Dissertation.

Sir John Dalrymple has observed of the Highlanders, "That to be modest as well as brave, to be contented with a few things which Nature requires, to act and to suffer without complaining, to be as much ashamed of doing any thing insolent or ungenerous to others, as of bearing it when done to ourselves, and to die with pleasure to revenge affronts offered to their clan or their country; these they accounted their highest accomplishments."

SECTION VIII.

Love of Country—Social Meetings—Traditional Tales and Poetry.

It has often been remarked, that the inhabitants of mountainous and romantic regions are of all men the most enthusiastically attached to their country. The Swiss, when at a distance from home, are sometimes said to die of the *maladie du pays.* * The Scotch Highlanders entertain similar feelings. The cause of this attachment to their native land is the same in all. In a rich and champaign country, with no marked or striking features, no deep impression is made on the imagination by external scenery. Its fertility is the only quality for which the soil is valued; and the only hope entertained from it is realized by an abundant crop. In such a country, the members of the community do not immediately depend for their happiness on mutual assistance or friendly intercourse; and thus an exclusive selfishness is apt to supplant the social affections. Hence, too, in the ordinary tenor of life, we seldom find amongst them any thing calculated to catch the imagination, to excite the feelings, or to give an interest to the records of memory;—no striking adventures—no daring or dangerous enterprises. Amongst them we seldom hear

> "Of moving accidents by flood and field,
> Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach."

To the Highlanders such scenes and subjects were congenial and familiar. The kind of life which they led expos-

* During last war a Swiss soldier, confined in the French prison at Perth, was long in a lingering sickly state, from no other cause that the surgeon could discover but a constant longing and sighing for his native country. I have frequently met with instances of the same kind among Highland recruits.

ed them to vicissitudes and dangers, which they shared in common. They had perchance joined in the chase or in the foray together, and remembered the adventures in which they all had participated. Their traditions referred to a common ancestry; and their songs of love and valour found an echo in general sympathy. In removing from their homes, such a people do not merely change the spot of earth on which they and their ancestors have lived. Mercenary and selfish objects are forgotten in the endearing associations entwined round the objects which they have abandoned. Among a people who cannot appreciate his amusements, his associations, and his taste, the expatriated Highlander naturally sighs for his own mountains. Even in removing from one part of the Highlands to another, the sacrifice was regarded as severe. *

The poetical propensity of the Highlanders, which indeed was the natural result of their situation, and their peculiar institutions, is generally known. When adventures abound they naturally give fervour to the poet's song; and the verse which celebrates them is listened to with sympathetic eagerness by those who have similar adventures to record or to repeat. Accordingly, the recitation of their traditional poetry was a favourite pastime with the Highlanders when collected round their evening fire. The person who could rehearse the best poem or song, and the longest and most entertaining tale, whether stranger, or

* A single anecdote, selected from hundreds with which every Highlander is familiar, will show the force of this local attachment. A tenant of my father's, at the foot of Shichallain, removed, a good many years ago, and followed his son to a farm which he had taken at some distance lower down the country. One morning the old man disappeared for a considerable time, and being asked on his return where he had been, he replied, "As I was sitting by the side of the river, a thought came across me, that, perhaps, some of the waters from Shichallain, and the sweet fountains that watered the farm of my forefathers, might now be passing by me, and that if I bathed they might touch my skin. I immediately stripped, and, from the pleasure I felt in being surrounded by the pure waters of Leidnabreilag, (the name of the farm), I could not tear myself away sooner."

friend, was the most acceptable guest. * When a stranger appeared, after the usual introductory compliments, the first question was, "*Bheil dad agud air na Fian?*" Can you speak of the days of Fingal? If the answer was in the affirmative, the whole hamlet was convened, and midnight was usually the hour of separation. At these meetings the women regularly attended, and were, besides, in the habit of assembling alternately in each other's houses, with their distaffs, or spinning-wheels, when the best singer, or the most amusing reciter, always bore away the palm.

The powers of memory and fancy thus acquired a strength unexampled among the peasantry of any other country, where recitation is not practised in a similar way,

* When a boy I took great pleasure in hearing these recitations, and now reflect, with much surprise, on the ease and rapidity with which a person could continue them for hours, without hesitation and without stopping, except to give the argument or prelude to a new chapter or subject. One of the most remarkable of these reciters in my time was Duncan Macintyre, a native of Glenlyon in Perthshire, who died in September 1816, in his 93d year. His memory was most tenacious; and the poems, songs, and tales, of which he retained a perfect remembrance to the last, would fill a volume. Several of the poems are in possession of the Highland Society of London, who settled a small annual pension on Macintyre a few years before his death, as being one of the last who retained any resemblance to the ancient race of Bards. When any surprise was expressed at his strength of memory, and his great store of ancient poetry, he said, that in his early years, he knew numbers whose superior stores of poetry would have made his own appear as nothing. This talent was so general, that to multiply instances of it may appear superfluous.

A few years ago, the Highland Society of London sent the late Mr Alexander Stewart [b] through the Southern Highlands to collect a few remains of Gaelic poetry. When he came to my father's house, a young woman in the immediate neighbourhood was sent for, from whose recitations he wrote down upwards of 3000 lines; and, had she been desired, she could have given him as many more. So correct was her memory, that, when the whole was read over to her, the corrections were trifling. When she stopped to give the transcriber time to write, she invariably took up the word immediately following that at which she stopped. This girl had peculiar advantages, as her father and mother possessed great stores of Celtic poetry and traditions. Several specimens are in possession of the Highland Society of London.

[b] He was grandson to the man who bathed in his native waters.

and where, every thing being committed to paper, the exercise of memory is less necessary. It is owing to this ancient custom that we still meet with Highlanders who can give a connected and minutely accurate detail of the history, genealogy, feuds, and battles of all the tribes and families in every district, or glen, for many miles round, and for a period of several hundred years. They illustrated these details by a reference to any remarkable stone, cairn,* tree, or stream, within the district; connecting with each some kindred story of a fairy or ghost, or the death of some person who perished in the snow, by any sudden disaster, or by some accidental rencounter, and embellishing each with some tradition or anecdote. Such topics formed their ordinary subject of conversation. In the Lowlands, on the other hand, it is difficult to find a person, in the same station of life, who can repeat from memory more than a few verses of a psalm or ballad, and who, instead of giving an historical detail of several ages, and changes of families, is generally dumb, or perhaps answers with a vacant stare of surprise when such questions are asked. The bare description, however, of such rencounters or accidents, among a people merely warlike, how impetuous and energetic soever in character, would have proved exceedingly monotonous, or fit only to amuse or interest persons possessed of few ideas and obtuse feelings; but in the graphic delineations of the Celtic narrator, the representation of adventures, whether romantic or domestic, was enlivened by dramatic sketches, which introduced him occasionally as speaking or conversing in an appropriate and characteristic manner. This, among people accustomed to embody the expressions of passion and deep feeling in a powerful and pathetic eloquence,

* A heap of stones was thrown over the spot where a person happened to be killed or buried. Every passenger added a stone to this heap, which was called a *Cairn*. Hence the Highlanders have a saying, when one person serves another, or shows any civility, "I will add a stone to your cairn;" in other words I will respect your memory.

gave life and vigour to the narratives, and was, in fact, the spirit by which these narratives were at once animated and preserved.*

By this manner of passing their leisure time, and by habitual intercourse with their superiors, they acquired a great degree of natural good breeding, together with a fluency of nervous, elegant, and grammatical expression, not easily to be conceived or understood by persons whose dialect has been contaminated by an intermixture of Greek, Latin, and French idioms. Their conversations were carried on with a degree of ease, vivacity, and freedom from restraint, not usually to be met with in the lower orders of society. The Gaelic language is singularly adapted to this colloquial ease, frankness, and courtesy. It contains expressions better calculated to mark the various degrees of respect and deference due to age, rank, or character, than are to be found in almost any other language. These expressions are, indeed peculiar and untranslatable. A Highlander was accustomed to stand before his superior with his bonnet in his hand, if so permitted, (which was rarely the case, as few superiors chose to be outdone in politeness by the people,) and his plaid thrown over his left shoulder, with his right arm in full action, adding strength to his expressions, while he preserved a perfect command of his mind, his words, and manners. He was accustomed, without showing the least bashful timidity, to argue and pass his joke (for which the language is also well adapted) with the greatest freedom, naming the person whom he addressed by his most familiar appellation. † Feeling thus unembarrassed before his supe-

* Martin, speaking of the Highlanders of his time, says, "Several of both sexes have a quick vein of poesy; and in their language (which is very emphatic) they compose rhymes and verse, both of which powerfully affect the fancy, and, in my judgment, (which is not singular in this matter), with as great force as that of any ancient or modern poet I ever yet read. They have generally very retentive memories."

† If the individual was a man of landed property, or a tacksmán of an old family, he was addressed by the name of his estate or farm; if otherwise, by his Christian name or patronymic. From these patronymics many of our most

rior, he never lost the air of conscious independence and confidence in himself, which were acquired by his habitual use of arms; "a fashion," as is observed by a celebrated writer, "which, by accustoming them to the instruments of death, remove the fear of death itself, and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite and as guarded in their behaviour as the gentry of other countries." *

ancient families, such as the Macdonalds, Macdougals, Macgregors, and others of the western and southern clans, assumed their names, as well as the more modern clans of the southern Highlanders, the Robertsons and Farquharsons, the latter changing the Celtic *mac* to the Scottish *son*, as the Fergusons have done, although this last is supposed to be one of the most ancient names of any, as pronounced in Gaelic, in which language the modern name Ferguson is totally unknown. The last instance I knew of a person assuming the patronymic as a surname, was the late General Reid, who died Colonel of the 88th regiment in 1806, and whom I shall have occasion to mention as an officer of the 42d regiment, and as one of the most scientific amateur musicians of his time. He was son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch, whose forefathers, for more than three centuries, were always called Barons Rua, Roy, or Red, The designation was originally assumed by the first of the family having red hair, and having got a royal grant of a barony. Although the representative of the family was in all companies addressed as Baron Rua, and as I have said, was known by no other name, yet his signature was always Robertson, all the younger children bearing that name. General Reid never observed this rule; and being the heir of the family, was not only called Reid, but kept the name and signature of Reid: why he added the letter *i* to Red I know not. The celebrated *Kearnach*, Robert Rua Macgregor, sometimes signed Rob Roy, or Red Robert. †

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain.

† See Appendix, Q.

SECTION IX.

Attachment to the Exiled Family—Political differences between the Lowlanders and the Highlanders—Disinterested but mistaken feeling of Loyalty—Military conduct.

UNDER the House of Stuart, * the Highlanders enjoyed a degree of freedom suited to the ideas of a high-spirited people, proud of having, for a series of ages, maintained their independence. The occasional interference of the royal authority, and the policy frequently pursued, of employing one chief to punish another, and of rewarding the successful rival with a share of the lands forfeited by the vanquished, had a greater tendency to perpetuate than to allay the endless feuds between different clans and districts. It had another effect; it turned the exasperation of the subdued clan against those who attacked them, and directing it from the person of a distant sovereign, whose power was sometimes so weak that he had no other means of establishing his authority than that of setting the clans in opposition to each other. In this state of hostility, their rage and irritation being expended against their neighbours and rivals, the part the Sovereign had taken attracted little notice; and thus loyalty and attachment to his person continued unshaken. Of this we have striking instances in the case of the Macdonalds of Cantyre and Islay, and the Macleans of Douart, whose lands were forfeited and granted to the Earl of Argyll in consequence of some acts of violence committed in the course of their mutual feuds; and yet no people in the Highlands retained a stronger or more lasting attachment and loyalty than these two clans. The case was the same with the Macleods of the Lewis, whose lands were granted to

* See Appendix, R.

the Mackenzies; and it is not a little remarkable that the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Macleods, with all their reverses and forfeitures, preserved a kind of enthusiastic loyalty to their ancient sovereigns and their descendants,—an attachment which was early forgotten by those who were more favoured, and were enriched by the grants of their estates. The actual interference of the sovereign or any distant authority being little felt by the Highlanders, it contributed to give them an idea of independence, and fostered a kindly feeling towards the King, whose severity was not immediately felt, as few mandates came directly from him. Thus a species of freedom and independence continued with little interruption, and always accompanied with loyalty and a high spirit, till after the reign of Charles I. and during the Commonwealth, when Oliver Cromwell planted garrisons in the heart of their country to punish them for their loyalty during the civil wars. It was then that they began to find their independence lowered, and their freedom restrained. This restraint, however, continued only during the period of the Usurpation; for soon after the Restoration, the garrisons were withdrawn by Charles II. in consideration of the eminent services rendered to his father and himself in their adversity. The subsequent measures adopted by King William helped greatly to awaken and confirm the attachment of the Highlanders to their ancient kings, while it increased their aversion to the new monarch. ✕

✕ To these causes may in part be ascribed the eagerness with which the Highlanders strove for the restoration of their ancient line of sovereigns. Another source of this attachment may be traced to the feudal system itself. When we take into account the implicit devotion of the clans to the interests and the honour of their chiefs, we may cease to wonder at their respect for a family, between which and many of their chiefs a connection by birth, marriage, and hereditary descent, was known to subsist. This connection was nearly similar to that between the chief and many members of his clan. The doctrine of hereditary succession,

and indefeasible right, never, in its abstract sense, formed any part of their system. Acute and intelligent in regard to all objects within their view, they had but vague and indefinite ideas of the limits of royal power and prerogative. Their loyalty, like their religion, was a strong habitual attachment; the object of which was beyond the reach of their observation, but not beyond that of their affections. The Stuarts were the only kings their fathers had obeyed and served. Of the errors of their government in regard to the English, and Saxons of the Lowlands, they were either ignorant or unqualified to judge. Poetry was here a powerful auxiliary to prejudice. Burns has said, that "the Muses are all Jacobites." "There are few Scotchmen, even of the present day," says Laing in his History of Scotland, "whose hearts are not warmed by the songs which celebrate their independence, under their ancient race of kings." The sympathy which we naturally cherish, when the mighty are laid low,—the generous indignation excited by the abuse of power, or by insulted feeling,—and the tender anguish with which the victims of mistaken principle looked back from a foreign shore, where they wandered in hopeless exile, to the land of their forefathers;—these and similar themes were more susceptible of poetical embellishment than the support of a new and ill-understood authority; a subject not of feeling, but of that cool and abstract reasoning which was the more unpoetical for being sound and conclusive. Accordingly, we find, that the whole power of national song, during that period, inclined towards the ancient dynasty; and the whole force of the ludicrous, the popular, and the pathetic, volunteered in the Jacobite service. It is beyond question, that the merit of these Jacobite songs eclipsed, and still eclipses, every attempt at poetry on the other side, which has produced little beyond a few scraps of verses, in ridicule of the bare knees, the kilts, and bad English of the Highlanders. *

* Now, as the House of Hanover has not more loyal or devoted subjects than the descendants of the honourable old Jacobites, it may be permitted to notice a few of those popular songs which so powerfully affected many of the

The last great cause which I shall mention of the attachment of the Highlanders to the House of Stuart, was the difference of religious feelings and prejudices that distinguished them from their brethren of the South. This difference became striking at the Reformation, and continued during the whole of the subsequent century. While many Lowlanders were engaged in angry theological controversies, or adopted a more sour and forbidding demeanour, the Highlanders retained much of their ancient superstitions, and, from their cheerful and poetical spirit, were averse to long faces and wordy disputes. They were, therefore, more inclined to join the Cavaliers than the Roundheads, and were, on one occasion, employed by the ministry of Charles II. to keep down the republican spirits in the West of Scotland. The same cause, among others, had previously induced them to join the standard of Montrose.

It has been said by a celebrated author, * that the Highlands of Scotland is the only country in Europe that has never been distracted by religious controversy, or suffered from religious persecution.† This is easily accounted for.

last generation, and which continue to afford occasional amusement and pastime to the present:—"Hey Johnnie Cope, are ye wauken yet?" "Hame, hame, it's hame I would be, For I'm wearied of my life in this foreign countrie;" "A health to them that I lo'e dear;" "Kenmure's on and awa;" "The King shall enjoy his ain;"—all of which spoke to the heart in the strong and simple language best suited to awaken its most powerful emotions. When it is considered how many feel, and how few reason, the power of popular poetry will be easily understood. Of this the government in 1746 seemed to be fully sensible; for great numbers of the popular ballads and songs were bought up and publicly burnt.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

† Although they never suffered from religious persecutions, they sometimes resisted a change in the mode of worship. The last Episcopal clergyman of the parish of Glenorchy, Mr David Lindsay, was ordered to surrender his charge to a Presbyterian minister then appointed by the Duke of Argyll. When the new clergyman reached the parish to take possession of his living, not an individual would speak to him, and every door was shut against him, except Mr Lindsay's, who received him kindly. On Sunday the new clergyman went to church, accompanied by his predecessor. The whole population of the district were assembled, but they would not enter the church. No per-

The religion of the Highlanders was founded on the simplest principles of Christianity, and cherished by strong feeling. On this, also, was grounded a moral education, without letters, (so far as regarded the lower orders I mean; the middle * and higher classes having, for many generations, been well educated,) and transmitted to them from their forefathers, with which was mixed a degree of honourable feeling † which never forsook them in public life, whe-

son spoke to the new minister, nor was there the least noise or violence, till he attempted to enter the church, when he was surrounded by twelve men fully armed, who told him he must accompany them; and, disregarding all Mr Lindsay's prayers and entreaties, they ordered the piper to play the march of death, and marched away with the minister to the confines of the parish. Here they made him swear on the Bible that he would never return, or attempt to disturb Mr Lindsay. He kept his oath. The synod of Argyle were highly incensed at this violation of their authority; but seeing that the people were determined to resist, no farther attempt was made, and Mr Lindsay lived thirty years afterwards, and died Episcopal minister of Glenorchy, loved and revered by his flock.

* See Appendix, S.

† One instance of the force of principle, founded on a sense of honour, and its consequent influence, was exhibited in the year 1745, when the rebel army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose grandfather, when Secretary of State for Scotland in 1692, had transmitted to Campbell of Glenlyon, the orders of King William for the massacre of Glenco. Macdonald of Glenco, the immediate descendant of the unfortunate gentleman, who, with all his family, (except a child carried away by his nurse in the dark), fell a sacrifice to this horrid massacre, had joined the rebels with all his followers, and was then in West Lothian. Prince Charles, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glenco men should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glenco men, they declared, that, if that was the case, they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation, and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the following morning. When education is founded on such principles, the happiest effects are to be expected.

ther engaged in open rebellion, as in 1745, or as loyal subjects fighting the battles of their country, in after periods.

" The two principal distinctions in the religion of the Highlanders are the Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic. The latter, with few exceptions, is confined to the county of Inverness, particularly to the districts of Lochaber, Moidart, Arasaik, Morrer, Knoidart, and Stràth Glass, and to the islands of Cannay, Eig, South Uist, and Barra, where the adherents to the religion of their ancestors are equal, if not superior in number, to the disciples of the Reformation. There are likewise a few Episcopalians, chiefly among the gentry.

" The religion of a Highlander is peaceable and unobtrusive. He never arms himself with quotations from Scripture to carry on offensive operations. There is no inducement for him to strut about in the garb of piety, in order to attract respect, as his own conduct insures it. Not being perplexed by doubt, he wants no one to corroborate his faith. Upon such a subject, therefore, he is silent, unless invited to conversation, and then he entertains it with solemnity and reverence. The relationship between him and his Creator is more in his heart than on his tongue. I believe his religious feelings to be as sincere as they are simple and unassuming, and that moral precepts are more congenial to his disposition than mysteries.

" Another circumstance, still more astonishing, is, that Protestants and Papists, so often pronounced to be eternally inimical, live here in charity and brotherhood. On neither side is humanity forgotten in their doctrine of divinity. In Fort William there is the Scotch church, and the Episcopal and the Roman Catholic chapels. The inhabitants of the town, and of the neighbourhood, know no division, except at the doors of their respective places of worship. *

* Pennant, speaking of the island of Cannay, says, " The minister and the Popish priest reside in Eig; but, by reason of the turbulent seas that divide these isles, are very seldom able to attend their flocks. I admire the moderation of their congregations, who attend the preaching of either indifferently as they happen to arrive. "

On a Sunday morning they may be seen in the street, and approaching by the several roads, conversing together 'in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace,' till the time arrives for their separation, when each man bends his course according to the dictates of his own conscience, without note or comment from the others; and when the assemblies are dismissed, they meet again as cordially as they parted. The advocate for intolerance will say, such a people must either be lukewarm and indifferent, or the thing is impossible. Not at all. They are truly earnest in their devotion. The same spirit of charity is diffused throughout families. A master does not require his servants to think as he thinks; he merely requires them to do as they are bid. A husband is not offended because his wife loves consubstantiation better than transubstantiation, provided she loves him. As for their children, they easily come to an agreement about them, if they agree in every thing else. I visited a family, where the master of the house and his sons are Roman Catholics, his wife and daughter Episcopalians, and the tutor a Presbyterian. What a mixture! And does it not lead to confusion and wrangling? By no means; quite the contrary. It is a daily lesson of good-will and kind-hearted forbearance, and every one in the house is benefited by it."

This was the state of religion, liberality, and Christian charity among different sects twenty years ago. In more ancient times, the minds and principles of the Highlanders were influenced and guided by their institutions; by their notions, that honour, or disgrace, communicated to a whole family or district; by their chivalry, their poetry, and traditionary tales: in latter periods the labours of the parish ministers have, by their religious and moral instructions, reared an admirable structure on this foundation. No religious order, in modern times, have been more useful and exemplary, by their instructions and practice, than the Scotch parochial clergy. Adding example to precept, they have taught the pure doctrines of Christianity in a manner clear, simple, and easily comprehended by their flock.

Thus, the religious tenets of the Highlanders, guided by their clergy, were blended with an impressive, captivating, and, if I may be allowed to call it so, a salutary superstition, inculcating on the minds of all, that an honourable and well spent life entailed a blessing on descendants, while a curse would descend on the successors of the wicked, the oppressor, and ungodly. * These, with a belief in ghosts, dreams,

* The belief that the punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual descended as a curse on his children, to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it; and many believed, that if the curse did not fall upon the first or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of Marines. He was grandson of the Laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco, and who lived in the laird of Glenco's house, where he and his men were hospitably entertained during a fortnight prior to the execution of his orders. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the Marines, and in 1762 was Major, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded 800 of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-marshal on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent; but the whole ceremony of the execution was ordered to proceed until the criminal should be upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then that he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, the clergyman having left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve; but in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and, clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, "The curse of God and of Glenco is here; I am an unfortunate ruined man." He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection, or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental,

and second-sighted visions,* served to tame the turbulent and soothe the afflicted, and differed widely from the gloomy inflexible puritanism of many parts of the south. The demure solemnity and fanaticism of the plains, offered a ceaseless subject of ridicule and satire to the poetical imaginations of the mountainers. The truth is, that no two classes of people of the same country, and in such close neighbourhood, could possibly present a greater contrast than "the wild and brilliant picture of the devoted valour, incorruptible fidelity, patriarchal brotherhood, and savage habits of the Celtic clans on the one hand; and the dark, untractable, domineering bigotry of the Covenanters, on the other." †

Differing so widely in their manners, they heartily despised and hated each other. "The Lowlander considered the Highlander as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, inhabiting a gloomy and barren region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to explore. The attractions of his social habits, strong attachment, and courteous manners, were confined to his glens and kindred. All the pathetic and sublime records were concealed in a language difficult to acquire, and utterly despised as the jargon of barbarians by their southern neighbours. If such was the light in which the cultivators of the soil regarded the hunters, graziers, and warriors of the mountains, their contempt was amply repaid by their high-spirited neighbours. The Highlanders, again, regarded the Lowlanders as a very inferior mongrel race of intruders, sons of little men, without heroism, without ancestry, or

but the impression on his mind, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre, and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that, while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity; the case is very different with the family, posterity, and estates of the laird of Glenlyon, and of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this infamous affair.

* See Appendix, T.

† Edinburgh Review.

genius; mechanical drudges, &c. &c., who could neither sleep upon the snow, compose extempore songs, recite long tales of wonder or of woe, or live without bread and without shelter for weeks together, following the chase. Whatever was mean or effeminate, whatever was dull, slow, mechanical, or torpid, was in the Highlands imputed to the Lowlanders, and exemplified by allusions to them; while, in the Low country, every thing ferocious or unprincipled, every species of awkwardness or ignorance, of pride, or of insolence, was imputed to the Highlanders." * These mutual animosities and jealousies, long sustained, operated as a check to a more free communication, and cherished the affections of the Highlanders to the exiled family. Their frequent contentions with the peasantry of the plains adjacent to the mountains, and the comparison of their own constancy and loyalty with what they regarded as the time-serving disposition of the Lowlanders, exalted them in their own estimation, and contributed, by a feeling of personal pride, to confirm them in their political predilections.

This attachment, too, will appear the less surprising if we bear in mind, that the Highlanders, far distant from the seat of government, and not immediately affected by the causes which produced the Revolution in England, were imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances which led to that event. Hence we may discover an apology for their subsequent conduct, as proceeding more from a mistaken loyalty, than from a turbulent restless spirit. Since this adherence to the House of Stuart produced most important consequences, as affecting the Highlanders, and led to measures on the part of government, which have conduced so materially to change the character and habits of the people; we may shortly examine the causes and motives in which it originated, and the manner in which it displayed itself.

With few exceptions, the Highlanders were of high mo-

* Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.

narchical notions. Opposed to these was the family of Argyll, which took the lead in the interest of the Covenanters and Puritans, and which, during two-thirds of the seventeenth century, was at feud with the families of Atholl, Huntly, Montrose, and Airley. This opposition of religious feeling and political principles, the warlike habits of the Highlanders, and the natural conformation of the country, suddenly rising from the plains into mountains difficult of access, and of exterior communication, combined to keep up that difference of character already noticed, which, though so distinctly marked, was divided by so slight a line, as the small stream or burn of Inch Ewan below the bridge of Dunkeld, the inhabitants on each side of which present perfect characteristics of the Saxons and Celts.* One of the most remarkable of the latter was the celebrated Neil Gow, whose genius has added fresh spirit to the cheerful and exhilarating music of Caledonia, and who, although he was born, and, during the period of a long life, lived within half a mile of the Lowland border, exhibited a perfect specimen of the genuine Highlander in person, garb, principles, and character.

While both sides of this line differed so widely, the language of the northern division, together with their chivalry, their garb, their arms, and their Jacobite principles, kept them too well prepared, and made them too ready to join in the troubles that ensued. The disarming acts of 1716 and 1725, with various irritating causes, contributed to keep alive these feelings, and to encourage the hopes of the exiled family. These hopes led to the Rebellion of 1745, when Charles Edward landed in the West Highlands without men or money, trusting to that attachment which many were supposed to cherish to his family; and committing to their charge his honour, his life, and his hopes of a crown,

* The author of Waverley has, with great spirit and humour, given an admirable delineation of this difference of character, in the account of Waverley's journey from Glenquaich, and his rencounter with Gilfillan, the evangelical landlord of the Seven-branched Golden Candlesticks at Crieff.

he threw himself among them, and called upon them to support his claims. This confidence touched the true string, and made a powerful appeal to that fidelity which had descended to them, as it were, in trust from their forefathers. * Seeing a descendant of their ancient kings among them, confiding in their loyalty, and believing him unfortunate, accomplished, and brave, "Charles soon found himself at the head of some thousands of hardy mountaineers, filled with hereditary attachment to his family, and ardently devoted to his person, in consequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as having assumed the ancient military dress of their country, which added new grace to his tall and handsome figure, at the same time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air; and who, from all these motives, were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause; and descending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent at the head of his intrepid Highlanders, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, &c. &c." †

* It was not without reason, he relied on this loyal attachment to his person and family. The numerous anecdotes in proof of this attachment, are so remarkable, as to appear almost incredible to those unacquainted with the manners and feelings of the Highlanders.

When the late Mr Stewart of Balichulish returned home, after having completed a course of general and classical education at Glasgow and Edinburgh, he was a promising young man. A friend of the family happening to visit his father, who had "*been out*" in 1715 and 1745, congratulated the old gentleman on the appearance and accomplishments of his son. To this he answered, that the youth was all he could wish for as a son; and "next to the happiness of seeing Charles restored to the throne of his forefathers, is the promise my son affords of being an honour to his family."

A song or ballad of that period, set to a melancholy and beautiful air, was exceedingly popular among the Highlanders, and sung by all classes. It is in Gaelic, and cannot be translated without injury to the spirit and effect of the composition. One verse, alluding to the conduct of the troops after the suppression of the rebellion, proceeds thus: "They ravaged and burnt my country; they murdered my father, and carried off my brothers; they ruined my kindred, and broke the heart of my mother;—but all, all could I bear without murmur, if I saw my king restored to his own."

† Letters of a Nobleman to his Son.

So universal and ardent was this feeling, that had it not been for the wisdom and influence of the Lord President Forbes,* a general rising of the Highlanders would probably have ensued. This will appear the more remarkable, if it be true, as is insinuated by that eminent person, that there was no previous plan of operations, or connected scheme of rebellion; although, had there really been a preconcerted scheme of any kind, it will be allowed, that the Lord President of the Court of Session was not the person to whom treasonable plots would have been disclosed, how intimate soever he might be with the persons concerned. The whole, however, would seem to have been a sudden ebullition of loyalty, long cherished in secret, and cherished the more intensely, for the very reason that it was secret and persecuted. The Lord President, in a letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell, dated September 1745, gives the following account of the spirit then displayed in the North: "All the Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad, all doubtful people became Jacobites, and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary right and victory. And what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you believe me, more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies,† if you except one or two, became passion-

* See Appendix, U.

† Of all the fine ladies, few were more accomplished, more beautiful, or more enthusiastic, than the Lady Mackintosh, a daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld. Her husband, the Laird of Mackintosh, had this year been appointed to a company in the then 43d, now 42d, Highland regiment; and, restrained by a sense of duty, he kept back his people, who were urgent to be led to the field. These restraints had no influence on his lady, who took the command of the clan, and joined the rebels, by whom her husband was taken prisoner,—when the Prince gave him in charge to his wife, saying, "that he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated." One morning when Lord Loudon lay at Inverness with the royal army, he received information that the Pretender was to sleep that night at Moy Hall, the seat of Mackintosh, with a guard of two hundred of Mackintosh's men. Expecting to put a speedy end to the rebellion by the capture of the person who was the prime mover of the whole, Lord Loudon assembled his troops, and marched to Moy Hall. The commandress, however, was not to be taken by surprise; and she had no want of faithful scouts to give her full information of all movements

ately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him, in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances, I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit, provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; and if you will except Macleod (the Laird of Macleod), whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage."

During the progress of this unfortunate rebellion, the moral character of the great mass of the Highlanders engaged in it was placed in a most favourable point of view. The noblemen and gentlemen too, who took a lead in the cause, were generally actuated by pure, although mistaken motives of loyalty and principle. Some of them might be stung by the remembrance of real or supposed injuries, by dis-

or intended attacks. Without giving notice to her guest of his danger, she with great, and, as it happened, successful temerity, sallied out with her men, and took post on the high road, at a short distance from the house, placing small parties two and three hundred yards asunder. When Lord Loudon came within hearing, a command was passed from man to man, in a loud voice, along a distance of half a mile: The Mackintoshes, Macgillivrays, and Macbeans, to form instantly on the centre,—the Macdonalds on the right,—the Frasers on the left; and in this manner were arranged all the clans in order of battle, in full hearing of the Commander-in-chief of the royal army, who, believing the whole rebel force ready to oppose him, instantly faced to the right about, and retreated with great expedition to Inverness; but not thinking himself safe there, he continued his route across three arms of the sea to Sutherland, a distance of seventy miles, where he took up his quarters.

Such was the terror inspired by the Highlanders of that day, even in military men of experience like Lord Loudon. It was not till the following morning that Lady Mackintosh informed her guest of the risk he had run. One of the ladies noticed by the President, finding she could not prevail upon her husband to join the rebels, though his men were ready; and perceiving, one morning, that he intended to set off for Culloden with the offer of his services as a loyal subject, contrived, while making tea for breakfast, to pour, as if by accident, a quantity of scalding hot water on his knees and legs, and thus effectually put an end to all active movements on his part for that season, while she dispatched his men to join the rebels under a commander more obedient to her wishes.

appointed ambition, or excited by delusive hopes; yet the greatest proportion even of these staked their lives and fortunes in the contest, from a disinterested attachment to an unfortunate prince, for whose family their fathers had suffered, and whose pretensions they themselves were taught to consider as just. Into these principles and feelings, the mass of the clansmen entered with a warmth and zeal unmixed with, or unsullied by, motives of self-interest or aggrandizement; for whatever their superiors might expect, they could look for nothing but that satisfaction and self-approbation which accompany the consciousness of supporting the oppressed. They were therefore misguided, rather than criminal, and to their honour it ought to be remembered, that though engaged in a formidable civil war, which roused the strongest passions of human nature, and though unaccustomed to regular discipline, or military control, though they were in a manner let loose on their countrymen, and frequently flushed with victory, and elated with hopes of ultimate success, they committed comparatively very few acts of wanton plunder, or gratuitous violence. They withstood temptations, which, to men in their situation, might have appeared irresistible; and when they marched into the heart of England through fertile and rich districts, presenting numberless objects of desire, and also when in the northern parts of the kingdom, often pinched with hunger, and exposed throughout a whole winter to all the inclemencies of the weather, without tents, or any covering save what chance afforded; in these trying circumstances, acts of personal violence and robbery were unheard of, except among a few desperate followers, who joined more for the sake of booty, than from other and better motives. Private revenge, or unprovoked massacre,* wanton depredation, the burning of private houses, or destruction of property, were entirely unknown. When the cravings of hunger, or the want of regular supplies in the north of Scotland, compel-

* See Appendix, V.

led them to go in quest of food, they limited their demands by their necessities, and indulged in no licentious excess. The requisitions and contributions exacted and levied by the rebel commanders, were the unavoidable consequences of their situation, and did not in any manner affect the character of the rebel army, which conducted itself throughout with a moderation, forbearance, and humanity, almost unexampled in any civil commotion. In a military point of view, they proved themselves equally praiseworthy. Neither in the advance into England, to within a hundred and fifty miles of London, nor in the retreat, when pursued by a superior army while another attempted to intercept them, did they leave a man behind by desertion, and few or none by sickness. They carried their cannon along with them, and the retreat "was conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men under circumstances equally adverse." *

When such were the character and conduct of the rebel army,—irreproachable in every respect, except in the act of rebellion,—it is to be lamented that their enlightened and disciplined conquerors did not condescend to take a lesson of moderation from these uncultivated savages, (as they called them;) and that they sullied their triumphs, by devastation and cruelty inflicted on a defenceless enemy. As to the burning of the castles of Lovat, Lochiel, Glengarry, Clunie, and others, some apology may be found in the expediency of punishing men, who, from the circle in which they moved, and their general intelligence and knowledge of the world, must have known the stake which they hazarded, and the consequences of a failure. Not so with their followers, who acted from a principle of fidelity and attachment, which had withstood the lapse of so many years of absence and exile, and which, by gentle treatment, might have been turned into the proper channel. Instead of this, a line of conduct

* Letters from a Nobleman to his Son.

was pursued infinitely more ferocious und barbarous, than the worst acts of the poor people, to whom these epithets were so liberally applied.

These cruelties compelled many of the followers of the rebel army, afraid of punishment, and unwilling to return to their homes, to form themselves into bands of freebooters, who frepuented the mountains of Athole, Breadalbane, and Monteith, districts which form the border country, and often laid the Lowlands under contributions; defying the exertions of their Lowland neighbours, assisted by small garrisons, stationed in different parts of the country, to check their depredations. The harsh measures afterwards pursued were moré calculated to exasperate, then to allay the discontents which they were intended to remove, and were perhaps less excusable as being more deliberate.

SECTION X.

Abolition of Hereditary Jurisdiction—Suppression of the Highland Garb.

THE alarm occasioned by this insurrection, determined government to dissolve the patriarchal system in the Highlands, the nature, as well as the danger of which, had the power of the clans been properly directed, was now exhibited to the country. It would appear that it was considered impracticable to effect this dissolution of clanship, fidelity, and mutual attachment, between the Highlanders and their chiefs, by a different and improved modification of the system and state of society; and, unfortunately, no course was pursued short of a complete revolution. For this purpose, an act was passed in 1747, depriving all chiefs and landholders of their jurisdictions and judicial powers; and in August of the same year, it was also enacted, that any person in the Highlands, possessing or concealing any kind of arms, should be liable in the first instance, to a severe fine, and be committed to prison without bail till payment. If the delinquent was a male, and unable to pay the fine, he was to be sent to serve as a soldier in America, or, if unfit for service, to be imprisoned for six months; if a female, she was, besides the fine and imprisonment till payment, to be detained six months in prison. Seven years' transportation was the punishment for a second offence.

The Highland garb was proscribed by still severer penalties. It was enacted, that any person within Scotland, whether man or boy, (excepting officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service,) who should wear the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder belts, or any part of the Highland garb; or should use for great coats, tartans, or party coloured plaid, or stuffs; should, without the alternative of a fine, be imprisoned, on the first conviction, for six months without

bail, and on the second conviction be transported for seven years. *

The necessity of these measures is the best apology for their severity; but, however proper it may have been to dissolve a power which led to such results, and to deprive men of authority and their followers of arms, which they so illegally used, the same necessity does not appear to extend to the garb. "Even the loyal clans," says Dr Johnson, "murmured with an appearance of justice, that, after having defended the king, they were forbidden to defend themselves, and that the swords should be forfeited which had been legally employed. It affords a generous and manly pleasure, to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds, with fearless confidence, though it is open on every side to invasion; where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man sleeps securely with his sword beside him, and where all, on the first approach of hostility, come together at the call to battle, as the summons to a festival show, committing their cattle to the care of those, whom age or nature had disabled to engage the enemy; with that competition for hazard and glory, which operate in men that fight under the eye of those whose dislike or kindness they have always considered as the greatest evil, or the greatest good. This was in the beginning of the present century: in the state of the Highlanders every man was a soldier, who partook of the national confidence, and interested himself in national honour. To lose this spirit, is to lose what no small advantage will compensate, when their pride has been crushed by the heavy hand of a vindictive

* Considering the severity of the law against this garb, nothing but the strong partiality of the people could have prevented its going entirely into disuse. The prohibitory laws were so long in force, that more than two-thirds of the generation who saw it enacted had passed away before the repeal. The youth of the latter period knew it only as an illegal garb, to be worn by stealth under the fear of imprisonment and transportation. Breeches, by force of habit, had become so common, that it is remarkable how the plaid and philibeg were resumed at all.

conqueror, whose severities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much discontent, because they operate on the surface of life, and make every eye bear witness to subjection. If the policy of the disarming act appears somewhat problematical, what must we think of the subsequent measure of 1747, to compel the Highlanders to lay aside their national dress? It is impossible to read this latter act, without considering it rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and a beneficent legislature. To be compelled to wear a new dress has always been found painful."* So the Highlanders found; and it certainly was not consistent with the boasted freedom of our country, (and in that instance, indeed, it was shown that this freedom was only a name) to inflict, on a whole people, the severest punishment short of death, for wearing a particular dress. Had the whole race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation and shame, could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of this long inherited costume. This was an encroachment on the feelings of a people, whose ancient and martial garb had been worn from a period reaching back beyond all history or even tradition. †

* Dr Johnson's Journey to the Highlands.

† Some opinion may be formed of the importance which Government attached to the garb by the tenor of the following oath, administered in 1747 and 1748 in Fort William and other places where the people were assembled for the purpose; those who refused to take it being treated as rebels: "I. A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family and property,—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations,—may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath." The framers of this oath understood the character of the Highlanders. The abolition of the feudal power of the chiefs, and the disarming act had little influence on the character of the people in comparison of the grief, indignation, and disaffection occasioned by the loss of their garb.

The obstinacy with which the law was resisted, proceeded no less from their attachment to their proscribed garb, than from the irksomeness of the dress forced upon them. Habituated to the free use of their limbs, the Highlanders could ill brook the confinement and restraint of the Lowland dress, and many were the little devices which they adopted to retain their ancient garb, without incurring the penalties of the act, devices which were calculated rather to excite a smile, than to rouse the vengeance of persecution. Instead of the prohibited tartan kilt, some wore pieces of a blue, green, or red thin cloth, or coarse camblet, wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to the knees like the *fealdag*.* The tight breeches were particularly obnoxious. Some who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to

* The *fealdag* was the same as the philibeg, only not plaited. The mode of sewing the kilt, into plaits or folds, in the same manner as the plaid, is said to have been introduced by an Englishman of the name of Parkinson, early in the last century, which has given rise to an opinion entertained by many, that the kilt is modern, and was never known till that period. This opinion is founded on a memorandum left by a gentleman whose name is not mentioned, and published in the Scots Magazine. To a statement totally unsupported, little credit can of course be attached; and it may, surely with as much reason, be supposed, that breeches were never worn till the present cut and manner of wearing them came into fashion. As the Highlanders had sufficient ingenuity to think of plaiting the plaid, it is likely they would be equally ingenious in forming the kilt; and as it is improbable that an active light-footed people would go about on all occasions, whether in the house or in the field, encumbered with twelve yards of plaid, (to say nothing of the expense of such a quantity), I am less willing to coincide in the modern opinion, founded on such a slight unauthenticated notice, than in the universal belief of the people, that the philibeg has been part of their garb, as far back as tradition reaches.

Since the publication of the former editions, several friends have represented to me, that a more decided contradiction ought to be given to the story of Parkinson and his supposed invention of the kilt, which, they say, is totally unfounded. The truth is, the thing is not worth contradicting. If the story were true, which it is not, the whole would amount to this,—that in the reign of George II. the Highlanders began to wear four yards of tartan instead of twelve, as was their practice in former reigns. This is one of the arguments brought forward by some modern authors, to prove that the Highland garb is of recent introduction.

the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and loyal dress, which, either as the signal of their submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others, who were either more wary, or less submissive, sewed up the centre of the kilt, with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trowsers worn by Dutch skippers. At first these evasions of the act were visited with considerable severity; but at length the officers of the law seem to have acquiesced in the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the prohibition of the act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of M'Alpin, or Drummond Macgregor, from Breadalbane, who was acquitted, on his proving that the kilt had been stitched up in the middle. * This trial took place in 1757, and was the first instance of relaxation in enforcing the law of 1747. †

The change produced in the Highlands, by the disarming and proscribing acts, was accelerated by the measures of government for the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and

* This very strong attachment to a habit which they thought graceful and convenient, is not singular among an ancient race, proud of their independence, manners, customs, and long unbroken descent. It is in every one's memory, that a dangerous mutiny was produced at Vellore, in the East Indies, by insisting on an alteration in the dress of the native troops, in the adjustment of their turbans, and in the cut of their whiskers. There was, perhaps, a religious feeling mixed with this opposition; yet whiskers and turbans seem of less importance than a whole garb, such as that the use of which the Highlanders were prohibited.

† Although the severity of this "ignorant wantonness of power" began to be relaxed in 1757, it was not till the year 1782 that an act, so ungenerous in itself, so unnecessary, and so galling, was repealed. In the session of that year, the present Duke of Montrose, then a member of the House of Commons, brought in a bill to repeal all penalties and restrictions on the Celtic garb. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Lauderdale, then Lord Maitland, and passed without a dissenting voice.

the consequent overthrow of the authority of the chiefs. This was the last act of government which had any influence upon the Highland character. Subsequent changes are to be traced to causes, which owe their existence chiefly to the views and speculations of private individuals. Into the order of these causes, and their practical operations and effects, I shall now shortly inquire.

PART II.

PRESENT STATE, AND CHANGE OF CHARACTER AND MANNERS.

SECTION I.

Influence of Political and Economical Arrangements—Change in the Character of the Clans—Introduction of Fanaticism in Religion.

It will be perceived that the preceding Sketch of the customs, manners, and character of the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland refers rather to past than present times. A great, and, in some respects, a lamentable change, has been produced; and the original of the picture which I have attempted to draw is suffering daily obliterations, and is, in fact, rapidly disappearing. Much of the romance and chivalry of the Highland character is gone. The voice of the bard has long been silent; poetry, tradition, and song, are vanishing away. To adopt the words of Mrs Grant, "The generous and characteristic spirit, the warm affection to his family, the fond attachment to his clan, the love of story and song, the contempt of danger and luxury, the mystic superstition equally awful and tender, the inviolable fidelity to every engagement, the ardent love of his native heaths and mountains," will soon be no longer found to

exist among the Highlanders, unless the change of character which is now in rapid progress be checked.

Of this change there was no symptom previous to the year 1745, and scarcely a faint indication till towards the year 1770. The Union, which has had the happiest effect in contributing to the prosperity of both kingdoms, seemed at first, and indeed for many years afterwards, to paralyze the energies, and break the spirit of Scotchmen. The people in general imagined, that, by the removal of their court and parliament, they had lost their independence. The subsequent decrease of trade contributed to exasperate and to increase their aversion to the measure; and from this period, the country seems to have remained stationary, if not to have retrograded, till about the commencement of the late reign, when a spirit of improvement, both in agriculture and commerce, and a more extensive intercourse with the world, infused new life and vigour into the general mass of the population.

While this was the effect of the Union in the southern and lowland parts of Scotland, its operation upon the north was much slower and more imperceptible. There the inhabitants retained their ancient pursuits, prejudices, language, and dress; with all the peculiarities of their original character. But a new era was soon to commence. The primary cause, both in time and importance, which contributed to produce a remarkable change in the Highlands, was the legislative measures adopted subsequent to the year 1745. This cause, however, had so little influence, that, as I have already noticed, its operation was for many years imperceptible; yet an impulse was given which, in the progress of events, and through the co-operation of many collateral and subordinate causes, has effected a revolution, which could not have been fully anticipated, or indeed thought possible in so short a period of time. This change appears in the character and condition of the Highlanders, and is indicated, not only in their manners and persons, but in the very aspect of their country. It has reduced to a state of

nature, lands that had long been subjected to the plough, and which had afforded the means of support to a moral, happy, and contented population; it has converted whole glens and districts, once the abode of a brave, vigorous, and independent race of men, into scenes of desolation; it has torn up families which seemed rooted, like Alpine plants, in the soil of their elevated region, and which, from their habits and principles, appeared to be its original possessors, as well as its natural occupiers,—and forced them thence, pennyless and unskilful, to seek a refuge in manufacturing towns, or, in a state of helpless despair, to betake themselves to the wilds of a far distant land. The spirit of speculation has invaded those mountains which no foreign enemy could penetrate, and expelled a brave people whom no warlike intruder could subdue.

I shall now briefly advert to the circumstances which have led to the system of managing Highland estates, recently adopted by many proprietors, adding a few observations on the manner in which it has been carried into effect, and on its certain or probable consequences, as these affect the permanent prosperity of the landlord, improve or deteriorate the character and condition of the people, and influence their loyalty to the king, respect for the laws, and attachment to the higher orders.

A striking feature in the revolutionized Highland character is, the comparative indifference of the people towards chiefs and landlords. Formerly, their respect and attachment to their chiefs formed one of the most remarkable traits in their character; and such, indeed, were their reverence and affection for their patriarchal superiors, that, to swear by the hand of their chief, was a confirmation of an averment; and "May my chief have the ascendant," was a common expression of surprise.* It is remarkable how

* Martin says, "The islanders have a great respect for their chiefs and heads of tribes, and they conclude grace after every meal, with a petition to God for their welfare and prosperity. Neither will they, as far as in them lies, suffer them to sink under any misfortune, but, in case of decay of estate, make a vo-

little this kindly disposition of the people was, for many years after the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, influenced or impaired by an act which deprived the chiefs of their power, and released the clans from all compulsive obedience to these patriarchal rulers. Notwithstanding this, they still performed their services as before, and admitted the arbitration of their chiefs, when they had no more power or authority over them, than gentlemen of landed property in England or Ireland possess over their tenants.

When a chief, his son, or friends, wished to raise a regiment, company, or smaller number of men, to entitle him to the notice of government, the appeal was seldom made in vain. The same attachment was even displayed towards those whose estates were confiscated to government, and who, as outlaws from their country, became the objects of that mixture of compassion and respect which generous minds accord to the victims of principle. The rights of their chiefs and landlords, in these unhappy circumstances, they regarded as unalienable, unless forfeited by some vice or folly. The victims of law were not merely respected as chiefs, but revered as martyrs, and those to whom self-denial was at all times familiar, became more rigidly abstemious in their habits, that they might, with one hand, pay the rent of the forfeited land to the Crown, * and with the other supply the necessities of their exiled chiefs; while the young men, the sons of their faithful and generous tenantry, were ready with their personal services to forward the welfare, and procure military rank and commissions for the sons of the unfortunate individuals who had lost their estates. †

luntary contribution in their behalf, as a common duty to support the credit of their families."

* See Appendix, W.

† It will be seen in the Appendix, that, in many cases, the tenants on the forfeited estates remitted to their attainted landlords, when in exile, the rents which they formerly paid them, government, at the same time, receiving the full rents of the new leases. This generosity was exhibited on many other oc-

It cannot be doubted, that, by condescension and kindness, this feeling might have been perpetuated, and that the Highland proprietors, without sacrificing any real advantage, would have found in the voluntary attachment of their tenants, a grateful substitute for the loyal obedience of their clans. * Amid the gradual changes and improvements of

casions, when the objects of their affection and respect required assistance. In the year 1757, Colonel Fraser, the son of Lord Lovat, without an acre of land, found himself, in a few weeks, at the head of nearly 800 men from his father's estate, (then forfeited,) and the estates of the gentlemen of the clan. About the same period, and previously, numerous detachments of young men were sent to the Scotch Brigade in Holland, to procure commissions for the gentlemen who had lost their fortunes. In the year 1777, Lord Macleod, eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty, (attainted in 1746), found his influence as effective as when his family were in full possession of their estate and honours. By the support of the Mackenzies, and other gentlemen of his clan, 900 Highlanders were embodied under his command, although he was personally unknown to the greater part of them, having been thirty years in exile. Besides these 900, there were 870 Highlanders raised for his regiment in different parts of the North. * In the year 1776, the late Lochiel was a lieutenant in the 30th regiment, having returned from France after his father's death, and obtained a commission. This lieutenancy was his only fortune after the forfeiture of his estate. The followers of his father's family raised 120 men to obtain for him a company in the 71st regiment. Macpherson of Cluny, also without a shilling, raised 140 men, for which he was appointed major to the 71st, and thus secured an independency till his family estate was restored in 1783. It is unnecessary to give more instances of this disposition, which formed so distinguished a trait in the character of the Highlanders of the last generation.

* The following is one of many existing proofs of permanent respect and attachment, testified by the Highlanders to their landlords. A gentleman possessing a considerable Highland property, and descended from a warlike and honourable line of ancestors, long held in respect by the Highlanders, fell into difficulties some years ago. In this state, he was the more sensible of his misfortune as his estate was very improvable. In fact, he attempted some improvements, but employed more labourers than he could easily afford to pay. But, notwithstanding the prospect of irregular payments, such was the attachment of the people to the representative of a respectable house, that they were ready at his call, and often left the employment of others, who paid regularly, to carry on his operations. To this may be added a circumstance, which will appear the more marked, to such as understand the character of the Highlanders, and know how deeply they feel any neglect in returning civility on the part of

* See Article Macleod's Highlanders, Second Volume.

the age, might not the recollections and most approved virtues and traits of chivalrous times have been retained, along with something of the poetry of the Highland character in the country of Ossian? And if unable to vie with their Southern neighbours in luxury or splendour, might not gentlemen have possessed in their mountains a more honourable distinction,—that of commanding respect without the aid of wealth, by making a grateful people happy, and thus uniting true dignity with humanity? This many gentlemen have accomplished, and in the full enjoyment of the confidence, fidelity, and gratitude of a happy and prosperous tenantry, are now supporting a manly and honourable independence, while others have descended from their enviable eminence for an immediate or prospective addition to their rent-rolls,—an addition which the short respite or delay, so necessary in all improvements and considerable changes, would have enabled their ancient adherents to have contributed.* By many proprietors, no more attention

their superiors. If a gentleman pass a countryman without returning his salute, it furnishes matter of observation to a whole district. The gentleman now in question, educated in the South, and ignorant of the language and character of the people, and of their peculiar way of thinking, paid so little regard to their feelings, that although a countryman pulled off his bonnet almost as soon as he appeared in sight, the respectful salute generally passed unnoticed: yet this was overlooked in remembrance of his family, in the same manner that generous minds extend to the children the gratitude due to the parents.

* Most of the evils which press upon the present age, and which lately desolated Europe, have arisen from the very cause, which has produced such violent changes among the mountains of Scotland; namely, an impatience to obtain too soon, and without due preparation, the advantages that were contemplated, and, from an attempt to accomplish at once, what no human power can effect without the slow but certain aid of time. As an instance of the result of the modern method of management, in hurrying on improvements, without regard to the sacrifice of the happiness of others, contrasted with the effects of improving with moderation and as time and circumstances admitted, I shall state the results of the opposite lines of conduct followed by two Highland proprietors.

One of these gentlemen obtained possession of his father's estate, and employed an agent to arrange the farms on a new plan. The first principle was to consider his lands as an article of commerce, to be disposed of to the highest bidder. The old tenants were accordingly removed. New ones

has been shown to the feelings of the descendants of their fathers' clansmen, than if the connection between the families of the superiors and the tenantry had commenced but yesterday. By others, again, the people have been preserved entire, the consequence of which has been, that they have lost nothing of their moral habits, retain much of the honourable feelings of former times, and are improving in industry and agricultural knowledge; these kind and considerate landlords, having commenced with the improvement of the people as the best and most permanent foundation

offered, and rents, great beyond all precedent, were promised. Two rents were paid; the third was deficient nearly one half, and the fourth failed entirely, or was paid by the sale of the tenant's stock. Fresh tenants were then to be procured. This was not so easy, as no abatement was to be given: hence, a considerable proportion of the estate remained in the proprietor's hands. After the second year, however, the whole farms were again let, but another failure succeeded. The same process was again gone through, and with similar results, to the great discredit of the farms, as few would again attempt to settle, without a great reduction of rent, where so many had failed. But, in all those difficulties, there was no diminution in the landlord's expenses. Indeed, they were greatly extended by fresh speculations and dreams of increased income. Without detailing the whole process, I shall only add, that his creditors have done with the estate what he did with the farms—offered it to the highest bidder.

The other gentleman acted differently. When he succeeded his father, he raised his rents according to the increased value of produce. This continuing to rise, he showed his people, that as a boll of grain, a cow or sheep, obtained one or two hundred per cent. higher price than formerly, it was but just that they should pay rent in proportion. In this they cheerfully acquiesced, while they followed his directions and example in improving their land. He has not removed a tenant. In cases where he thought them too crowded, he, on the decease of a tenant, made a division of his land amongst the others. This was the only alteration as far as regarded the removal of the ancient inhabitants, who are contented and prosperous, paying adequate rents so regularly to their landlord, that he has now saved money sufficient to purchase a lot of his neighbour's estate; and he has also the happiness of believing, that no emissary sowing the seeds of sedition against the king and government, or of disaffection to the established church, will find countenance, or meet with hearers or converts among his tenantry, whose easy circumstances render them loyal, and proof against all the arts of the turbulent and factious, whether directed against the king, the church, or their immediate superiors.

for the improvement of their lands, instead of following the new system, which seems to consider the population of a glen or district in the same light as the flocks that range the hills, to be kept in their habitations so long as they are thought profitable, and when it is believed that they have ceased to be so, to be ejected to make room for strangers. * But those whose families and predecessors had remained for ages, on a particular spot, considered themselves entitled to be preferred to strangers, when they offered equally high rents for their lands. Men of supposed skill and capital were, however, invited to bid against them; and these, by flattering representations of their own ability to improve the property, and by holding out the prejudices, indolence, and poverty of the old tenantry, as rendering them incapable of carrying on improvements, or paying adequate rents, frequently obtained the preference. In many cases even secret offers have been called for, and received, the highest constituting the best claim; † and notwithstanding the examples exhibited by those true pa-

* See Appendix, X.

† Nothing, in the policy pursued in the management of Highland estates, has been more productive of evil than this custom, introduced along with the new improvements, of letting farms by secret offers. It has generated jealousy, hatred, and distrust, setting brother against brother, friend against friend; and, wherever it has prevailed on large estates, has raised such a ferment in the country as will require years to allay. Sir George Mackenzie, in his Report of the County of Ross, with reference to this manner of letting farms, thus feelingly expresses himself: "No exaggerated picture of distress can be drawn to convey to the feeling mind the horrible consequences of such conduct as has been mentioned, towards a numerous tenantry. Whatever difference of opinion may exist respecting the necessity of reducing the numbers of occupiers of land in the Highlands, there can exist but one on conduct such as has been described,—that it is cruelly unjust and dishonourable, especially if, as too often happens, *the old tenants are falsely informed of offers having been made.* Such a deception is so mean, that its having been ever practised, is enough to bring indelible disgrace on us all." Certainly such proceedings must be repugnant to every honourable and enlightened mind. But the disgrace attaches only to those who practise such infamous deceptions. There are many honourable men in the Highlands, who wish for nothing but a fair and honest value for their lands, and would as soon take the money out of their tenants' pockets as act in this manner.

triots, who, by giving time and encouragement, showed at once the capability of their lands and of their tenants, yet, to one of these strangers, or to one of their own richer or more speculating countrymen, were surrendered the lands of a whole valley, peopled, perhaps, by a hundred families. An indifference, if not an aversion, to the families of the landlords who acted in this manner, has too frequently been the natural result; and, in many places, the Highland proprietors, from being the objects of greater veneration with the people than those of any other part of the kingdom, perhaps of Europe, have entirely lost their affections and fidelity. But while many have thus forfeited that honourable influence, (and what influence can be more honourable than that which springs from gratitude and a voluntary affectionate obedience?) which their predecessors enjoyed to such a degree, that to this day the most affectionate blessings are poured out on their memory, as often as their names are mentioned; the system which has so materially contributed to this change, has not been followed by advantages in any way proportionate to the loss. On the contrary, the result has, in too many cases been, bankruptcy among tenants, diminution of honourable principles, and irregularity in the payment of rents, which, instead of improving, have embarrassed the condition of the landlord.

In some cases, these proceedings have been met by resistance on the part of the tenants, and occasioned serious tumults.* In most instances, however, the latter have sub-

* The leading circumstances of one of these tumults will be seen in the account of the military services of the 42d regiment. In the year 1792, a numerous body of tenantry, in the county of Ross, were removed on account of what was called an improved plan, in the advantages of which the people were to have no share. *Their welfare, as in too many cases in the Highlands, formed no part of this plan.* They were all ejected from their farms. It was some years before the result could be fully estimated, so far as regarded the welfare of the landlords. The ruin of the old occupiers was immediate. To the proprietors the same result, though more slowly produced, seems equally certain. In one district, improved in this merciless manner, the estates of five ancient families, who, for several centuries, had supported an honourable and respected name, are all in

mitted with patient resignation to their lot; and, by their manner of bearing this treatment, showed how little they deserved it. But their character has changed with their situations. The evil is extending, and the tenants of kind and patriotic landlords seem to be, in no small degree, affected by the gloom and despondency of those who complain of harsh treatment, and who, neglected and repulsed by their natural protectors, while their feelings and attachment were still strong, have, in too many instances, sought consolation in the doctrines of ignorant and fanatical spiritual guides, capable of producing no solid or beneficial impression on the ardent minds of those to whom their harangues and exhortations are generally addressed. The natural enthusiasm of the Highland character has, in many instances, been converted into a gloomy and morose fanaticism. Traditional

possession of one individual, who, early in the late war, amassed a large fortune in a public department abroad. The original tenants were first dispossessed, and the lairds soon followed. May I not hazard a supposition, that, if these gentlemen had permitted their people to remain, and if they had followed the example of their ancestors, who preserved their estates for two, three, and four hundred years, they too might have kept possession, and bequeathed them to their posterity? The new proprietor has made great and extensive improvements. It is said, that he has laid out thirty thousand pounds on two of these estates. Some very judicious men think, that if the numerous old hardy and vigorous occupiers had been retained, and encouraged by the application of one-third of this sum, such effectual assistance, with their abstemious habits and personal labour, would have enabled them to execute the same improvements, and to pay as high rents as the present occupiers. To be sure their houses would have been small, and their establishments mean in comparison of those of the present tenants; but, to balance the mean appearance of their houses, they would have cost the landlord little beyond a small supply of wood. We should then have seen these districts peopled by a high-spirited independent peasantry, instead of miserable day-labourers and cottars, who are now dependent on the great farmer for their employment and daily bread, and who, sensible of their dependence, must cringe to those by offending whom, they would deprive themselves of the means of subsistence. When no tie of mutual attachment exists, as in former days, the modern one is easily broken. A look that may be construed into insolence is a sufficient cause of dismissal. Can we expect high-spirited chivalrous soldiers, preferring death to defeat and disgrace, from such a population, and such habits as these?

history and native poetry, which reminded them of other times, are neglected. Theological disputes, of interminable duration, now occupy much of the time formerly devoted to poetical recitals, and social meetings. These circumstances have blunted their romantic feelings, and lessened their taste for the works of imagination. "Among the causes," says Dr Smith, "which make our ancient poems vanish so rapidly, poverty and the iron rod should in most places have a large share. From the baneful shades of these murderers of the Muse, the light of the song must fast retire. No other reason need be asked why the present Highlanders neglect so much the songs of their fathers. Once the humble but happy vassal sat at his ease at the foot of his gray rock, or green tree. Few were his wants, and fewer still his cares, for he beheld his herds sporting round him on his then unmeasured mountains. He hummed the careless song, and tuned the harp of joy, while his soul in silence blessed his chieftain. Now I was going to draw the comparison,—Sed Cynthius aurem vellit, et admonuit." *

In the same manner, and from the same cause, their taste for music, dancing, and all kinds of social amusement, has been chilled. Their evening meetings are now seldom held, and when they do occur, instead of being enlivened with the tale, the poem, or the song, they are too frequently exasperated with political or religious discussions, or with complaints against their superiors, and the established clergy, which have altogether exerted a baneful instead of a salutary influence on their general manners, as well as on that natural civility, which, in the last age, never permitted a Highlander to pass any person of respectable appearance without a salute, or some civil observation, whereas at present, so great is the change of manners, that instead of the cordial greetings of former times, a Highlander will frequently pass his immediate superior without the slightest notice. Even the aspect of the Highlander, his air, and his carriage, have

* See Report of the County of Argyle, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture.

undergone a marked change.† Formerly the bonnet was worn with a gentle inclination over the left or right eye-brow, and the plaid was thrown over the left shoulder (the right arm being exposed, and at full liberty) with a careless air, giving an appearance of ease not distant from grace, while the philibeg gave a freedom to the limbs, and showed them to advantage. At present, as the Highland dress is almost exclusively confined to the lower orders, a degree of vulgarity is attached to it, which makes it unfashionable in the eyes of young men, who awkwardly imitate the gentry, and their Southern neighbours, and in their slouched hats and misshapen pantaloons offer a most unseemly contrast to the airy garb and martial appearance of their forefathers.

Along the line of the Grampians, the Gaelic has nearly kept its ground, and is, to this day, spoken in the same districts to which it was limited, after it had ceased to be the prevailing language of Scotland seven hundred years ago. But, although it is universally spoken in common discourse, the Gaelic of the counties of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perth, and, in short, of all the Highlands bordering on the Lowlands, is corrupted by a considerable admixture of English words, ill chosen and ill applied. The chief causes of this

† The difference in the personal appearance of the people is remarkable, and forms an interesting subject for a philosophic inquiry. The causes of the change in character and manners are evident, but those which have affected personal appearance are not equally clear. Persons who remember the remains of the chivalrous race, whose character I have attempted to delineate, will not now discover any of those martial patriarchal figures, remarkable for an erect independent air, an ease of manners, and fluency of language and expression, rarely to be found among any peasantry. Even in my own time I remember many, such as I now describe, who, with kindly dispositions and warm attachment to my family and forefathers, never failed, when I met them, to remind me of their honourable character and name. In the districts where these persons lived, we now see only plain homespun folks. To what can this change be attributed? Not surely to the "progress of improvement"—seeing that their personal appearance is as much deteriorated as their condition. Many observe, and with great reason, that the tacksmen and second order of gentry are more changed than the lower orders, and are every way different from the gentlemen tacksmen of former times.

corruption are the practice, universal in schools, of teaching children to read English, the more general intercourse with the South, which has lately prevailed, and the introduction of many articles of refinement and luxury, unknown when the Gaelic was in its original purity. Successful attempts have recently been made to methodize the structure of the language, to digest the rules of its composition, and, alongst with the collection of ancient works, to give the means of reading and understanding them by a grammar and dictionary. But if the process continues, which has for some time been going forward, the Gaelic, it is to be feared, will gradually become a dead language. In the remote glens and mountains it might have been preserved for ages, as an interesting monument of a most ancient and original language, retaining its peculiar modes and forms of expression unaffected by the progress of time, the great innovator in other spoken languages: but the system of modern Highland improvement, marked by an *aversion, inveterate as it seems unaccountable and causeless, to the ancient inhabitants, their customs, language, and garb*, is now extending to the most distant corri and glen, and will probably root out the language of the country, together with a great proportion of the people who speak it. *

I have already mentioned, that the Highlanders, though Presbyterians, did not, in former times, rigidly adhere to

* Many of the common people begin to despise their native language, as they see gentlemen endeavouring to prevent their children from acquiring the knowledge of the Gaelic, which has been spoken in their native country for a time beyond the reach of record and even tradition. In order that their children may not hear spoken the language of their forefathers, from a dread of their acquiring the accent, they employ Lowland servants, forgetting that people who know not a word of the Gaelic, invariably catch the accent, merely from the ear being accustomed to the sound. Landlords are thus deprived of the power of holding that free and confidential communication with their tenants, which is necessary to acquire a knowledge of their character, dispositions, and talents; and being compelled to trust to interpreters, they are led into much misconception in regard to their tenants, and these again into frequent misapprehension and prejudiced notions of the character and turn of thinking of their landlord.

the tenets of that church. For several ages after the Reformation, they evinced a strong predilection to the Episcopalian form of worship. In many parishes, the Presbyterian clergy were not established till the reigns of George I. and II.; but whether of the Church of England or of Scotland, the people retained a portion of their ancient superstitions. With these superstitions was blended a strong sentiment of piety, which made them regular attendants on divine worship and the ordinances of religion, at the expense of much bodily fatigue and personal inconvenience.† Guided by the sublime and simple truths of Christianity, they were strangers to the very existence of the sects that have branched off from the national church. In this respect, their character and habits have undergone a considerable alteration since they began to be visited by itinerant missionaries, and since the gloom spread over their minds has tended to depress their spirit. The missionaries, indeed, after having ventured within the barrier of the Grampians, found a harvest which they little expected, and amongst the ignorant and unhappy, made numerous proselytes to their opinions. These converts losing, by their recent civilization—as the changes which have taken place in their opinions are called—a great portion of their belief in fairies, ghosts, and the second sight, though retaining their appetite for strong impressions, have readily supplied the void with the visions and inspirations of the "new light,"‡ and, in this mystic

† In the parish where I passed my early years, the people travelled six, seven, and twelve miles to church, and returned the same evening every Sunday in summer, and frequently in winter. A chapel of ease and an assistant clergyman are now established, and the people have not to travel so far. I do not give this as a singular instance; the case was the same in all extensive parishes, and continues to be so where no chapel of ease is established.

‡ Thus have been extirpated the innocent, attractive, and often sublime superstitions of the Highlanders—superstitions which inculcated no relentless intolerance, nor impiously dealt out perdition and Divine wrath against rival sects—superstitions which taught men to believe, that a dishonourable act attached disgrace to a whole kindred and district, and that murder, treachery, oppression, and all kinds of wickedness, would not only be punished in the

lore, have shown themselves such adepts, as even to astonish their new instructors. Indeed, the latter have, in many cases, been far outdone by the wild enthusiasm and romantic fancy of those disciples whose minds they had first agitated. The ardour of the Highland character remains; it has only taken another and more dangerous direction, and, when driven from poetical recitals, superstitious traditions, and chivalrous adventures, has found a vent in religious ravings, and in contests with rival sects. These enthusiastic notions are observed to be most fervent amongst young women. A few years ago, an unfortunate girl in Breadalbane became so bewildered in her imagination by the picture drawn of the punishment of unbelievers, that she destroyed herself in a fit of desperation; *a rare, and, till lately,* the only instance of this crime in the Highlands.

The powerful and gloomy impressions which the doctrines of some of these teachers have made, are evidently owing to an alteration in the state of their proselytes, whose strong feelings, irritated by many causes, seek refuge and consolation in powerful emotions. It is well known, that no

person of the transgressor himself, but would be visited on future generations. When the Highlander imagined that he saw the ghost of his father frowning upon him from the skirts of the passing clouds, or that he heard his voice in the howlings of the midnight tempest, or when he found his imagination awed by the recital of fairy tales of ghosts, and visions of the second sight, his heart was subdued; and when he believed that his misdeeds would be visited on his succeeding generations, who would also be rewarded and prosper in consequence of his good actions, he would either be powerfully restrained or encouraged. When so much—perhaps too much—has been done to destroy these feelings, it were well that some pains were taken to substitute good principles in their room. But I fear that many of the new teachers think more of implicit faith in their own particular doctrines, than of good works in their disciples; and that morals are in general left to the teaching and control of the laws. I trust I shall not be thought too partial to the ancient and innocent superstitions of my countrymen, if I wish that the restraints on vice were more numerous than the laws afford; and confess my belief, that the fear of a ghost is as honourable and legitimate a check as the fear of the gallows, and the thoughts of bringing dishonour on a man's country, name and kindred, fully as respectable as the fear of Bridewell, Botany Bay, or the executioner's whip.

itinerant preacher ever gained a footing among the Highlanders, till recent changes in their situation and circumstances paved the way for fanaticism. Some of these new teachers are, no doubt, zealous and conscientious men, but others again are rash, illiterate, ignorant of human nature, and vulgar; very incapable of filling the situation they have assumed, and peculiarly unqualified for the instruction of a people, sensitive and imaginative, devout in their habits of thinking, and blameless in their general conduct. The same force of language and terrors of denunciation, which are barely adequate to produce compunction in the mind of the reckless and godless reprobate, are sufficient to plunge in utter despondency, a tender conscience, and a mind accustomed to regard the doctrines of religion with deep and mysterious awe. Some of these religious reformers, as they wish to be considered, intermix their spiritual instructions with reflections on the incapacity and negligence of the clergymen of the established church, and on the conduct of landlords, whom they compare to the taskmasters of Egypt: And it is an important fact, that, wherever the people are rendered contented and happy in their external circumstances, by the judicious and humane treatment of their landlords, and wherever they are satisfied with the parish minister in the discharge of his pastoral duties, no itinerant preacher has ever been able to obtain a footing, and the people retain much of their original manners, devoutly and regularly attending the parish church. *

* The inhabitants of a border strath (Strathbrane in the parish of Little Dunkeld, the property of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, Bart.), in the Highlands of Perthshire were, about thirty years ago, considered the most degenerate and worst principled race in the country. Less regular in their attendance on church, litigious, almost the only smugglers in the country, horse-dealers (or horse-coupers, as they are called in Scotland), and, as was said, giving employment to more than one lawyer in the neighbouring town of Dunkeld; these people have, for many years, been blessed with a humane and indulgent landlord, and a conscientious, able, and zealous clergyman, (the late Dr Irvine.) The consequences have been striking and instructive. While the population in many other parts of the country are deteriorated in character, these are improving in morals, industry, and prosperity. Regular in their at-

While these seem to be the effects of religion and external circumstances combined, the differences and mutual recriminations which have taken place between the established church and the sects which have branched off from it, are apparently tending to the most deplorable results in the Highlands, where the gospel, as explained by their clergy, was formerly believed with the most implicit faith; but now, that they see new preachers come among them, and hear the doctrines and lessons of the regular clergy derided, and described as unchristian and unsound, and that, as sometimes happens, the parish minister retorts on the intruders, they know not what or whom to believe, and there are many instances of the doubt thus thrown on religious doctrines, ending in loss of all respect for, or belief in, any religion whatever.*

Yet though many Highlanders are thus changed, and have lost much of their taste for the poetry and romantic amusements of their ancestors, though their attachment to superiors has decayed, and the kindness, urbanity, and respect with which all strangers were treated, have considerably abated,—notwithstanding all these, and several other changes for the worse, they still retain the inestimable virtues of integrity and charity;† their morality is

tendance on church, they have lost their litigious disposition, the minister having ever been zealous and successful in deciding and composing their differences. They are clearing and improving their lands, paying their rents regularly, and are little addicted to smuggling. Itinerant preachers have in vain attempted to show themselves in this populous thriving district, which contains 875 inhabitants, who support themselves in this exemplary manner; on farms, too, the smallness of which might seem incredible to those statistical economists who reason on theory and are ignorant of the country, the capability of the natives, or their exertions when thus kindly treated by a patriotic landlord.

* Of these lamentable consequences of ignorant zeal, and unchristian disputations, there are many instances; and many persons whom I knew to have been once of religious habits, regular and exemplary in their attendance at church, were some years ago induced to quit the established clergyman, and to follow the dissenters; but soon leaving them also, and apparently dissatisfied with both churches, they have given up all attendance on Divine Service, and renounced even the semblance of religion.

† It is a principle among the Highlanders never to allow poor and distressed

sufficiently proved by the records of the courts of justice;* their liberality to the poor, and the independent spirit of the poor themselves, are likewise sufficiently evinced by the trifling and almost nominal amount of the public funds for their relief; and their conduct in the field, and their general qualities of firmness, spirit, and courage, will appear in the subsequent annals.

persons to apply in vain, or to pass their door without affording them some charitable assistance. This disposition is so well known, that the country bordering on the Lowlands is overwhelmed with shoals of beggars; an evil which has increased since the societies for the suppression of mendicity were established in the South. This is a heavy charge on the benevolence of the people; and calls for the prompt interference of the landlords. If they would establish checks in the great passes and entrances into the country, to stop those sturdy beggars and strangers, who are so numerous, while the native beggars are so few, the people would easily support their own poor without any assistance whatever.

Travelling some years ago through a high and distant glen, I saw a poor man, with a wife and four children, resting themselves by the road-side. Perceiving, by their appearance, that they were not of the country, I inquired whence they came. The man answered, from West Lothian. I expressed my surprise how he would leave so fine and fertile a country, and come to these wild glens. "In that fine country," answered the man, "they give me the cheek of the door, and hound the constables after me; in this poor country, as you, Sir, call it, they give me and my little ones the fire-side, with a share of what they have."

* See Appendix.

SECTION II.

Causes and Consequences of this Change—State when placed on small Lots of Land—Poverty followed by Demoralization.

HAVING thus hastily glanced at some of the changes, which Highland manners have undergone during the last fifty years, it may be interesting to trace the causes by which those changes have been produced. When Highland proprietors, ceasing to confine themselves within the limits of the Grampians, began to mingle with the world, and acquire its tastes and manners, they became weary of a constant residence on their estates, and wished for a more enlarged and varied society than a scanty and monotonous neighbourhood afforded. † Those who could afford the expense removed to London or Edinburgh, for at least the winter months; and their sons who formerly remained at home till sent to the universities to finish their education, now accompanied their parents at so early an age, that they lost the advantages of founding their classical attainments on the generous enthusiasm and the *amor patriæ* as-

† To those who live in the busy world, and are hurried round by its agitations, it is difficult to form an idea of the means by which time may be filled up, and interest excited in families, who, through choice or necessity, dwell among their own people. The secret lies in the excitement of strong attachment. To be in the centre of a social circle, where one is beloved and useful, —to be able to mould the characters and direct the passions by which one is surrounded, creates, in those whom the world has not hardened, a powerful interest in the most minute circumstance which gives pleasure or pain to any individual in that circle, where so much affection and good will are concentrated. The mind is stimulated by stronger excitements, and a greater variety of enjoyments, than matters of even the highest importance can produce in those who are rendered callous, by living among the selfish and the frivolous. It is not the importance of the objects, but the value at which they are estimated, that renders their moral interest permanent and salutary.

cribed to mountaineers. But the Highland youth were now, in many cases, early alienated from their clans, and from those regions in which warm affections and cordial intimacies subsisted between the gentry and the people; and the new tastes which they acquired were little calculated to cherish those sympathies and affections which indescribably endear the home of our youth. Thus initiated into the routine of general society, when they occassionally returned to their native glens they felt the absence of the variety of town amusements, and had also lost that homefelt dignity and those social habits which formerly gave a nameless charm to the paternal seat of a Highland landlord, while he maintained an easy intercourse with the neighbouring proprietors, with the old retainers of the family, and with gentlemen farmers, or, as they are styled in the expressive language of patriarchal brotherhood, "friendly tenants." * These

* The extinction of the respectable race of tacksmen, or gentlemen farmers, where it has taken place on extensive estates, is a serious loss to the people. Dr Johnson, speaking of the removal of the tacksmen, as it was supposed they could not pay equally high rents with men who lived in an inferior style, and who required less education for their children, thus expresses himself: "The commodiousness of money is indeed great, but there are some advantages which money cannot buy, and which, therefore, no wise man will, by the love of money, be tempted to forego." The soundness of this opinion has been fully confirmed; the rank and influence which these respectable men held are now void,—their places being, in most cases, filled up by shepherds and graziers from the South, or by such natives as had capital or credit enough to undertake their farms. This new class being generally without birth, education, or any of the qualifications requisite to secure the respect of the people on those great estates, where there are no resident proprietors, the inhabitants are left without men of talent, or of sufficient influence, from rank or education, to settle the most ordinary disputes, or capable of acting as justices of the peace, and of signing those certificates and affidavits, which the law in so many instances requires. In extensive districts, containing two, three, and four thousand persons each, not more than one, or two at the utmost, or perhaps none, of the ancient rank of gentlemen tacksmen remain, although once so numerous, that on the estates of Macdonald and Macleod, there were upwards of sixty, who, as I am informed by my friend Lord Bannatyne, (and many of them were of his intimate acquaintance,) "were in general liberally educated, possessing the

were no longer companions suited to the newly acquired tastes and habits. The minds of landlords were directed to the means of increasing their incomes, and of acquiring the funds necessary to support their new and more expensive mode of life in a distant country, while their own was impoverished by this constant drain of its produce.

The system of agriculture which formerly prevailed in the Highlands was well adapted to the character and habits of the people, and was directed to the cultivation of grain, and the rearing of cattle and goats. The value of sheep not being then well understood, they only formed a secondary object. During the summer months the herds were driven to the shealings, or patches of pasture along the margins of the mountain streams. Temporary huts were erected to shelter those who tended the herds and flocks and managed the dairy, the produce of which, and the cattle, the goats, and the few sheep which they could dispose of, formed the only

the manners and spirit of gentlemen." It was the same in many other districts, but the few of this description of gentlemen farmers who remain, are the only individuals capable of acting as justices of the peace; and pensioners and others, who wish to make affidavits, must travel thirty or forty miles for that purpose. Fortunately for the people of many Highland districts, their original habits are still so strong and so well preserved, that magistrates have hitherto been seldom necessary for other purposes. The want of magistrates, therefore, is a trifling grievance in comparison of leaving a population so numerous and virtuous, open to an inundation of political and religious tracts, of ignorant and pretended teachers of the gospel, and of agents of the WHITE SLAVE TRADE, the last of whom induce many unfortunate creatures to emigrate to America, and to sell the reversion of their persons and labour for the passage, which they cannot otherwise obtain. Of the religious and political tracts industriously distributed among these people, they cannot discriminate the truth from what may be intended to deceive and inflame. The itinerant preachers of the "New Light" disseminate hostility to the character and doctrines of the established clergy; while the agents of the emigrant vessels are most active in contrasting the boasted happiness, ease, and freedom, to be enjoyed in America, with what they call the oppression of their landlords. To all this delusion these unfortunate people are exposed, while the new system of statistical economy, with its cold unrelenting merciless spirit, has driven away those who contributed so materially to maintain the moral and physical energies of the state, by the influence they exerted over the minds and actions of the people.

sources of their wealth, the produce of the arable land being seldom sufficient to supply the wants of a family. Latterly grazing appears to have almost superseded agriculture. When a farmer could afford to enlarge his possession, he usually did so, by adding to the number of his live stock, and neglecting cultivation, which at an early period was greatly more extensive. *

While this continued to be the prevailing practice among the farmers of the Highlands, the improvements in agriculture in England, which had their origin in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., were matured and reduced to system in the reign of his son Charles I. The extension of these to the northward seems, however, to have been gradual. From the reign of James I. of England, so slow was the march of improvement, that it did not extend to Scotland till 140 years thereafter. Potatoes, which were known in England in the time of Sir Walter Raleigh, were not introduced into Scotland, except as a rare garden vegetable, till after the commencement of the reign of George III.† In East Lothian, as late as the year 1740, few carts were to be seen, and none adapted for heavy and distant conveyances. Fifty years ago field turnips were in very limited use, and it is not many years since they were generally cultivated; yet field-turnips, potatoes, and sown grass, were quite common in England a century before. In the year 1760, the Lothian farmers were as prejudiced in favour of old customs, and as backward in adopting modern improvements, as the most uncultivated of the Highlanders. One

* See Appendix, Z.

† In the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, it is stated that Mr Prentice, in the neighbourhood of Kilsyth, was the first person who planted potatoes in the open field in Scotland: He died in 1792.

It was not till after the year 1770, that my father planted potatoes, which were the first raised in the field in his district; and it required some time and persuasion to induce his servants to eat them. This vegetable, which is now the principal food of the Highland peasantry, was then considered as incapable of supporting a man employed in active labour.

of the most opulent, extensive, and enlightened farmers in the county of Perth, was twenty years a cultivator before he could overcome his prejudices so far as to enter upon the new system; and it was not till after the year 1770 that Mr John White, at Kirkton of Mailler, in Strathearn, first introduced the green crop system into Perthshire.* The farmer who first commenced the system of dry fallow in East Lothian only died in the late reign. This new mode of agriculture was considered so extraordinary, that for some time it was looked upon as the result of a disordered intellect, even in the now highly cultivated district of the Lothians.†

* So backward was agriculture in the Carse of Gowrie, in the year 1756, that a gentleman who, by his abilities, had risen to the highest dignity in the law, walking with a friend through his fields, where his servants were weeding the corn, expressed great gratitude to Providence for raising such a quantity of thistles; "as otherwise," said the Lord President, "how could we, in this district, where we cannot allow our good corn land to be in pasture, find summer food for our working horses?"

† Had the Lothian gentlemen of that period ejected the bulk of the ancient inhabitants, as indolent, prejudiced, ignorant, and worthless, as the Highlanders are characterized by the supporters of the depopulating system, placing those allowed to remain, on barren and detached patches of land;—and had they invited strangers from England, France, or Flanders, to supply the place of the extirpated inhabitants, would there not have been the same senseless clamour, (as the expression of the indignant feelings, roused by various cruel and unnecessary measures pursued in the Highlands, is called), although in the fertile soil of the Lothians, near the consumption of great cities, with the command of manure and water carriage, large establishments, and farms of one or two hundred arable acres, may be suitable to the circumstances and situation of the country? But what are the consequences even in that fertile country? People are so scarce, that, without assistance from other countries, their field labour and harvest could not be accomplished. It may indeed be a question,—if the whole kingdom were in similar circumstances, and had as few inhabitants comparatively as the Lothians, where part of the autumn labour is performed by Highlanders, (principally women, who travel southward upwards of 100, and numbers 200 miles),—whence could a supply be obtained? If then, large farms cause a deficiency of necessary labourers, even in the fertile lands of the Lothians, how unsuitable and ruinous to the barren Highlands must a system be, which leaves not a sufficiency of hands, in a country with such narrow stripes of arable land, that a farm of 300 acres would stretch along the

Whilst agriculture in Scotland was thus slowly advancing, it was suddenly accelerated by the spirit of enterprise which burst forth after the Seven Years' War. In the Lowlands, however, the people were allowed time to overcome old habits, and to acquire a gradual knowledge of the new improvements. But many Highland landlords, in their intercourse with the South, seeing the advantages of these improvements, and the consequent increase of rents, commenced operations in the North with a precipitation which has proved ruinous to their ancient tenants, and not always productive of advantage to themselves;—a consequence to be expected, when, as has been remarked by Mr Pennant, in his Tour through the Highlands, "they attempted to empty the bag before it was filled."

The people, unwilling to change old institutions and habits, as if by word of command; unable, or perhaps averse, to pay the new rents, without being allowed time to prepare for the demand; and seeing, as it often happened, their offers of a rent equal to that of the strangers rejected, were rendered desperate. Irritated by the preference thus given, and by the threats of expulsion, their despondency and discontent must cease to astonish. The natural consequence is, a check to exertion, or of any attempt to improve. When this seeming indolence shows itself, gentlemen, and those by whom they often allow themselves to be influenced, and to whom they frequently yield their better judgment and kindlier feelings, declare, that so long as such a lazy incorrigible race remains, they cannot enjoy the value of their lands. In this opinion they are confirmed by persons who argue, that

whole side of a district? From the uncertainty of the climate, the want of an immediate and efficient supply of hands would be ruinous. The North having no towns or villages whence assistance could be obtained, if the arable lands in the Highlands contained as few inhabitants as the Lothians, the principal parts must be kept in pasture, and one-half of what the soil would produce lost; for, even in the Highlands, where the cultivation of the valleys is well managed, and the supply of labourers sufficient, it is beyond all proportion the most profitable, notwithstanding the comparatively barren soil, and backward uncertain climate.

the prosperity of the state calls for such measures, at the same time that they acknowledge the harshness of these measures in themselves, and profess their sympathy with the people, who are thus reduced to poverty, and its too frequent consequences, immorality and crime; forgetting that it can never be for the well-being of any state to deteriorate the character of, or to extirpate a brave, loyal, and moral people, its best supporters in war, and the most orderly, contented, and economical in peace. These reasoners found their arguments on general principles; and, without taking into consideration, or perhaps unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the case, with the nature of the country, its uncertain humid climate, or the hardihood and capability of the inhabitants, if properly managed,—and keeping entirely out of view, also, the reduced condition of the people, an omission not to be expected in an enlightened age;—they endeavour to prove, that if one family can manage a tract of country, * it is an useless waste of labour to

* If it were probable that machinery could be invented to carry on manufactures of every description without the intervention of human labour, and that corn could be imported for the consumption of the inhabitants of Great Britain, the soil turned to pasture, and little manual, manufacturing, or agricultural labour left for the working population, which would thus be thrown idle; would such a sacrifice of productive labour be proper, and would the welfare of the state be promoted by the diminution of the people, which must be the necessary consequence of a want of employment? for, if the population is reduced, how is the produce of the soil and of manufactures to be consumed? The question is as applicable to the northern portion as to the whole empire; and as it would be ruinous to the lower orders to put an end to all agricultural labour in the South, so it must be to the people of the North, if the whole country be converted into pasture and large farms. In this case, the people must be sent to the colonies, as the Lowlands offer no encouragement for extensive emigration from the Highlands. If allowed to remain in their native country, without any support but daily labour, in a country where, under such management, all, except a few men of capital, must be day-labourers, and under a system which yields but little employment; when even that little fails, as from the natural course of events it must often do, poor-rates must be established, and the lower orders in the Highlands become paupers, as is the case with one-seventh of the population of England; a state of degradation unpa-

allow it, as was formerly, and is still the case in many parts of the Highlands, to be occupied by many families possessing much economy and industry, though with little capital.

But whatever be the capital of farmers, or the size of farms, rents must be according to the value of the produce. While the staple and only article of export from the Highlands was so low that the price of the best ox did not exceed thirty shillings, and a sheep half-a-crown, the rents were in proportion to, but not lower than, those in the most fertile districts of Scotland * at the same period. But when a great demand and increased prices led to the prosperity of the tenants, it was natural for proprietors to raise their rents, and to attempt those improvements and changes which the progress of agricultural knowledge and the wealth of the country suggested. This was the just and natural progress of events, and would of itself have been the cause of many changes in the manners and condition of the Highlanders; and, judging from numerous examples, might have been effected without injury to the original tenants, and to the great and permanent advantage of the proprietors. Rents might have been gradually increased with the increasing value of produce, and improved modes of

ralleled in the Christian world. And yet this is the state to the completion of which, so much has been said and written, to prevail upon the Highland proprietors to reduce the ancient occupiers of their land.

* In the year 1785, some of the best lands on Lord Kinnaird's estate in the Carse of Gowrie were rented on old leases of fifty-nine years, at four pounds Scots, or six shillings and eightpence the acre. The present rent is £6 Sterling per acre. The difference of the present rents and of those paid seventy years ago, on the estates of Lords Kinnoull, Gray, and others in the Lowlands, are similar. In those days they were equally low with the rents in the Highlands, which were of more value to the proprietors than they would seem, by merely looking to the money rent, as much was paid in kind, and in personal services. It is said that Stewart of Appin received as rent an ox or cow for every week, and a goat or wether for every day in the year, with fowls and smaller articles innumerable. When the money rent and personal service for warlike and domestic purposes are added, the provisions gave the laird abundance, the money independence, and the personal services dignity and security in turbulent ages, when the laws were too weak to afford protection.

cultivation introduced, without subverting the characteristic dispositions of a race of men who inherited from their ancestors an attachment seldom equalled, and still more seldom exceeded, either in fidelity or disinterestedness.* By taking advantage of this honourable disposition, (for what can be more honourable than that disinterested fidelity to which life and fortune were sacrificed?) the tenants might have been induced to pay adequate rents for their lands, without the necessity of depopulating whole districts; the farms, too, might have been gradually enlarged—the mode of husbandry altered—sheep stock introduced—the surplus population, if such there was, employed in clearing and improving the land fit for cultivation, or induced to change their residence from one district to another, or to transfer their industry from the land to the fisheries, or to trades or handicrafts, without being driven at once from their usual means of subsistence and from their native districts. "The forcible establishment of manufactories and of fisheries," says a learned author on the rural economy of the Highlands, "are projects only of in-

* It may be considered unnecessary to multiply examples of disinterested attachment; but the traits they disclose are of such a nature, as must be gratifying to all who respect the best characteristics of human nature. A few years ago, a gentleman of an ancient and honourable family got so much involved in debt, that he was obliged to sell his estate. One-third of the debt consisted of money borrowed in small sums from his tenants, and from the country people in the neighbourhood. The interest of these sums was paid very irregularly. Instead of complaining of this inconvenience, his creditors among his people kept at a distance, lest their demands might add to the difficulties of the man whose misfortunes they so much lamented; and many declared, that if their money could contribute to save the estate of an honourable family they would never ask for principal or interest. Speaking to several of these people on this subject, the uniform answer which I received was nearly in the following words: "God forbid that I should distress the honourable gentleman; if my money could serve him, how could I bestow it better? He and his family have ever been kind,—he will do more good with the money than ever I can,—I can live without it,—I can live on potatoes and milk, but he cannot;—to see his family obliged to quit the house of his forefathers, is cause of grief to us all."

considerate benevolence; it is only by the gradual change of opinions and practices, by the presentation of new motives, and the creation of new desires, that the state of society must be changed. All that which ought to follow will proceed in its natural order, without force, without loss, and without disappointment." * This would, no doubt, have been the case in the Highlands, where a gradual, prudent, and proper change would not have excited riots among a people distinguished for their hereditary obedience to their superiors, nor rendered it necessary to eject them from their possessions by force, or, as in some instances, by burning their houses about their ears, and driving them out, homeless and unsheltered, to the naked heath. It was a cold-hearted spirit of calculation, from before which humanity, and every better feeling, shrunk, that induced men to set up for sale that loyalty, fidelity, and affection, which, as they cannot be purchased, are above all price. †

* Dr Macculloch's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland.

† The same disposition is seen in the sale of woods which beautified the country, and gave an appearance of antiquity and pre-eminence to gentlemen's seats. The destruction of old timber has, for some years past, been so great, that, if continued, Dr Johnson's remark, "that no tree in Scotland is older than the Union," will have too much the air of truth. Noble trees, of the age and growth of centuries, which gave dignity to the seats they ornamented, have been levelled to the ground, and sold for a trifle, as the age that made them so venerable diminished their value as timber. It would be trifling with common sense, to dispute the propriety of cutting and selling wood as an article produced by the soil, but that cannot be applied to woods planted for ornament and shelter, more particularly in Scotland, now bare and destitute of wood, although once abounding with the noblest forests. There are few countries where the woods have a more striking effect than in the Highlands of Scotland, from the contrast they form to the bleak and barren mountains which inclose them. Whether trees are found in natural woods, covering the boldest and most precipitous rocks, or in those ancient avenues and groves around gentlemen's seats in the glens, they alike excite the surprise of the stranger, who does not expect to see such strength of vegetation, and brightness of verdure, in the centre of mountains, which, on the first approach, look so dreary and forbidding. Every man of taste must deplore the loss of woods and picturesque scenery which animated the poet, and delighted the painter. In former ages, these trees were preserved and venerated; and by the recol-

But, though the introduction of a few men of agricultural experience and judgment into the Highlands, might be a judicious measure, as their knowledge and example would readily spread among the natives, this cannot justify the entire removal or ejection of the ancient inhabitants. In several cases, those who promoted these improvements, by the costly sacrifice of turning adrift from their lands a people who considered themselves born to love and honour their superiors, reasoned so speciously on the expected advantages of this course of policy, as to extinguish in themselves and others those feelings of remorse and compunction, which the price at which they were to be purchased might have been calculated to excite. Thus was identified with national advantages the system at which individual benevolence revolted, but which, it was pretended, was to support liberal and enlightened principles, and to achieve a conquest over all deep-rooted prejudices, and stubborn long-descended customs; and many have been induced, more from authority and fashion than from sordid motives, to follow the example. In this manner the system has spread with a fatal rapidity, allowing no time for the better feelings of those who have been drawn into it, perhaps unwarily, to operate; and it is certain that there is no recent instance in which so much unmerited suffering has produced so little compassion, or reprobation for the au-

lections of the length of time they had sheltered and thrown an air of dignity and importance over the castles and seats of ancient families, the respect of the people for their owners was increased and preserved. But such recollections are now out of fashion; the trees are valued according to the money they bring, and, *like the fidelity of the clansmen, are sold to the highest bidder.* And so is disposed of much of the respect and esteem of the lower orders for their superiors, who thus, for the sake of a small acquisition of money, easily spent and soon forgotten, destroy for ever the magnificent ornaments reared by their forefathers, which no wealth can purchase, and which proved the antiquity and respectability of the families who possessed them. No person of taste can view without a feeling of reverence, an ancient mansion, embosomed in groups of tall trees or avenues, the growth of centuries, with noisy rooks clustering and cawing on their tops, as if they were inhabitants of another and higher region.

thors. The cruelty of removing the slaves on one West India estate to another, perhaps scarcely five miles distant, is frequently reprobated in the strongest terms, and attempts are made to procure acts of Parliament to prevent the removal of a slave from his usual residence; yet the ejectment or emigration of the Highlanders, their total ruin and banishment from their native land, is viewed with apathy, and their feelings of despair deemed unworthy of notice. The negroes, with little local attachment, may be as happy on their new as on their former plantations, as they are probably deprived of no former comfort, and merely subjected to a change of residence. The Highlander, with the strongest local attachment, confirmed by numberless anecdotes of former ages, cherishes with reverence the memory of his ancestors. With these attractions to his native country, he is deprived of his means of livelihood, driven from his house and his ancient home, and forced to take shelter in a foreign land, or in a situation so new to him, that all his habits must undergo a total change; and yet this appears so just and proper, that strangers, ignorant of the national character of this country, and witnessing the apathy with which the misery of the unfortunate Highlanders is beheld, might suppose that the inhabitants are void of all humanity; and, while the press is often employed in exposing and reprehending political delinquencies, the oppressions, forcible ejectments, and burnings out of the Highlanders, pass unnoticed, however rapidly such cruel measures lead to poverty, immorality, and crime. Indeed, so little do such considerations affect some of our modern philanthropists, that the conduct of those who have made desolate wastes of many once happy communities in Inverness, and other counties, is applauded; while they violently declaim against a similar line of conduct, when the inhabitants of the West Indies are in question. A very honourable and humane friend of mine, who has exerted himself powerfully in the cause of the poor negroes, told me, not long ago—and was not well pleased because I did not coincide in his opinion,—that Sutherland contained 20,000 inhabitants too many, and that they ought to be re-

moved without delay, and sent to the colonies.* As two-thirds of these people are unable to pay for their passage, they must bind themselves to serve for a term of years the person who pays for them, and who again disposes of them to the highest bidder;† a species of slavery not very agreeable to the dispositions of the mountaineers, and which I did not expect that my philanthropic friend, who has such an abhorrence of slavery of every kind, would have proposed

* Mr Foster Alleyne, of Barbadoes, has a population of nearly 1200 negroes on his estate in that island, which has been in his family since the reign of Charles I. By overcropping and mismanagement during his absence, the soil, which was favourable for sugar, had become totally unfit for producing that valuable article; he therefore turned his attention to the raising of provisions, the cultivation of which is less laborious, and requires little more than half the number of hands necessary for sugar; consequently, he might have disposed of the surplus population, to the amount of nearly 500 persons. How did this honourable and humane gentleman act in these circumstances, while several Highland proprietors, in similar cases, found no difficulty or hesitation? "I cannot find in my heart," said he, "to part with any of these poor faithful creatures, all of whom have been born on my property, where their fathers have served mine for generations (there has been no addition by purchase since the year 1744, when a few were added for some special purpose), and they shall remain undisturbed while I remain." From a very extensive and intimate knowledge of many colonies, acquired in the course of military service in the West Indies, at different periods, I could cite many pleasing instances of this kind regard to the feelings of negroes. Were clansmen treated with the same fatherly kindness displayed by this gentleman, landlords would ever be exempted from witnessing such horrible excesses as have been exhibited by the Irish peasantry.

When attempts are made to establish very laudable regulations, in order to prevent the removal of negroes from their original homes, why is humanity so blind as not to see the cruelty of transporting 20,000 Highlanders from their country to the plantations? Perhaps, the defenders of depopulation may say, as the defenders of the slave trade did of that atrocious and inhuman traffic, that transportation will improve their condition, and that they will be more comfortable in the colonies than in their native country. This may be true as far as regards some Highlanders, whose condition may easily be improved (as in many cases it cannot well be worse); but does the misery of the unfortunate outcasts, during the progress of this improvement and transportation to a foreign land, deserve no consideration?

† See Parkinson's Tour and other works on North America.

for them. Slavery is already too common in America, where every sixth individual is in that degraded condition. Although the term of the emigrant's bondage is only temporary, yet slavery of any kind is not calculated to procure the means, or foster the spirit of independence;—it must, therefore, be matter of regret, that our countrymen are compelled to become bondsmen in a foreign country, even in a land of liberty such as America,—if that can be called a land of liberty where slavery exists to such a lamentable extent.

The late transfer of 3000 subjects between the sovereigns of Baden and Bavaria has been arraigned in the strongest language by some of our journalists. Yet these people retain, as before, possession of their property and their native homes, and have only to suffer in their feelings by being transferred from the government of one sovereign to that of another; a matter that seems to be of little consequence amongst the contiguous principalities of Germany. The Highlanders are not only forced to transfer their allegiance to another government, but to transport themselves to distant regions;—and yet no reprobation follows.

While the misery of a blameless and unoffending people thus excites so little pity, and while the depopulation of a glen is viewed with indifference, or hailed as an advantage, like ridding pasture ground of foxes and other vermin; it is no wonder that proprietors should be encouraged to proceed, not only without regret, but even with self-gratulation. * A late author, describing the state of the agricul-

* To afford an idea of the extent of the newly established farms, and the consequent depopulation of the country, we may produce, as an instance, an advertisement in the Inverness newspapers of a Highland farm to be let, described as consisting of 1000 arable acres, near the dwelling-house (the number of arable acres at a greater distance is not stated) of the first quality, and with a full supply of drifted sea-weed on the shore, and which may, as stated in the advertisement, "be laboured to the greatest advantage." "The hill pastures," it is added, "stocked with Cheviot sheep, are of the first quality in the country, and *extend 30 miles along the sea-coast.*" It is impossible to read this advertisement, without commiseration for the fate of those who formerly occupied

tural population in England in the reign of Henry VIII., when the country was first arranged in large farms, says, "Millions of independent peasantry were thus at once degraded into beggars; stripped of all their proud feelings which hitherto characterized Englishmen, they were too ignorant, too dispersed, too domestic, and possessed too much reverence for their superiors, to combine as mechanics and manufacturers in towns. Parish relief was, therefore, established." * Lord Chancellor More, one of the most virtuous men in England, an eyewitness of what he describes, gives a view of the state of the people at that period, which must strike home to the heart of every humane person, who has seen or heard of similar scenes in the Highlands. Speaking of engrossing farms, by which small tenants were compelled to become day-labourers, † relying for their support on accidental circumstances, a situation more dependant than that which trusts to the more certain produce of nature, the Lord Chancellor says, "These men turn all dwelling and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness; therefore, that one covetous and unsatiable cormorant, and very

this extensive tract of country, which is "capable of being laboured to the greatest advantage," and, consequently, well calculated to support its ancient population. Another farm is also advertised as capable of "maintaining 9000 Cheviot sheep, and as perhaps the safest in Britain; and its pastures, for richness and variety, inferior to none in the Highlands." This fact furnishes a striking example of the force of that delusive patriotism which benumbs the feelings of even good men, and blinds them to the sufferings of the ejected tenantry. Part of the land which gave birth to many brave men, who, as soldiers, have contributed to make the name of Scotland honoured and respected over all Europe, is now without an inhabitant, except five shepherds and their families. But then it is "*capable of maintaining* 9000 *sheep!*" So it would be although all the ancient race had remained. The quantity of grass required for sheep and cattle does not depend on the land being occupied by one, or by a number of tenants.

* The suppression of the monasteries, no doubt, contributed to this sudden creation of artificial misery; but it is a proper distinction, that the monasteries only fed those who were poor and idle already, whereas, the engrossing and grazing system made thousands idle whose habits were formerly industrious.

† See Appendix, AA.

plague of his native country, may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale, or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else, either by force, or fraud, or by violent oppression, they be put beside, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all; by one means, therefore, or another, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor wretched souls! men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household, small in substance, but much in numbers, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest on. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it may well abide the sale, yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought, and when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they do but steal, and then, justly perhaps, be hanged, or else go about begging. And yet then, also, they may be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, when no man will set them at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd, or herdsman, is enough to eat up that with cattle which occupied numbers, whereas about husbandry many hundreds were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals now in many places be dearer; besides this, the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all, and by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and give themselves to idleness." *

* This picture of misery, degradation, and vice, to which the brave, the generous, the independent peasantry of England were reduced, was written more than two centuries ago, when no intermediate station was left in the agricultural population between wealthy yeomen and day-labourers. It bears too striking a resemblance to later scenes in some Highland glens; and as it was the origin of the English poor-rates, are not similar results to be dreaded in the Highlands, by depriving the bulk of the people of all permanent property or

On the part of those who instituted similar improvements, in which so few of the people were to have a share, conciliatory measures, and a degree of tenderness, beyond what would have been shown to strangers, might have been expected towards the hereditary supporters of their families. It was, however, unfortunately the natural consequences of the measures which were adopted, that few men of liberal feelings could be induced to undertake their execution. The respectable gentlemen,* who, in so many cases, had formerly consented to undertake the management of Highland property, resigned their employments, when they found the execution of the new measures incompatible with their sense of humanity and duty to a higher power than their employers. They shrunk from the ungrateful task. Their places were supplied by persons cast in a coarser mould, and ge-

certain means of subsistence, more especially as there is no manufacturing or regular employment for the labouring classes?

* Several years previous to the death of George Lord Littleton, he visited Scotland, and passed some weeks at Taymouth with the late Earl of Breadalbane. Being asked by a friend some time after his return, what he had seen in the Highlands, and what he thought of the people and country? After giving his opinion, at some length, he concluded: "But of all I saw or heard, few things excited my surprise more than the learning and talents of Mr Campbell of Achallader, factor to Lord Breadalbane. Born and resident in the Highlands, I have seldom seen a more accomplished gentlemen, with more general and classical learning." The late Achallader and his father were upwards of ninety years factors to two successive Earls of Breadalbane.

Such were the gentlemen who formerly managed great Highland estates. With their superior rank in society, (an important point in the eyes of the Highlanders, whose feelings are hurt, when they see men without birth or education placed over them,) their influence, honourable principles, and intelligence, they kept the people under such judicious rules, as produced great fidelity, contentment, and independence of spirit. The gentlemen who managed the estates of Atholl, Argyll, Montrose, Perth, &c. were also of the first character and families in the country. Why has this system been changed, and why do independent men refuse acting? Formerly, and even within my own remembrance, the tenants on great estates were envied, and considered most fortunate, in the ease, happiness, and comfort they enjoyed. How does it happen, that, in this respect, there is a total change and revolution in the views and feelings of the people?

nerally strangers to the country; who, detesting the people, and ignorant of their character, capability, and language, quickly surmounted every obstacle, and hurried on the change, without reflecting on the distress of which it might be productive, or allowing the kindlier feelings of landlords to operate in favour of their ancient tenantry. "Men of this cast," says a reverend author, "overturn every thing." To attempt a new system, and to become acceptable tenants, was considered impossible with men so prejudiced, incurably indolent and ignorant, as the old occupiers were described, they were therefore in too many cases removed from the fertile and cultivated farms; some left the country, and others were offered limited portions of land on uncultivated moors, on which they were to form a settlement; and thus, while particular districts have been desolated, the gross numerical population, has in some manner been preserved, and has afforded a ready answer to those who have thus acted, "I have not rooted out my people, I have only changed my system; they are as numerous as ever." Many judicious men, however, doubt the policy of these measures, and dread their consequences on the condition and habits of the people. The following account of their situation is from the respectable and intelligent clergyman of an extensive parish in the county of Ross. "When the valleys and higher grounds were let to the shepherds, the whole population was drawn down to the sea-shore, where they were crowded on small lots of land, to earn their subsistence by labour (*where all are labourers and few employers*) and by sea-fishing, the latter so little congenial to their former habits. This cutting down farms into lots * was found so profitable, that over the whole of this district, the sea-coast, where the

* It will be observed, that these one or two acre lots are forming as an improved system, in a country where many loud complaints are daily made of surplus population, and of the misery of the people on their old farms of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, and more, arable acres, with pasture in proportion; and yet in a country without regular employment, and without manufactures, a family is to be supported on one or two acres!!

shore is accessible, is thickly studded with wretched cottages, crowded with starving inhabitants. Ancient respectable tenants, who passed the greater part of life in the enjoyment of abundance, and in the exercise of hospitality and charity, possessing stocks of ten, twenty, and thirty breeding cows, with the usual proportion of other stock, are now pining on one or two acres of bad land, with one or two starved cows; and, for this accommodation, a calculation is made, that they must support their families and pay the rent of their lots, not from the produce, but from the sea; thus drawing a rent which the land cannot afford. When the herring fishery (the only fishery prosecuted on this coast) succeeds, they generally satisfy the landlords, whatever privations they may suffer; but when the fishing fails, they fall in arrears, and are sequestrated, and their stock sold to pay the rents, their lots given to others, and they and their families turned adrift on the world. The herring fishery, always precarious, has, for a succession of years, been very defective, and this class of people are reduced to extreme misery. At first, some of them possessed capital, from converting their farm stock into cash, but this has been long exhausted. It is distressing to view the general poverty of this class of people, aggravated by their having once enjoyed abundance and independence; and we cannot sufficiently admire their meek and patient spirit, supported by the powerful influence of religious and moral principle. There are still a few small tenants on the old system, occupying the same farm jointly, but they are falling fast to decay, and sinking into the new class of cottars.

"Except in Glenelg, emigration has been very limited from this side of the island, owing to their powerful attachment to the country of their fathers: although, at the time of the violent changes, they had sufficient property to transport and settle their families comfortably in America, they could not tear themselves away; and now, although eager for a change, they have not the power." *

* Letter from Dr Downie, minister of Lochalsh.

This mode of giving all the good and cultivated land to a few rich individuals, and of subdividing small portions of barren moor or of inferior soil among the previous occupiers, in a country without any permanent means of subsistence beyond the scanty and precarious produce of those unreclaimed patches, is a line of policy, which could not fail to excite universal surprise, did we not yearly witness so many theoretical schemes, often inconsistent with each other, and so little regard for the happiness of the people. But leaving out of view the consideration that, from the prevalence of turning corn lands into pasture, the demand for labour is diminished while the number of labourers is increased, it can scarcely be expected that a man who had once been in the condition of a farmer, possessed of land, and of considerable property in cattle, horses, sheep, and money; often employing servants himself, conscious of his independence, and proud of his ability to assist others; should without the most poignant feelings, descend to the rank of a hired labourer, even where labour and payment can be obtained, more especially if he must serve on the farms or in the country where he formerly commanded as master. It is not easy for those who live in a country like England, where so many of the lower orders have nothing but what they acquire by the labour of the passing day, and possess no permanent property or share in the agricultural produce of the soil, to appreciate the nature of the spirit of independence, which is generated in countries where the free cultivators of the soil constitute the major part of the population. It can scarcely be imagined how proudly a man feels, however small his property may be, when he has a spot of arable and pasture land, stocked with corn, horses, and cows; a species of property which, more than any other, binds him, by ties of interest and attachment, to the spot with which he is connected. He considers himself an independent person, placed in a station in society far above the day-labourer, who has no stake in the permanency of existing circumstances, beyond the prospect of daily employment; his independence being

founded on permanent property, he has an interest in the welfare of the state, by supporting which he renders his own property more secure, and, although the value of the property may not be great, it is every day in his view; his cattle and horses feed around him; his grass and corn he sees growing and ripening; his property is visible to all observers, which is calculated to raise the owner in general consideration; and when a passing friend or neighbour praises his thriving crops and his cattle, his heart swells with pleasure, and he exerts himself to support and to preserve that government and those laws which render it secure. Such is the case in many parts of the world; such was formerly the case in Scotland, and is still in many parts of the Highlands. Those who wish to see only the two castes of capitalists and day-labourers, may smile at this union of independence and comparative poverty. But, that the opposite system is daily quenching the independent spirit of the Highlanders, and laying a foundation for the establishment of poor-rates, and the consequent degradation of the people, is an undoubted fact, and gives additional strength to the argument of those who object to the reduction of the agricultural population, and regret their removal to the great towns, and to those seats of misery and vice, the villages in preparation in some parts of the country.

It is painful to dwell on this subject; but as information, communicated by men of honour, judgment, and perfect veracity, descriptive of what they daily witness, affords the best means of forming a correct judgment; and as these gentlemen, from their situations in life, have no immediate interest in the determination of the question beyond what is dictated by humanity and a love of truth, their authority may be considered as undoubted. The following extract of a letter from a friend, as well as the extract already quoted, is of this description. Speaking of the settlers on the new allotments, he says, " I scarcely need tell you that these wretched people exhibit every symptom of the most abject poverty, and the most helpless distress. Their miserable

lots in the moors, notwithstanding their utmost labour and strictest economy, have not yielded them a sufficient crop for the support of their families, for three months. The little money they were able to derive from the sale of their stock has, therefore, been expended in the purchase of necessaries, and is now wholly exhausted.* Though they have now, therefore, overcome all their scruples about leaving their native land, and possess the most ardent desire to emigrate, in order to avoid the more intolerable evils of starvation, and have been much encouraged by the favourable accounts they have received from their countrymen already in America, they cannot possibly pay the expense of transporting themselves and their families thither." †

Well might the old Highlander thus warn his countrymen—"Take care of yourselves, for the law has reached Ross-shire." He had more cause for alarm for his posterity than he was aware of. Little could he calculate, when his fears were excited by vague ideas of a change; little could he anticipate that the introduction of civil order, and the extension of legal authority, which, in an enlightened age, tend to advance the prosperity, as well as promote the security of a nation, should have been to his countrymen either the signals of banishment from their native country, or the means of lowering the condition of those who were permitted to remain. With more reason it might have been expected that the principles of an enlightened age would have gradually introduced beneficial changes among the ancient race; that they would have softened down the harsher features of their character, and prepared them for

* When whole districts are depopulated at once, their pecuniary losses, and the distress of those ejected, are increased by the circumstance of all selling off their stock and furniture at the same time, as consequently there can be but few purchasers. Their moveables will not suit the establishments of the capitalists; and, while the ejected tenants must leave them unsold, or accept of a nominal price, they are deprived of this small and last resource for transporting themselves to a foreign country, where a virtuous, high-spirited, brave people, are not considered as a nuisance or a burthen on the soil.

† Letter from a gentleman in the county of Ross.

habits better suited to the cultivation of the soil, than the indolent freedom of a pastoral life. Instead of this, the new system, whatever may be its intrinsic merits or defects, has, in too many cases, been carried into execution, in a manner which has excited the strongest and most indignant sensations in the breasts of those who do not overlook the present inconvenience and distress of the many, in the eager pursuit of a prospective advantage to the few. The consequences which have resulted, and the contrast between the present and past condition of the people, and between their present and past disposition and feelings towards their snperiors, show, in the most striking light, the impolicy of attempting, with such unnatural rapidity, innovations which it would require an age, instead of a few years, to accomplish in a salutary manner; and the impossibility of effecting them without inflicting great misery, endangering good morals, and undermining loyalty to the king, and respect for constituted authority.

A love of change, proceeding from the actual possession of wealth, or from the desire of acquiring it, disturbs, by an ill-directed influence, the gradual and effectual progress of those improvements which, instead of benefiting the man of capital alone, should equally distribute their advantages to all. In the prosecution of the great changes which have taken place in different parts of the North, it would appear that, in many instances, the original inhabitants were never thought of, nor included in the system which was to be productive of such wealth to the landlord, the man of capital, and the country at large. Strangers were called in to assist as agents in the execution of the plans, while others were placed, as farmers, on large establishments, to make room for which whole glens were cleared of their inhabitants, who, in some instances, resisted these mandates, (although legally executed), in the hope of preserving to their families their ancient homes, to which all were enthusiastically attached. * These people, blameless in every respect, save

* The strength of this attachment is not easily comprehended by those who

their poverty and ignorance of modern agriculture, could not believe that such harsh measures proceeded from their honoured superiors, whose conduct had hitherto been kind and paternal, and to whom they themselves had ever been attached and faithful. The whole was, therefore, attributed to the acting agents, and against them their indignation was principally directed; and, in some instances, their resistance was so obstinate, that it became necessary to enforce the orders "*vi et armis*," and to have recourse to an obsolete mode of ejectment, by setting their houses on fire. This last species of *legal* proceeding was so conclusive, that even the stubborn Highlanders, with all their attachment to the homes of their fathers, were compelled to yield. *

are unacquainted with the people. An instance of this feeling has been already given, and I could add many more, all evincing an unconquerable attachment to the spot where they first drew breath. I shall state two cases of men who seem to have died of what is commonly called a broken heart, originating in grief for the loss of their native homes. I knew them intimately. They were respectable and judicious men, and occupied the farms on which they were born till far advanced in life, when they were removed. They afterwards got farms at no great distance, but were afflicted with a deep despondency, gave up their usual habits, and seldom spoke with any seeming satisfaction, except when the subject turned on their former life, and the spot which they had left. They appeared to be much relieved by walking to the tops of the neighbouring hills, and gazing for hours in the direction of their late homes; but in a few months their strength totally failed, and without any pain or complaint, except mental depression, one died in a year, and the other in eighteen months. I have mentioned these men together, as there was such a perfect similarity in their cases; but they were not acquainted with each other, nor of the same district. When they suffered so much by removing from their ancient homes only to another district, how much more severe must their feelings have been had they been forced to emigrate, unless, perhaps, distance and new objects would have diverted their attention from the cause of their grief? But be that as it may, the cause is undoubted.

* The author of Guy Mannering has alluded to this "summary and effectual mode of ejectment still practised in the north of Scotland when a tenant proves refractory," in his admirable description of the ejectment of the colony of Derncleugh. When this picture of fictitious distress, of which a lawless race were the supposed objects, has created a powerful sensation wherever our language is understood; what heart shall withhold its sympathy from real distress,

Some of the ejected tenants were allowed small allotments of land; some half an acre, others two acres of moor, which they were to cultivate into arable land; and the improvements which have succeeded those summary ejectments have been highly eulogized, and references made to their effects, in contrast to the former uncultivated state of the country. Many people are, however, inclined to doubt the advantages of improvements which call for such frequent apologies; for if the advantages to the people were so evident, and if more lenient measures had been pursued, vindication could not have been necessary.

It must, however, be matter of deep regret, that such a line of proceeding was pursued with regard to these brave, unfortunate, and well-principled people, as excited so strong and general a sensation in the public mind. It is no less to be deplored, that any conduct sanctioned by authority, even although productive of ultimate advantage, (and how it can produce any advantage beyond what might have been obtained by pursuing a scheme of conciliation and encouragement, is a very questionable point), * should have, in the when faithful, blameless, and industrious beings are treated in the same manner, without the same provocation, and without any cause except the desire of increasing an income, and where, instead of "thirty hearts that wad ha'e wanted bread before ye wanted sunkets," more than twice thirty thousand have been turned adrift in different parts of the North?

* The following are instances of the capability of small tenants in the Highlands, and of the improvement of lands and rents effected by far other means than the burning decrees. The tenant of a friend of mine, when he first took his farm, paid a rent of L.8, 10s. This rent has been gradually augmented, since the year 1781, to L.85, and this without lease or encouragement from the landlord, who, by the industry and improvements of his tenant, has received an increase of more than 1000 per cent. in less than forty years. On another estate, nineteen small tenants paid, in the year 1784, a joint rent of L.57. This has been raised by degrees, without a shilling given in assistance, for improvements, which have been considerable, to L.371. The number of acres is 145, which are situated in a high district, and with no pasture for sheep. These are not insulated facts. I could produce many, to show that industry, with abstemious and contented habits, more than compensates for the increased consumption of produce by so many occupants; and that by judicious management, the peasantry of the Highlands, although they may be numerous in proportion to the quantity of fertile land, contribute to secure the permanent welfare both of

first instance, inflicted such general misery. This regret must be greatly increased, by the belief that these proceedings originated in mistaken notions, founded on malignant and persevering misrepresentations, calculated to give the proprietors a most unfavourable impression of the character and capability of the native inhabitants; who were described as being in a state of misery, without religion or morality, and totally unfit for any good purpose. These prejudiced and unfounded statements were followed up by flattering views of the prosperity and happiness to be expected from the proposed plans for their future establishment. Those who thus vilified the poor people, and who strongly advocated the adoption of these new plans, were well aware of the partiality, patriarchal kindness, and protection exercised by the proprietors; and knew that no proposal for their entire ejectment and expatriation, nor even for their removal to the situations proposed to them, would be received, unless the former favourable opinion had been changed and obliterated. To this point, therefore, the attention of the promoters of these violent changes was particularly directed, till at length they succeeded in procuring the removal of the native farmers, and the introduction of a new order of tenantry. This system of overlooking the original occupiers, and of giving every support to strangers, has been much practised in different Highland counties; and on one great estate, the support which has been given to farmers of capital, as well in the amount of the sums expended on improvements, as in the liberal abatement of rents, is, I believe, unparalleled in the United Kingdom, and affords additional matter of regret, that the delusions practised on a generous and public-spirited landholder, have

the landholder and of the country. What men can pay better rents than those who live nine months in the year on potatoes and milk, on bread only when potatoes fail, and on butcher meat seldom or never? Who are better calculated to make good soldiers, than men trained up to such habits, and contented with such moderate comforts? And who are likely to make more loyal and happy subjects, contented with their lot, and true to their king, and to their immediate superiors?

been so perseveringly and successfully applied, that it would appear as if all feeling of former kindness towards the native tenantry had ceased to exist. To them any uncultivated barren spot of moor land, however small, was considered sufficient for the support of a family; while the most lavish encouragement was given to the new tenants, on whom, and on the erection of buildings, the improvement of lands, roads, bridges, &c. upwards of 210,000*l.* have been expended since the year 1808. With this proof of unprecedented liberality, it cannot be sufficiently lamented that an estimate of the character of these poor people was taken from the misrepresentations of interested persons, instead of judging from the conduct of the same men when brought out into the world, where they obtained a name and character which has secured the esteem and approbation of men high in honour and rank, and, from their talents and experience, perfectly capable of judging with correctness. With such proofs of capability, and with such materials for carrying on the improvements, and maintaining the permanent prosperity of the country, when occupied by a hardy abstemious race, easily led on to a full exertion of their faculties by proper management; there cannot be a question but that if, instead of placing them, as has been done, in situations bearing too near a resemblance to the potato-gardens of Ireland,—the origin and still existing cause of the poverty, disaffection, and hostility towards the higher orders, so prevalent in that country,—they had been permitted to remain as cultivators of the soil, receiving a moderate share of the vast sums expended on their richer, but not more deserving successors, such a humane and considerate regard to the prosperity of a whole people, instead of confining it to a favoured few, would undoubtedly have answered every good purpose. Although the wealth expected from the improvements might be delayed, it would have been no less certain, had the progress been left to the ancient attached race; and had such a course been pursued, instead of depopulated glens, and starving peasantry, alienated from their superiors,

and in their grief and despair too ready to imbibe opinions hostile to the best interests of their country, we should still have seen a high-spirited and loyal people, ready, at the nod of their respected chiefs, to embody themselves into regiments, with the same zeal as in former times; and when enrolled among the defenders of their country, to exhibit a conduct honourable to that country and to their profession. * Such is the acknowledged character of the men of these districts as soldiers, when called forth in the service of their country, although they have been described as irregular in their habits, and a burden on the lands which gave them birth, and on which their forefathers maintained the honour, and promoted the wealth and prosperity of their chiefs and superiors. † But is it conceivable that the people

* See Articles on the Sutherland regiments. In a memorial presented to Government by the Earl of Sutherland, claiming a compensation for expense and loss sustained in 1745, it is stated, that his Lordship had armed and ready to support the royal cause, 2337 men, from his own estate, who, it is added, received high approbation from the Earl of Loudon, and the other generals who saw their fine and warlike appearance. The power of bringing to the support of the King so large a force, when the country required their services, is worth some sacrifice of rent; not that any sacrifice would be necessary were time allowed to the tenants, and the same encouragement and support given to them as has been received by the newly introduced tenants, who perhaps would hesistate to obey a summons to attend their landlord's call, or, if they did, their small number would render them of little use.

† The late Lord Sutherland was the twenty-first Earl; a length of succession unparalleled in the peerage of this country. The estates which supported this ancient unbroken descent have undergone less change than almost any others. In all the numberless revolutions of property, either in troublesome or peaceable times, these have not only been preserved entire, but great additions made by the purchase of neighbouring estates, from the produce of the labour and rents of the ancient tenantry. With a boisterous ungenial climate, and a rugged barren soil, the estate supported 15,000 persons, who maintained the independence of their superiors, and enabled them to preserve their title and property in a manner which no other family can boast; and, with such evidence, it might have been expected that some hesitation would have been observed in asserting that the country is totally incapable of maintaining the ancient population. When it is recollected that this population has been maintained for so many centuries, and that, by the rents they paid, they enabled the landlords to purchase all the lands for sale which lay convenient for them, these assertions will be received with caution.

at home should be so degraded, while their brothers and sons who become soldiers maintain an honourable character? The people ought not to be reproached with incapacity or immorality without better evidence than that of their prejudiced and unfeeling calumniators. If it be so, however, and if this virtuous and honourable race, which has contributed to raise and uphold the character of the British peasantry in the eyes of all Europe, are thus fallen, and so suddenly fallen; how great and powerful must be the cause! and if at home they are thus low in character, how unparalleled must be the improvement which is produced by difference of profession, as, for example, when they become soldiers, and associate in barracks with troops of all characters, or in quarters, or billets, with the lowest of the people, instead of mingling with such society as they left in their native homes! Why should these Highlanders be at home so degenerate, as they are represented, and as in recent instances they would actually appear to have become? * And why,

* Of the fruits of the modern civilization of the Highlanders, and of the system of improving their condition, as it is practised in the North, we have an instance in a recent association for the suppression of felony, formed by those concerned in the stock and grazing farms. The object of this measure is the protection of property from the depredations of that people, amongst whom, in their uncivilized and uneducated state, crimes were so few, that, according to the records of the Court of Justiciary, from 1747 to 1810, there was only one capital conviction for theft, (horse stealing, which happened in the year 1791,) and only two capital convictions for other crimes; namely, a woman for child murder in 1761, and a man for fire raising in 1785. Such was the *former* state of the people in these districts, where crimes have increased so rapidly of late, that protecting associations are become necessary, and where it has been found that nearly 600 sheep have been stolen in a season from one individual: while those who left the country with the character and dispositions acquired among their fathers and brothers, (against whom those protecting societies are formed), are declared by the first authority "pictures of perfect moral rectitude, military discipline, and soldierly conduct;" and, in the energetic language of an ingenious author, "a mirror to the the British army."—The man convicted of horse stealing was William M'Kay, a discharged soldier, who had learned a lesson in another country. The circumstance was so very extraordinary as still to afford subject of conversation among the people.

when they mount the cockade, are they found to be so virtuous and regular, that one thousand men have been embodied four and five years together, at different and distant periods, from 1759 to 1763, from 1779 to 1783, and from 1793 to 1798, *without an instance of military punishment?* These men performed all the duties of soldiers to the perfect satisfaction of their commanders, and continued so unexceptionable in their conduct down to the latest period, when embodied into the 93d regiment, that, according to the words of a distinguished general officer, "Although the youngest regiment in the service, they might form an example to all:" And on general parades for punishment, the Sutherland Highlanders have been ordered to their quarters, as "examples of this kind were not necessary for such honourable soldiers, who had no crimes to punish." *

Can it be doubted, that had a moderate portion of the encouragement given to the stock graziers possessed of capital, been bestowed on these valuable men, we should probably have seen no difference of character, except that, in those who remained at home, we might have expected to meet with more of native simplicity and integrity, part of which might have been lost by those who had mixed more with the world? If those who remain at home have shown contrary dispositions, these must have been produced by some powerful cause; and, with the loss of that independence and disinterested fidelity which hardly knew any bounds, the best parts of their character must have been destroyed. Is not their altered conduct rather a subject of pity than of blame? When they see their children starving, and crying for that food which they have not to give; and when we reflect that, according to the Gaelic proverb, "Hunger has a long arm,"—some cause may, perhaps, be discovered why the hand which ought to have been employed in profitable industry at home, or against an enemy abroad, has been sometimes extended to endanger a neigh-

* See Article Sutherland Highlanders.

bour's property. Have they shown ingratitude for kind treatment? Are they unreasonable, because they are not satisfied when suddenly deprived of their usual means of subsistence, and placed upon the black moors? Some are, indeed, told that the ocean is open to them, and that they may live by fishing, though their former habits render them unfit for that line of life. *

It is probable that the notoriety which these facts have obtained, is the cause which has given birth to the statements which I have already noticed. In these publications the people are vilified, and described as dishonest, void of religion, irregular in their habits, † and incapable of managing farms,

* Till lately, very few flat fish were caught by the fishers on the east coast of Scotland, although the sea abounds with turbot, soles, &c. Every encouragement in the way of premiums had failed to induce these men to alter their usual mode of fishing. When such are the difficulties in the way of overcoming the prejudices of men who have been fishers from their youth, can it be matter of surprise that the shepherds and graziers of the mountains do not, as if by instinct, become fishers, without the least knowledge or experience of the new element from which they are desired to extract their subsistence?

† Detachments of the Sutherland Fencible regiment of 1762 were stationed in different parts of the Perthshire Highlands. The excellent and orderly conduct of these men, their regular attendance at church, and their general deportment, were so marked, even among a people who were themselves distinguished for similar habits, that the memory of the Sutherland soldiers is, to this day, held in respect. In the years 1797 and 1798, large detachments of the Sutherland regiment of that period were stationed in the same districts. The character and conduct of these soldiers, every man of whom was from Sutherland, were in all respects the same. So strong was the impression made on the minds of the people of Athole and Breadalbane by the behaviour of the Sutherland men, that it materially changed their previous opinion of the character of soldiers in general, whom they considered as reprobates, with whom no person of quiet domestic habits could with safety associate; and hence, when a young man enlisted in any regiment except the National Corps, his family were too ready to believe that he was a lost man, an outcast from them and his native country. I now speak from personal experience, as I found, in the course of my recruiting in those districts, a great and gratifying change in the sentiments of the people. After the Sutherland detachments were stationed in Perthshire, young men engaged more readily, and their parents showed less dread at their inlistment as recruits, "as they now found that soldiers were quiet sober people, with whom they need not be afraid to trust their sons."

or of paying adequate rents; although, on a reference to the poor's funds, taken on an average of many years previous to 1800, it will be found, that, however ignorant they were of farming, they were so independent of parochial aid, that, in those days, when the population of that country was so great as to form one of the alleged causes of removal, the sums paid to the poor of this supposed surplus population, in the parish of Rogart, containing 2023 persons, were under L.13 annually; in the parish of Farr, containing 2408 persons, under L.12; in Assynt, containing 2395 inhabitants, under L.11; in Kildonan, containing 1443 persons, under L.8 annually: other parishes were nearly in the same proportion; and at this moderate expense were all the poor of those districts supplied! Few districts, however fertile, can produce such instances of independence as were exhibited by these uncultivated parishes, which gave birth to the religious, the virtuous, and honourable soldiers of the Reay and Sutherland regiments, whose character, as appreciated by the best judges, and proved by their own conduct, will be seen in the Notice of the Military Services of these Corps. *

* The great changes which have taken place in the above parishes, and some others, have excited a warm and general interest. While the liberal expenditure of capital was applauded by all, many intelligent persons lamented that its application was so much in one direction; that the ancient tenantry were to have no share in this expenditure; and that so small a portion was allotted for the future settlement of the numerous population who had been removed from their farms, and were placed in situations so new, and in many respects so unsuitable,—certain that, in the first instance, great distress, disaffection, and hostility towards the landlords and government, with a diminution of that spirit of independence and those proper principles which had hitherto distinguished them, would be the inevitable result. So sudden and universal a change of station, habits, and circumstances, and their being reduced from the state of independent tenants to that of cottagers and day-labourers, could not fail of arresting the notice of the public.

Anxious to obtain the best information on this interesting subject, I early made the most minute inquiry, careful, at the same time, to form no opinion on intelligence communicated by the people of the district, or by persons connected with them, and who would naturally be interested in, and prejudiced against, or in favour of those changes. I was the more desirous for the best

information, as the statements published with regard to the character, capability, and principles of the people, exhibited a perfect contrast to my own personal experience and knowledge of the admirable character and exemplary conduct of that portion of them which had left their native country; and I believed it improbable, nay impossible, that the sons of worthless parents, without religious or moral principle—as they have been described—could conduct themselves in such an honourable manner as to be held up as an example to the British army. But, indeed, as to information, so much publicity had been given, by various statements explanatory of, and in vindication of these proceedings, that little more was necessary, beyond what these publications afforded, to show the nature of the plans, and the manner in which they were carried into execution.

Forming my opinions, therefore, from those statements, and from information communicated by persons not immediately connected with that part of the country, I drew the conclusions which appeared in the former editions of these Sketches. But, with a strong desire to be correct and well informed in all I state, and with an intention of correcting myself, in this edition, should I find that I had been misinformed, or had taken up mistaken views of the subject, in the different statements I had produced, I embraced the first spare time I could command; and in autumn 1823, I travelled over the improved districts, and a large portion of those parts which had been depopulated and laid out in extensive pastoral farms, as well as the stations in which the people are placed. After as strict an examination as circumstances permitted, and a careful inquiry among those who, from their knowledge and judgment were enabled to form the best opinions, I do not find that I have one statement to alter, or one opinion to correct; though I am fully aware that many hold very different opinions. But however much I may differ in some points, there is one in which I warmly and cordially join; and that is, in expressing my high satisfaction and admiration at the liberality displayed in the immense sums expended on buildings, in enclosing, clearing, and draining land, in forming roads and communications, and introducing the most approved agricultural implements. In all these, the generous distribution of such exemplary encouragement stands unparalleled and alone. Equally remarkable is the great abatement of rents given to the tenants of capital—abatements which it was not to be expected they would ask, considering the preference and encouragement given them, and the promises they had held out of great and unprecedented revenue, from their skill and exertions. But these promises seem to have been early forgotten; the tenants of capital were the *first to call for relief:* and so great and generous has this relief been, that the rents are reduced so low as to be almost *on a level with what they were when the great changes commenced.* Thus while upwards of L.210,000 have been expended on improvements, no return is to be looked for from this vast expenditure; and in the failure of their promised rents, the tenants have sufficiently proved the unstable and fallacious nature of the system which they, with so much

plausibility and perseverance, got established by delusions practised on a high-minded, honourable individual, not aware of the evils produced by so universal a movement of a whole people. Every friend to a brave and valuable race, must rejoice that these evils are in progress of alleviation, by a return of that kindness and protection which had formerly been so conspicuous towards that race of tenantry, and which could never have been interrupted, had it not been for those delusions to which I have more than once alluded, and which have been prosecuted, within the last twenty years, in many parts of the Highlands, with a degree of assiduity and antipathy to the unfortunate inhabitants altogether remarkable. But in the county in question, no antipathy to the people is now to be dreaded; a return of ancient kindness will be met with ancient fidelity and attachment; and if the people are rendered comfortable and contented, they will be loyal, warlike, and brave. Then regiments may again send recruiting parties, which had been recalled from the county, as not a young man would enlist while the minds of the people were soured and disaffected; but now, Sutherland will again be what it has been, a nursery of soldiers, "Mirrors," as they have been called, "to the British army."

SECTION III.

Beneficial Results of Judicious Arrangements, and of allowing Time to acquire a Knowledge of Agricultural Improvements—Emigration—Agricultural Pursuits promote Independence, and prevent Pauperism.

HAPPILY for the prosperity of the Highlands, for the welfare of the state, and for the preservation of the original inhabitants of the mountains, there are many populous districts, in which the inhabitants have been permitted to remain, and are contented and independent, and in which the beneficial effects of judgment, combined with a proper appreciation of the best interests of Highland landlords, are successfully displayed, and the character and capability of Highland tenants practically proved. The former, availing themselves of the natural benefit of a hardy athletic race of men, easily induced by kindness to make a full exertion of their powers, have realized the most beneficial effects on their general character, and, by a gradual and gentle diffusion of agricultural knowledge, have both improved their own incomes, and increased the wealth and comfort of their tenants. The aversion of the latter to any change of ancient habits, has been, in a great measure, overcome; and they are found to enter very keenly into the improved system, when encouraged by example, and once fairly convinced of its advantages.* The gentlemen

* This is no new trait of character. Dr Walker, an eminent Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, commenced, in the year 1760, an extensive and enlarged system of inquiry relative to the Highlands. From that year till 1780, he was employed by the General Assembly to examine and report on the religious and moral condition of the inhabitants, to which he added their economical history. Of the people he says, "It is

to whom I allude commenced with the improvement of the condition of their tenants, as the best foundation for the improvement of their estates, the permanency of their incomes, and the pleasure of seeing themselves surrounded by a prosperous, grateful, and contented tenantry.* "On every estate," says Dr Robertson, speaking of the new system, "this complete change has not taken place: the ancient connection between the heads of tribes and their clan is not in every instance dissolved. In these cases, the affability and kindness of the landlord is the frequent subject of their conversation, and the prosperity of his family is the object of their warmest wishes and devout prayers.

only from a superficial view that they are represented as unconquerably averse to industry and every kind of innovation. Besides other good qualities, their laborious assiduity in various occupations is well known, wherever they happen to settle in the low country." He adds, "The unrestrained progress of inoculation abundantly shows, that the Highlanders are as candid in their judgment, are as ready to embrace, and can as vigorously pursue, any innovation that is advantageous or salutary, as any other people whatever."—Economical History of the Highlands of Scotland.

* A very worthy Baronet in the Highlands (Sir George Stewart of Grandtully), who has made the necessary allowances for the prejudices and frailties of men, has allowed his tenants the time necessary to learn the improved mode of culture, and to increase the value and size of their breed of cattle and sheep. This has been done without separating the arable land from the pasture, or diminishing the farms of any, but rather enlarging them, if too small, when it could be done without prejudice to others. At the same time the rents have been gradually rising. The consequence is, that he receives the undiminished rental of his estate; and while considerable distress has been experienced in his neighbourhood, his people are in so different circumstances, that, when lately, he had occasion for a supply of money to assist him in the purchase of some adjoining lands, they came forward with a spontaneous offer to advance 18,000*l.*, with a declaration that they were ready with 6000*l.* more if required. This is a pleasing instance of the attachment of the olden times. The manner in which these people pay their rents, and support their families, will appear the more remarkable to the advocates for large farms, as this estate, with a rental of less than 9000*l.* supports a population of 2835 souls, all maintained on the produce; while only 17 disabled paupers, and some poor old women, require parochial relief; and the tenants are so independent, and so grateful to their humane and generous landlord, that they enable him to purchase the estates for sale in his neighbourhood.

At their little parties and convivial meetings, his health is always the first toast. They feel an interest in the fortunes and destiny of his children. Upon his return home, after a long absence, or his promotion to a place of honour or profit, or the birth of an heir, the glad tidings spread with the velocity of lightning, and bonfires illuminate the whole estate. In the county of Inverness there are such landlords: as the almoners of heaven, they take the divine pleasure of making their dependants happy. There are also, in the same county, landlords, who are left to the execration of their people, to the contempt of every benevolent man, and to the reproach of their own condemning consciences." *

The policy of the innovations may be considered in three points of view; 1*st*, As affecting the interests of the proprietors; 2*dly*, The welfare of the people; and, 3*dly*, That of the state.

1*st*, The interest of the proprietors. Whether these innovations be conducive to the advantage of the proprietor is a point which, in the conflict of adverse opinions, is not easily decided; yet it would seem to be very clear, that a system, which has so great a tendency to break the spirit and lower the natural and moral condition of the bulk of the people engaged in the agriculture of the Highlands, cannot, in any just sense of the word, be very advantageous to the landlords, since, by throwing the produce of the country into the hands of a few men of capital, it gives them a monopoly of the farms, and often the option of fixing whatever rents they choose to pay; for few men can enter into competition on the enlarged scale of the new system,—an evil which seems to have been overlooked when it was adopted. But, admitting that landlords are not bound to wait for the instruction and improvement of their tenants in agricultural knowledge; admitting, to its fullest extent, their legal right of managing their lands in the

* Dr Robertson's General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness, drawn up by order of the Board of Agriculture.

manner apparently most profitable; and allowing the most unqualified power to exercise the right of removing the ancient occupiers, † it may still be doubted whether plans so hastily adopted, so productive of immediate distress, and which occasion such permanent discontent, are likely to be ultimately successful.

But, at the same time that this legal and admitted right of removing the original tenantry from their farms has been very freely exercised, it must appear somewhat extraordinary, nor is it easy to account for it in a satisfactory manner, that so many attempts have been made to restrain emigration, the best and only remaining relief for those who had been deprived of their farms. This course must undoubtedly have been pursued under the persuasion that some benefit would have been lost to the community by the consequent depopulation. But, the truth is, the value of the people was well known; and to constrain them to remain in the country, after they have been deprived of their usual resources, is equally inconsistent with every principle of sound policy and of justice. Nor is it a weak objection to the expediency of these measures, that an interference to

† In answer to the question of the propriety of dismissing the ancient occupiers of land, the conduct of manufacturers and tradesmen is quoted as an example of the exercise of such a right, and of the practice of turning away the people without regard to their future comfort. While it is admitted that this is certainly the practice in the instance alluded to, it may still be a question whether, if more kindness were shown, if the legal right of dismissal were less rigorously exerted, and if working tradesmen and artisans were encouraged, by ties of kindness and association, to believe their situations and employments permanent, we would see so many combinations against master tradesmen and manufacturers, and their houses and property so often in danger of conflagration. But, whatever may be the cause, there is no doubt of the appearance of a spirit of revenge and despair on the part of the working classes, and of a want of confidence and a distrust on the part of their employers; and certainly such a state of society, in which the employed are kept down by the bayonet and the strong arm of the law, and the lives and properties of the employers protected by military force, and a strict police, does not form a very desirable example for the imitation of Highland proprietors, in the case of the once chivalrous, and still valuable occupiers of their land.

prevent government from giving encouragement to emigrants was found necessary;* for this furnishes a practical refutation of the principles on which many have acted, and of the assertion made, that the Highlands were only calculated for pasture and a thin population. If the position was correct, why, in opposition to this maxim, attempt to retain the people, and place them on such paltry lots of land as have been mentioned, perhaps not one-tenth of the extent of the farms from which they were removed, on the ground that they were too small, and this in a country without regular employment, or, indeed, any means of subsistence except such as are drawn from the soil? Hence, it would appear, that the value of the old tenantry was well understood; otherwise why encourage or compel them to remain? Many considerations might be expected to operate to prevent the adoption of a system which called for such indefensible expedients, and which could only be supported by arguments so inconsistent.

When the proprietor is anxious to obtain the utmost rent for his land, it is, in general, his interest not to divide his farms upon too minute a scale, such subdivision of land, among those of the ancient tenantry, who, after their removal from their original farms, are permitted to remain, being found to be fruitful in misery and discontent: but, however proper and applicable extensive establishments may be to fertile districts, easily cultivated, situated in a

* Government having listened to representations made a few years ago in name and behalf of those Highlanders who had already been ejected from their possessions; and in behalf of others who dreaded the same fate, it was resolved to encourage emigration to Canada, under certain stipulations. Several landholders became alarmed, and made counter representations, on the plea that their country would be depopulated. In consequence of this, the execution of the plan was suspended, and it was at length entirely withdrawn, to the great distress of numbers who were anxious to avail themselves of this opportunity of removal to a country more favourable to their views, but who were destitute of the means of attaining their object, as much of their small capital had been expended in waiting the final decision of the proposed offers. This line of conduct must appear very inconsistent.

favourable climate, and possessing the advantages of being near market, water carriage, and manure; and also of being within reach of towns and villages, where a supply of labourers, in the busy period of autumn, may be readily procured; yet, in peculiar situations, great advantage may be derived from a division of the soil into moderately small farms; and, with regard to the Highlands, many, who have had opportunities of judging accurately, have been inclined to believe that, at a distance from market, with much rugged but improvable land, an active abstemious population, and a comparatively barren soil, improvements, which could not be executed by capital alone, unassisted by the manual labour of the occupiers,* may be carried on to the mutual advantage both of landlord and tenant. To this we may add what has occurred in many instances in times of difficulty, that the economical habits of the small tenantry will enable them to fulfil their engagements to their landlords, when the large farmers, embarrassed by extensive speculations and expensive establishments, must often fail in the fulfilment of theirs. That this is not merely a fanciful hypothesis, unsupported by facts, may be seen by reference to those countries in which the lands are more generally distributed, as in France, where the labours of the agricultural population are at once productive of a great public revenue, and of comfort and independence to the body of the people. England, in the days of the Edwards and Henries, although her foreign commerce was then extremely circumscribed, was prosperous and powerful from the produce of the soil alone, as was France during the late war, in which, though general communication and commerce were almost entirely interrupted, great revenues were derived from internal resources. In the same manner, in Flanders, Holland, &c. the profits of agricultural produce are more generally diffused, and few countries display a finer agricultural prospect; especially Austrian Flanders,

* See Appendix, BB.

where the farms do not, in many instances, exceed 10, 20, and 30 acres each, and only, in a few cases, extend to 100 or 200; and yet it has been maintained that, in Britain, where, in many counties, the farms average from 300 to 3000 acres, the country could not pay the taxes and other public burdens, * unless formed into such extensive establishments, and unless the rural population were dispersed. It is a striking fact, however, that poor-rates are as high, and in some cases higher, and that, consequently, greater poverty prevails in the thinly-peopled agricultural districts, than in the more populous counties. In Norfolk, Sussex, and other counties, where the largest capitals are invested † in agriculture, and where public meetings are held to celebrate the prosperity and successful enterprise of the men of capital and skill, landlords must pay back 20, 30, and 40 per cent. of the produce of their land to support the paupers, who are so numerous in the midst of this prosperity. No part of the crowded manufacturing districts of Lancashire is more heavily taxed with poor-rates than several of these great agricultural districts. In like manner, we find, that parochial rates are, by no means, so heavy in the populous manufacturing counties of Lanark and Renfrew, as in the large farming counties in the south of Scotland, particularly in Roxburgh and Berwick-

* The great increase in the value of animal produce has been ascribed to an extensive commerce, and particularly to the great consumption in manufacturing towns. Yet, in no period in the history of this country, were the manufacturers in greater distress, and less able to purchase animal food, than in 1816 and the four succeeding years, while at no time were sheep and cattle higher-priced, or in greater demand. In 1822, when manufacturers were in full employment, the price of beef and mutton fell fifty per cent. below former prices in the butcher-market. In 1824, again, cattle have risen forty per cent. in price above that of 1822, while there is no change in the condition of the manufacturers. The high price of Highland produce must, therefore, depend on other causes than the demands of manufacturing districts.

† It was stated by Mr Burrell, in the House of Commons, that, in the parish of West Grinstead, in Sussex, 5000 acres pay poor-rates to the amount of L.4000.

shire, where the English system of pauperism has begun to find its way,—not, as I heard stated by some reverend members of the General Assembly in the year 1818, on account of the vicinity of these counties to England, but, partly at least, from the similarity of system adopted and pursued. Pauperism is not geographically contagious, and poverty and poor-rates have not increased in Roxburgh and Berwickshires, because they happen to be contiguous to England, but because the same evil will spread in Scotland as well as in other countries, by the action of the same cause. But it is evident, as has been already stated, that it is advantageous to have a considerable portion of a country laid out in large farms, that men of capital and education may be encouraged to engage in agricultural pursuits; and this has always been the case in the Highlands, where large tracts have been held in lease by men of education and respectability,—as, for instance, the estates of Macdonald and Macleod, on which there were sixty gentlemen farmers: it is the too general adoption of such a system which is to be dreaded; nor, indeed, can it be generally established, even in one district, without causing great distress, in the first instance, and ultimately expelling a valuable and industrious race of people. * Nor does the adoption of such a sys-

* The evils resulting from the non-residence of proprietors are generally acknowledged. In no country is the absence of country gentlemen more felt than in the Highlands, where many proprietors seldom see their estates or tenants; and when they do, it is too often either for the sake of a few weeks' pastime, or perhaps to collect arrears of rent, or to make arrangements for an increase: and hence their visits are more a subject of dread than of satisfaction to their tenants. Now, if the absence of proprietors be an evil, would it not be subversive of the best interests of the Highlands to suppress or remove the whole class of country gentlemen and proprietors of small estates from L.100 to L.3000 a-year, and concentrate their lands in possession of a few individuals, leaving no intermediate class between the great landholder and the occupiers of his farms? By the same analogy, would it not be destructive of the independence of the lower classes in the North, if entire districts were given to one great farmer, leaving the whole population to support themselves on accidental labour, or on such employment as the man of capital chose to give them? As

tem appear so conducive to the interest of the proprietor as it might, on a first view, seem. Late experience has, in many cases, shown, that improvements may be effected, and good rents obtained, by judicious changes and modifications of the old system, without the expatriation of inhabitants or great expense to the landlords. In illustration of this point, I could produce many instances, but shall content myself with the following brief account of a great Highland estate.

Previous to 1797, this estate was occupied by a numerous small tenantry, interspersed with large farms, rented by men of education and respectable rank in society. The latter began to improve their lands and stock, after the examples they saw in the Lowlands. The small tenants also evinced symptoms of increasing industry, but they held their lands in common, and by what is known in Scotland by the name of "*Runrig*," that is, each man having a ridge of the arable land alternately with his neighbour, the higher pastures being held in common. While this interlacing system continued, it was not easy to carry on any improvement; but, soon after the period just mentioned, the arable lands were measured, and each man received a portion equal to what he formerly held, but contiguous, and, in general, enclosed, so that the benefit of his improvements was entirely his own. The people were so numerous, that from eight to thirty arable acres, with a portion of pasture, were all that could be allotted to each tenant; but none were removed. The pastures remained in common, as, from their

country gentlemen, of small or moderate properties, resident on their estates, have ever been an honourable, independent, and useful class in the chain of society, and as they have eminently contributed to the support of the country, does not the same thing apply to a lower link in society in the Highlands, where the gradation in the division of land among the tacksmen, smaller tenantry, and cottagers, has preserved their race moral and independent, without the degradation of poor-rates or pauperism? And should not these facts and considerations operate in preserving a share of the profits of the soil for a more general distribution of its benefits in producing independence and comfort to the bulk of the people?

nature and extent, they must always be, the expense of enclosures and subdivisions being more than such unproductive lands can sustain. But the number of horses, cattle, and sheep, to be kept on the pastures, was limited in proportion to the quantity and quality of the arable land occupied by each tenant, at the same time allowing a small portion for each cottager. By taking advantage of the great inequality of soil and climate, and diversifying the stock and produce accordingly, the tenants were frequently able to pay their rents in cases in which they must have failed, had they had only one article for sale. When these changes took place, the farms of the tacksmen on a larger scale remained without any alteration as to extent: but they forthwith commenced considerable improvements, and gave an example to the common people, who readily followed it, and who, at the same time, received considerable encouragement from their landlord.

The consequence of this wise and equitable plan was a progressive and regular improvement of the soil, and an advancement of the wealth and comfort of the tenants, while rents at once adequate and well paid were secured to the proprietor. But in an evil hour, and unfortunately for both landlord and tenant, the management of this estate was transferred to an agent of the new school, who immediately commenced operations according to the most approved modern system. He divided and subdivided farms that were already sufficiently small, while he made others again by far too large. Secret and rival offers were called for, and while he raised a spirit of rivalry, revenge, and irritation, which has not yet been subdued, he quickly succeeded in increasing the rent-roll to an unprecedented nominal amount; but the actual returns have fallen much below the original rent, much of the stock and capital of the tenants having been expended;—a deficiency of payment hitherto unknown among a people remarkable for their punctuality, and respect to their pecuniary engagements with their landlords.

Others, by separating the high pasture lands from the

low arable grounds, and letting them apart, have lost the advantages which joint possessions of arable and pasture grounds afforded for counteracting the evils of precarious seasons, and the difficulty of disposing of produce when distant from market; and have also lost the benefit to the arable ground of the winter manure of the cattle fed upon the pastures in summer. It frequently happens, that, when corn is at a low price, the produce of the pastures is high; and, again, when sheep, wool, and cattle, are low, there is sometimes a great demand for grain. Judicious distributions of these natural advantages of the country have long secured an equality to, if not, in some cases, a superiority over situations more favoured in point of climate and soil. Of this superiority, however, many have deprived themselves by the separation of the arable from the pasture lands, in expectation, that, by this separation, better rents would be received,—an expectation which experience has proved to have been ill founded. To deprive people of their pasture lands, in a country naturally pastoral, appears a very questionable measure, when it is considered that in the Highlands manure cannot be purchased, and that the scarcity of fuel renders lime expensive.* Another incon-

* By the loss of their sheep, the small tenants suffered exceedingly. All the clothes in common use were formerly manufactured at home from their own wool, and they were thus able to clothe their families with comfort and at small expense. Now, much money goes out of the country for clothing, which formerly went to pay the rents, or to portion their children. This also accounts for the almost total disappearance of tartan, which was formerly made in every family; for so many want wool that they cannot manufacture any, and the flimsy thin dry tartan made in the Lowlands is too expensive, and quite different from what was in use in the Highlands, and is unfit for the common purposes of life. Thus almost every new measure tends to change the habits as well as the character of the people. How much dress affects the manners is well known; and certainly the clumsy, vulgar, ill-made clothes, now so much worn by the young men of the Highlands, give them a clownish appearance, altogether different from, and forming a marked contrast to the light airy garb, gay with many colours, and the erect martial air and elastic step of the former race of Highlanders. I have already noticed the manner in which particular patterns or sets of tartan were preserved in families, as also Mr

venience arising from this separation is, that their hay cannot be consumed unless the farmers become dealers in cattle, which often renders them losers by the uncertainty and sudden variations of this precarious traffic; whereas, if they had cattle of their own, reared and fed on the produce of their lands, they could only occasionally suffer by the falling of markets, and not be subject to the heavier loss of purchasing high and selling low.

These reflections will receive farther confirmation, if we look to the state of the inhabitants in the two most populous and extensive districts of the Highlands of Perthshire, namely, Athole and Breadalbane. These districts are divided into eleven parishes, there being nine in the former, and two in the latter, and contain a population of 26,480 persons, of which number not more than 364 (taking the average of five years previous to 1817) require relief from the public funds. The extent of this relief cannot be great, as the funds for the support of the poor are supplied by voluntary donations, and the interest of a few trifling legacies. Accordingly, the annual sum allotted for the above number is, on the same average of five years, L.522, 0s. 10½d. * † or L.1, 8s. 8d. to each individual.

West's opinion of the beauty of the colours, and the taste with which they were arranged. Indeed, the beauty and clearness of the dye were quite remarkable. There are plaids preserved in families, manufactured in the Highlands in the seventeenth century, with as brilliant a tint as can well be given to worsted. These were the manufactures of the tenants in their families.

* This is a very different condition from what we find in a large parish in Sussex, stated by Mr Burrell in the House of Commons to contain a population of 18,000 souls, and to pay L.16,000 of poor-rates; so that the proportion paid for the maintenance of the poor by the Highland population of these two districts is to the proportion paid by an equal number of the English population in the same condition with the parish in Sussex, referred to by Mr Burrell, as 1 to 51.5 nearly. And yet the Highlanders, among whom there is only one pauper for every fifty-one, in one of the most fertile counties in England, are called a slothful, beggarly, poor people. They are poor; but as they manifest so proper a spirit of independence, such appellations might sometimes be spared. When the Highlanders are so often branded as poor and ignorant,

† See Appendix, CC.

When the poor in these districts are so few, and when these few are so easily supported, how does it happen that such frightful misery and poverty have existed in the more northern counties, and that, in other parts of the country, such heavy demands are made on the benevolence of landlords? This difference between the poverty of some districts and the comparative comfort of others, may be ascribed to local situation, and to different modes of management. In those parts of the North where the greatest distress prevails, the people have been removed from their lands; and in the Southern counties, where poor-rates are establishing, the people have no support but from accidental daily labour: but in Athole and in Breadalbane the removal of the ancient tenantry, and the increase of unemployed labourers, has not, by any means, been adopted to the same extent, and, consequently, the continuance of small farms allows to a very great proportion of the people a share in the produce of the earth. Hence, they feel no want of food, no abject poverty, although subjected, of course, like other parts of the kingdom, to the difficulties arising from bad crops, depreciated produce, and other causes. So great a proportion of the people having a permanent support, they are able to assist the destitute without the smallest call upon landlords. But, while the people are in a great measure independent of charitable aid, it must nevertheless be admitted, that, in some recent instances, lamentable symptoms of a relaxation of principle are visible, especially in the want

might not some observations be made on the line of conduct pursued by those who are the cause of their poverty and ignorance? If the people had the power, they would soon remove the stain of poverty, and having the means would provide teachers to enlighten their ignorance. Gentlemen would be more honourably employed, in individually removing the cause of the distress of their people,—which they have themselves the power to do,—than in calling public meetings in Edinburgh and other towns, to proclaim to the world the destitute and deplorable state of their dependants and tenants; and begging for charity from the benevolent to relieve them. There are many gentlemen in the Highlands who would hesitate to acknowledge that their tenants are poor and depressed, and would blush if forced to ask for charitable aid.

of punctuality in the payment of rents. This is not now, as formerly, a heavy reproach; for the frequency of defalcation has obliterated the shame which attached to it, and thus the best security of punctual payment and correct general conduct is destroyed. *

The great influx of money occasioned by the late war, a circumstance which, in general, has had an effect directly contrary, introduced into the Highlands the same speculative spirit which was, more or less, in operation over the whole kingdom. Agriculturists and graziers received unprecedented prices for their grain and for their cattle. Intoxicated with this gleam of prosperity, tenants, forsaking their wonted integrity and union of interests, were induced to overbid each other, and succeeded in misleading such landlords as were inclined to be moderate in their calculations, till thus tempted, as it were, by such extravagant offers; for who, it was said, could know the value of land so well as the cultivators? and how could landlords be expected to refuse rents, however high, that were thus urged upon them? † If the moderate and well-meaning were thus misled, the speculations of the sanguine or thoughtless may be supposed to have exceeded the bounds of moderation. This progress of late events and of new opinions may, in some manner, account for the more painful process now in operation, which has a marked tendency to deprive proprietors of the genuine comfort that attends living honoured and beloved in a safe and happy home, surrounded by an attached and contented people.

The point of view in which the system of agriculture, now pursued in many parts of the Highlands, may be considered as affecting the general interests of the State, is the loss of a

* This evil is extending to more transactions than payment of rents. When so much of the sense of shame is lost, when a breach of engagement with a landlord, which was considered as a heavy misfortune, begins to be contemplated with indifference, other claims will soon come to be viewed in the same light. Such answers as the following are already becoming frequent, "Don't speak of your debt; why should I pay you, when I have not paid my rent?"

† See Appendix, DD.

valuable body of men by too general emigration, or the much greater evil that may be produced by forcing the inhabitants to remain without affording them any certain means of subsistence, and by breaking down their native spirit, and extinguishing the shame, which, happily for themselves and their country, has hitherto attached to mendicity.

An attempt has been made to account for the peculiar character of the Highlanders on the principle of feudal subordination and hereditary attachment to their leaders; and those who impute the character attained by Highland troops solely to such causes, affect to ascribe the change which, they say, they discover in the conduct of latter corps, to the absence of this excitement. Whether these corps have actually degenerated from the example shown by their predecessors, will be best decided by those who, either as friends or enemies, have witnessed their conduct; and, on the testimony of such persons, though strangers to their country and their language, the proof may safely be allowed to rest. Still, however, it may with truth be said, that, in those regiments which, as national corps, have been preserved more unmixed than any other, their moral and military character stands pre-eminent to this day. Of this the Seaforth and Sutherland Highlanders afford incontestable proof.

To those who object to the policy of the late changes in the Highlands, on account of their effect in expelling or in lowering the condition of so many able defenders of their country, it has been replied, that, with the abolition of the patriarchal system, the military spirit of the Highlanders has been extinguished; that the recruits, who have been obtained from the Highlands of late years, did not come forward, as their fathers were wont to do, at the call of their chief, but were procured by a species of crimping, or offered as the premium of a renewed lease, or some other petty gain. But those who urge this argument ought to remember, that the great drafts from the Highlands were made at a time long subsequent to the dissolution of the patriarchal brotherhood and feudal government, and were completed with as

much expedition, and to as great an extent, as in times when the authority of the chieftain was most absolute; and that numerous bands of recruits followed Highland gentlemen, and young men, who had neither land nor leases to grant, nor money with which to tempt or reward the young soldiers. To those who know the facts, it will appear absurd to state what must be so familiar to their knowledge, that the great numbers of independent men who have, from time to time, inlisted from the Highlands, could not have been influenced by the trifling temptations which most of the individuals to whose fortunes they attached themselves were able to offer. * It is the value of such recruits, and the danger of their being lost to this country by too extensive an emigration, and more especially by the disaffection of those who remain at home, that constitute the great consideration of public importance. If the proprietors of many estates, once full of men able and willing to serve in defence of their country, were now to muster their military strength, it is to be feared, that, even in cases where the ancient race is still

* It is well known that the bounty-money had no influence in the Highlands, when men were raised for the 42d and other Highland corps in the Seven Years' War, as well as in that which ended in 1783. In 1776, upwards of 800 men were recruited for the 42d in a few weeks, on a bounty of one guinea, while officers who offered ten and twelve guineas for recruits, which they were raising for their commissions, could not get a man till the national corps were completed. I have also had frequent experience of this in my own person while serving in the 42d and 78th regiments. On many occasions, as I shall have to notice afterwards, numbers of young Highlanders inlisted for foreign service, (and this sometimes in bands together), on receiving less than one-half of the bounty-money given at the same time by officers for their commissions in the regular and fencible regiments for home-service, as likewise by others for militia substitutes. When I was recruiting for the 78th, the regiment was in the East Indies, and the prospect held out to the men of embarking for that country in a few months; yet they engaged with me, and other officers, for ten guineas, to embark immediately on a dangerous but honourable duty, when they could have got twenty guineas as militia substitutes, and to remain in their native country. This is very different from what some late authors have pretended to discover, that the youth of the Highlands have a notorious aversion to a military life.

retained, neither the influence of the name, nor the wealth of their superiors, would be able to counteract the effects of the disregard which has been shown to the feelings of their ancient retainers, nor recall that power over the mind and heart which their forefathers so fully possessed. Many seem to apprehend that the military spirit of the Highlanders is not only connected with the existence of the feudal system, but that it is, in some measure, dependent upon their continuing to lead a pastoral or agricultural life, and that a sedentary or mechanical employment must of necessity assimilate them to other artisans. Although there may be some reason for this conclusion, perhaps it assumes too much. "Nature," says Mrs Grant, "never meant Donald for a manufacturer. Fixing a mountaineer to a loom too much resembles yoking a deer to a plough, and will not in the end succeed better." And it is presumed that, even supposing he should become a manufacturer, there is still something left to distinguish him from either the Glasgow or the Perth weaver.

It is not, however, so much the actual removal of the inhabitants to another country, which the State has reason to deprecate, as the manner in which it has, in so many instances, been effected, and the impression which it has made upon the character and spirit of those who remain in their native country. Under proper limitations, emigration is desirable, and ought to be encouraged, in as much as, it affords vent for a redundant population which might otherwise prove injurious to a country without commerce, and without extensive tracts of new and uncultivated land. * Surplus population, where it exists in the Highlands, must be disposed of as in all other countries. But admitting that moderate emigration would provide for a useful people, if too numerous for their native country, this cannot apply to

* It was sending forth colonies from a redundant population, which originally peopled the different regions of the earth. This was the policy of Greece and Rome, and, in later ages, of the northern nations, who, in their migrations southward, overcame and ultimately subdued the Roman empire.

measures which do not aim at lessening the number of people, but either at the complete expatriation of the whole, or such a depression of the condition of those who are permitted to remain, as will endanger their independence by creating both the necessity and inclination for receiving charitable aid, and by increasing in a tenfold ratio the evil of a redundant population,—an evil which is by no means general in the Highlands, * and which exists only in those places where small lots of an acre, or more, have recently been assigned to each of those families whose former farms had been dismantled. Emigration is, in every view, preferable to this system of retaining the peasantry after they have lost their lands, and of confining them within bounds too narrow to afford them subsistence. Voluntary emigration would benefit the state by strengthening the colonies, and transfusing into their general mass able and intrepid defenders; but it is much to be feared that the provocations and oppressions which have already induced many to fight in the ranks of an enemy, may, at some future day, set those who have sought an asylum in another region in open array against the mother country, whence they have, in effect, been banished,—the highest punishment, next to death, which the law inflicts. † The intercourse between Highland landlords and their people resembled that of a family, and, when a breach of confidence occurs, their quarrels and animosities, like those of long-tried friends, are the more bitter and

* While the evil of a crowded population is so much dreaded in the Highlands, it must be irreconcileable with every principle of sound policy or humanity, to attempt to check emigration, its best antidote. Yet, notwithstanding the many complaints of a superabundant population, grain, in all average seasons, is so plentiful, even in the most populous glens, in which the people have been retained in their original possessions, that the greater part is unsaleable. Now, as provisions are unsaleable from their abundance, can there be any serious danger of over-population? Or, if the number of consumers was lessened, would it not increase the evil of superabundant produce, (if it can be called an evil); and can there be a surplus population, when the value of land is diminished, by the cheapness of the produce?

† Although the sentences of judges condemning criminals to *temporary banish-*

painful; † and, consequently, those who emigrate from compulsion, carry with them a lasting remembrance of the

ment have been questioned as being too severe, and the miseries of the convicts on their passage to New South Wales have been brought under the view of Parliament, little notice has been taken of the *banishment for life* of thousands driven from the Highlands; of whom so many must sell the reversion of a portion of their lives for the expence of the passage, the miseries of which, and of the after slavery, will be seen in Parkinson's Tour in America, and other works. Emigrants paying, in this manner, for their passage, are said to be bought and sold, and transferred like cattle from hand to hand. When felons, who, with all their crimes, are certainly objects of compassion, meet with such commendable attention, why do not the virtuous and innocent, who are sent to *perpetual exile*, meet with equal commiseration? While Government is arraigned for supposed inattention to the comforts of those whose crimes are disgraceful to the country for whose safety they are transported, the misery of the unoffending Highlanders does not seem to attract the same attention as the supposed harsh usage of felons, who, in reality are rendered so comfortable on the passage, that in a voyage of ten months, vessels have not lost an individual by sickness. How different is the condition of unfortunate emigrants in their wretched and crowded vessels! In fact, the subject is too melancholy to contemplate without the deepest commiseration; and yet the usual professors of philanthropy and religion are silent.

† Perhaps it may be thought that I give too many instances of the attachment and fidelity of the Highlanders to their superiors. I shall only give one more from a number of facts of the same description. While the estates forfeited after the rebellion of 1745 were vested in the Crown, the rents were moderate, and the leases long, the latter being generally forty-one or fifty-nine years. In the year 1783, these estates were restored to those who had been attainted, or to their heirs. This event caused general joy in the Highlands, and, among many other acts of kindness of his late Majesty towards the Highlanders, has so operated on their ardent minds, long affectionately attached to their kings and superiors, that he is often called the "King of the People." The heir of one of the persons attainted succeeded to an estate of considerable extent. Government, with a kindness that might have been imitated to advantage, removed few of the tacksmen, "kindly tenants," and followers of the old families. When the tenants of this gentleman found the descendant of their venerated chiefs in possession of the inheritance of his ancestors, they immediately surrendered their leases, doubled the rents upon themselves, and took new ones for a term shorter by ten years than that which was yet to run of the King's leases; in order, as they said, that the man whose presence among them had diffused so much happiness, might sooner be enabled to avail himself of the price of produce, which they saw annually increasing, and raise his rents accordingly. This was in 1783, nearly forty years after the whole power of the

cause. I have been told by intelligent officers, who served in Canada during the last war, that they found the Highland emigrants more fierce in their animosity against the mother country than even the native Americans. By weakening the principle of loyalty and love of country among a people hitherto distinguished for both, but who now impute part of their grievances to the Government which does not (perhaps cannot) protect them, the interests of the State are affected, and a fund of hostility created, if I may so express myself, against the occurrence of some season of difficulty and trial, when Government will in vain look for aid from those men whose minds are rankling with the remembrance of recent injuries, and whose spirits are broken by an accumulation of actual and irritating evils. *

chiefs, except over the minds and affections of the people, had ceased. This is one of the many instances that show how long those honourable traits of character continued, and the importance of such disinterested and generous attachment.

* How different the feelings of those are who emigrate voluntarily, may be seen by the following instance. My father had long been an indulgent landlord to a numerous tenantry. By his kind treatment several became rich, at least they believed themselves rich, and wished to get their farms enlarged. Their landlord explained to them that he could not do this without injustice to others, by removing them without cause from their farms. They saw the force of this reasoning; but, still anxious to enlarge their possessions, resolved to emigrate to a country where they could, without injustice or injury to their neighbours, accomplish their wishes; and they accordingly gave up their farms and embarked for America. Having the command of money, one detachment purchased a tract of land on the banks of the Hudson river, equal in fertility to any in the United States; others purchased in different parts of the Union. By their labour they cleared a considerable portion of land. It is now upwards of thirty years since the first detachment emigrated; but, so far are they from entertaining a spirit of hostility towards this country, that they cherish the kindest feelings towards their ancient homes, and the families of their ancient laird; their new possessions are named after their former farms, and their children and grand-children are named after the sons and daughters of their laird; and so loyal were they to the King and Government of this country, that, to avoid serving against them in the late war, several emigrated from the States to Canada, where the young men entered the Royal Militia and Fencibles. Such are the consequences of considerate treatment, and of voluntary emigration.

These emigrants, with all their endearing recollections of the past, have excited the sympathy of the Muse, and poetry has been called in to interest us in their fate; but, in this case, truth is better than fiction. *Dr Robertson, in

* In the Emigrant, by the late Honourable Henry Erskine, he describes the feelings of an old Highlander on quitting his native country for America.

" Farewell, farewell, dear Caledonia's strand,
Rough though thou be, yet still my native land,
Exiled from thee, I seek a foreign shore,
Friends, kindred, country, to behold no more:
By hard oppression driven———

. . . . . .

Thou dear companion of my happier life,
Now to the grave gone down, my virtuous wife,
'Twas here you rear'd, with fond maternal pride,
Five comely sons; three for their country died,
Two still remain, sad remnant of the wars,
Without one mark of honour but their scars:
They live to see their sire denied a grave
In lands his much-loved children died to save.
My two remaining boys, with sturdy hands,
Rear'd the scant produce of our niggard lands;
Scant as it was, no more our hearts desired,
No more from us our generous lord required.
" But, ah! sad change! those blessed days are o'er,
And peace, content, and safety charm no more:
Another lord now rules those wide domains,
The avaricious tyrant of the plains.
" For thee, insatiate chief! whose ruthless hand
For ever drives me from my native land;
For thee I leave no greater curse behind,
Than the fell bodings of a guilty mind;
Or what were harder to a soul like thine,
To find from avarice thy wealth decline.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

" Feed on, my flocks,—my harmless people, feed,
The worst that ye can suffer is to bleed.
O! that the murderer's steel were all my fear,
How fondly would I stay to perish here:
But hark, my sons loud call me from the vale,

his Report for the county of Inverness, says, " Some of the chieftains themselves have given the death-blow to chieftain-ship: they have cut the cords of affection which tied their followers and their tribes, and yet they complain of the defection of their tribes, which, with their eyes open, they have driven from them." * Those who respect the feelings of a whole people, may mourn over the breaking of those cords which bound together in affectionate duty and esteem the different orders of Highland society; and, while a change of management and improved cultivation were not only necessary, but indispensable, may regret that, to attain them, it has been found necessary to occasion such a revolution as has, in many cases, taken place, by the abrupt and unanticipated adoption of such measures as, without time or opportunity afforded for guarding against the convulsive shock, have been productive of the most violent changes, and proved subversive of all former habits and modes of living.

And, lo! the vessel spreads her swelling sail.
Farewell, farewell————————
Then casting many a lingering look behind,
Down the steep mountain's brow began to wind. "

* See Report to the Board of Agriculture,

SECTION IV.

Smuggling—Consequences of reducing the Highlanders from the Condition of small Tenantry—Policy of retaining an Agricultural Population.

I MUST now advert to a cause which contributes to demoralize the Highlanders in a manner equally rapid and lamentable. Smuggling has grown to an alarming extent, and, if not checked, will undermine the best principles of the people. When they become habituated to falsehood, fraud and perjury, in one line of life, they will soon learn to extend these vices to all their actions. This traffic operates like a secret poison on all their moral feelings. They are the more readily betrayed into it, as, though acute and ingenious in regard to all that comes within the scope of their observation, they do not comprehend the nature or purpose of imposts levied on the produce of the soil, nor have they any distinct idea that the practice of smuggling is attended with disgrace or turpitude. Their excuse for engaging in such a traffic, is, that its aid is necessary to enable them to pay their rents and taxes;—an allegation which supposes that these demands require the open violation of the law, by practices at once destructive of health and good morals, and affords a lamentable instance of the state to which they find themselves reduced. As a contrast to the discontents against Government which prevail in the South on political subjects, and on Reform, it deserves to be mentioned, that in the North, annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the whole catalogue of political grievances, are never thought of. There the severity and intricacy of the Excise laws, which render them equally difficult to be understood or obeyed, conjoined with the conduct of individual proprietors, form the theme of their complaints. The delicate situation in which

landlords are placed, when sitting as magistrates in Excise courts, and inflicting penalties for smuggling, has a strong influence on the minds of their tenants, who complain that they cannot dispose of their produce, or pay their rents, without the aid of this forbidden traffic; and it is difficult to persuade them that gentlemen are sincere in their attempts to suppress a practice without which, as it is asserted, their incomes could not be paid, in a country where legal distillation is in a manner prohibited. How powerfully this appearance of inconsistency contributes to affect the esteem and respect of tenants for their landlords, must be sufficiently evident.

It was not till after the year 1786, when the introduction of foreign spirits was checked by Mr Pitt's celebrated bill, that the distillation of whisky was carried on, to any extent, in the Highlands. * Brandy and rum were landed on the West coast, from which they were conveyed to all parts of the country, and composed the principal spirituous drink of the inhabitants. But when foreign spirits were prohibited, the contraband distillation of whisky commenced, and was prosecuted to an extent, and with an open defiance of the laws, hitherto unknown; and yielding large profits,—particularly since the improvements in agriculture increased the produce of barley,—the traffic spread rapidly, and, in many districts, became the principal source from which the rents

* So little was it practised in the Perthshire Highlands, that a tenant of my grandfather's was distinguished by the appellation of "Donald Whisky," from his being a distiller and smuggler of that spirit. If all existing smugglers were to be named from this traffic, five of the most numerous clans in the country conjoined, could not produce so many of one name. In the year 1778, there was only one officer of Excise in that part of Perthshire above Dunkeld, and he had little employment. In the same district, there are now eleven resident officers in full activity, besides Rangers (as they are called) and extra officers sent to see that the resident excisemen do their duty; yet, so rapidly did illicit distillation increase, that it would seem as if the greater the number of officers appointed, the more employment they found for themselves; and it is a common, and, I believe, a just remark, that whenever an Excise officer is placed in a glen, he is not long without business.

were paid. Whisky became fashionable, and superseded the consumption of other liquors; one effect of which has been, the nominal price to which rum has been reduced. The Lowland distillers complained that the smugglers undersold them, and lessened the demand for their manufacture. These complaints were not without cause, at the same time that the preference given to the contraband spirits was owing to its superior quality;—a remarkable difference, considering that the legal distiller has full time for conducting his operations in safety, while the smuggler is in constant hurry and dread of detection, and, when ferreted out from one rock or hiding-place, is obliged to commence in another. With all this, a pure and wholesome spirit is distilled in the hills, while the legal still throws out an unsaleable liquor, at least not saleable, unless at a lower price, or until after it is re-distilled and rectified.

Several acts of Parliament were passed for the suppression of smuggling. By a special act, the Highland district was marked out by a definite line, extending along the southern base of the Grampians, within which all distillation of spirits was prohibited from stills of less than 500 gallons. It is evident that this law was a complete interdict, as a still of this magnitude would consume more than the disposable grain in the most extensive county within this newly drawn and imaginary boundary; nor could fuel be obtained for such an establishment, without an expense which the commodity could not possibly bear. The sale, too, of the spirits produced was circumscribed within the same line, and thus the market which alone could have supported the manufacture of such quantities was entirely cut off. The quantity of grain raised in many districts, in consequence of recent agricultural improvements, greatly exceeds the consumption; but the inferior quality of this grain, and the great expense of carrying it to the Lowland distillers, who, by a ready market, and the command of fuel, can more easily accommodate themselves to this law, renders it impracticable for the Highland farmers to dispose of their

grain in any manner adequate to pay rents equal to the real value of their farms, subject as they are to the many drawbacks of uncertain climate, uneven surface, distance from market, and scarcity of fuel. Thus, no alternative remained but that of having recourse to illicit distillation, or absolute ruin, by the breach of their engagements with their landlords.* These are difficulties of which the Highlanders complain heavily, asserting that nature and the distillery-laws present insurmountable obstacles to the carrying on a legal traffic. The surplus produce of their agricultural labour will, therefore, remain on their hands, unless they incur an expense beyond what the article will bear, in conveying to the Lowland market so bulky a commodity as the raw material, and by the drawback of price on their inferior grain. In this manner, their produce must be disposed of at a great loss, as it cannot be legally manufactured in the country. Hence they resort to smuggling as their only resource,—a state to which it might have been expected that neither an enlightened government nor liberal landlords would have reduced a well-principled race, and thereby compelled them to have recourse to practices subversive of the feelings of honour and rectitude, and made them re-

* Since the formation of roads to the hill-mosses, and the introduction of carts, the consumption of peat for fuel has greatly increased, and is quickly diminishing the supply. Peat has now become an expensive fuel; the raising and carrying home the quantity necessary for even family purposes consume much valuable time, in the season best calculated for agricultural labour and improvements. Coals are brought from thirty to fifty miles by land carriage, in preference to the expense and loss of time in preparing a species of fuel which is not well calculated for strong fires. The nature and expense of this fuel afford additional arguments against the propriety or justice of equalizing the Highland duties with those of the Lowland distilleries, independently of the great difference in the quality of the grain and of the distance from market. The price of forty stones of coal sold in this neighbourhood is thirteen or fourteen shillings; the same quantity is sold in Perth for four shillings; how then, with an inferior grain, and such a difference in the expense of fuel, and a farther expense of sending the spirits to market, can the Highland distiller pay the same duty as the Lowland distiller?

gardless of their character in this world, and their happiness in the next. And if it be indeed true, that this illegal traffic has made such deplorable breaches in the honesty and right feeling of the people, the revenue drawn from the large distilleries, to which the Highlanders have been made the sacrifice, has been procured at too high a price to the country.

By the late alterations in the distillery-laws, the size of the still has been reduced, with the view of meeting the scarcity of fuel, and the limited means of the Highlanders. Government had, unfortunately, shut their eyes to the representations of the evil consequences resulting from those prohibitory measures, and had turned a ready ear to the offers of revenue by the large distillers. This conflict between temporary revenue and lasting injury to the morals of a virtuous people, was so long continued, that the evil has become too general, but not beyond remedy. If the Excise-laws were so framed as to enable the Highland distiller to overcome the difficulties which nature has thrown in his way, and with his light and inferior grain, to pay the duties which are calculated for the more productive grain of the southern counties, it might safely be predicted that smuggling to any extent would speedily disappear. * It is well

* When the duty on malt was lowered a few years ago, all grain malted in the Highlands of Perthshire was entered for the Excise-duty, and a great increase of revenue drawn; but when it was again augmented, smuggling of malt recommenced, and the revenue produced has not been worth the expense of collection.

Since the publication of the former editions, circumstances have occurred which, if persevered in, will confirm the above prediction. An act was passed in 1823, lowering the duty, and allowing stills of forty gallons. The consequence has been, that smuggling is disappearing; and when the people have time to comprehend the provisions of the act (no easy matter, considering the power the Board of Excise assume, of construing the different clauses at their own discretion), smuggling will be as little practised in the Highlands as it was sixty years ago; that is, before the people were prohibited from manufacturing their grain, by enactments so unsuitable to the state of the country as to be a complete interdict,

known that smuggling was little practised, and produced no deterioration in the morals of the people, (who, in the last age, were not, in any manner, addicted to strong liquors, †) till the change in the Excise-laws, ‡ and in the manner of

† The salaries of Excise-officers are so small, as to be inadequate to the support of their families, and the expense to which the exercise of their duty lays them open, viz. being daily on horseback, and living much in taverns. The deficiency is supplied by their being allowed a share of all fines and seizures; but it is evident that, if there were no smuggling, there could be neither fines nor seizures, and, while the suppression of the traffic would destroy a source of great emolument to those whose duty it is to suppress it, they must live on their small and inadequate salaries,—an alternative to which it were prudent not to expose them. Without attributing any improper conduct, or neglect of duty, to men placed in this delicate situation, it is well known, that fines and seizures have failed in suppressing smuggling. On the contrary, smugglers proceed with more eagerness than usual, immediately after a seizure or conviction, as, otherwise, how could the consequent fine be paid? How could the Excise-officer be paid his share?

‡ Till within the last thirty years, whisky, as I have just noticed, was less used in the Highlands than rum and brandy, which were landed on the West coast, and thence conveyed all over the country. Indeed, it was not till the beginning, or rather towards the middle of the last century, that spirits of any kind were so much drank as ale, which was formerly the universal beverage. Every account and tradition go to prove that ale was the principal drink among the country people, and French wines and brandy among the gentry. In confirmation of the general traditions, I may state, that Mr Stewart of Crossmount, whom I have already mentioned, and who lived till his 104th year, informed me, that, in his youth, strong frothing ale from the cask was the common beverage. It was drank from a circular shallow cup with two handles. Those of the gentry were of silver (which are still to be seen in ancient families), and those used by the common people were of variegated woods. Small cups were used for spirits. Whisky-house is a term unknown in the Gaelic. Public-houses are called Tai-Leanne, that is, Ale-houses. Had whisky been the favourite beverage of the Highlanders, as many people believe, would not their songs, their tales, and names of houses allotted for convivial meetings, bear some allusion to this propensity, which has no reality in fact, and is one of those numerous instances of the remarkable ignorance of the true character of the Highlanders on the part of their Lowland friends and neighbours? In addition to the authority of Mr Stewart (who was a man of sound judgment and accurate memory to his last hour), I have that of men of perfect veracity, and great intelligence regarding every thing connected with their native country. In the early part of their recollection, and in the time of their fathers, the whisky drank in the Highlands of Perthshire was brought principally from the Low-

letting land; and there is little doubt, that, if the laws were accommodated to the peculiar circumstances of the Highlands, the prediction which I have now ventured to make would be fully verified. In this opinion I am supported by that of many men of judgment and knowledge of the character and disposition of the people, whom I have consulted, and who have uniformly stated that smuggling was little practised till within the last thirty years. The open defiance of the laws, the progress of chicanery, perjury, hatred, and mutual recrimination, with a constant dread and suspicion of informers,—men not being sure of, nor confident in their next neighbours, a state which results from smuggling, and the habits which it engenders,—are subjects highly important, and regarded with the most serious consideration, and the deepest regret, by all who value the permanent welfare of their country, which depends so materially upon the preservation of the virtuous habits of the people. No people can be more sensible than the Highlanders themselves are of this melancholy change from their former habits of mutual confidence and good neighbourhood, when no man dreaded an informer, or suspected that his neighbour would betray him, or secretly offer for his farm. And they still recollect that the time has been when the man who had betrayed or undermined the character or interests of his friend and neighbour, would have been viewed as an outcast from the society to which he belonged. But, while they bitterly lament this change, they ascribe much of it to the seeming determination of Government to prevent distil-

lands. The men to whom I allude died within the last thirty years, at a great age, and consequently the time they allude to was the end of the seventeenth century, and up to the years 1730 and 1740. A ballad full of humour and satire, composed on an ancestor of mine, in the reign of Charles I., and which is sung to the tune of Logie o' Buchan, or rather, as the Highland traditions have it, the words of Logie o' Buchan were set to the air of this more ancient ballad, describes the Laird's jovial and hospitable manner, and, along with other feats, his drinking a brewing of ale at one sitting, or convivial meeting. In this song whisky is never mentioned; nor is it in any case except in the modern ballads and songs.

lation on a small scale, by enforcing laws and regulations unsuitable to their country or its means, and equally difficult to be comprehended or obeyed; and when landlords cannot draw the full value of their lands, nor tenants pay their rents without a vent for their produce, the complaints of the Highlanders, both proprietors and tenants, seem to be well founded.

There is another circumstance which I cannot avoid noticing; that is, a practice lately introduced of ordering parties of cavalry to the Highlands as a terror to smugglers. Dragoons are necessary to oppose an enemy; but they are instruments that ought not to be used at the instigation, or under the direction, of an irritated, and perhaps ignorant, exciseman. Parading cavalry through glens and rocks, where they can be of no use, is an ignorant display of power, and would be matter of derision, were it not for the feeling which the exhibition occasions among the people, who ought not to be suspected of resisting the laws without good grounds; nor should they be permitted to believe that they are so formidable as to require military force. So different is it in the Highlands, that, with a tolerable knowledge of circumstances, I know not of *one case* where it was necessary to call in the military. On the contrary, the excise officers are so far from meeting with resistance, that when they make a seizure, they are often assisted by the people to destroy their own utensils with their contents; and when the duty is finished, the officers are offered refreshment, and invited into the houses of those whose property *had been destroyed*. Are these a people requiring dragoons to keep them down? Government and the Board of Excise ought to look into this matter. Military force is not yet required in the Highlands, except in the northern ejectments by fire, and military execution; but unnecessary harshness, and accustoming men to believe that they are turbulent, may make cavalry and infantry necessary. Let a warning be taken from Ireland. The deforcements and resistance to excise-officers, so frequent in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, Stir-

ling, and Perth, are by bands of men of desperate character, many of them Irish, and from the western counties, who are the purchasers and carriers of smuggled spirits, but not the manufacturers, who carefully avoid such encounters and skirmishes, and, except in cases of unnecessary severity on the part of excise-officers, and the consequent irritation, quietly surrender their property when discovered.

The recent change of disposition and character forms an additional argument with those who urge the propriety of removing the ancient inhabitants, on pleas derived from their supposed incapacity and indolence, or from the climate and soil. This character has been depicted in strong colours. Pinkerton describes the Celts as " mere radical savages, not advanced even to a state of barbarism; and if any foreigner," adds he, " doubts this, he has only to step into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or cultivation, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain, as marked by the ancients, fond of lies, and enemies to truth." Without being influenced by the opinions of this author, the well-known fact should be recollected, that much of the land in the Highlands is barren, rugged, and from the numerous heights and declivities difficult to cultivate; that the climate is cold, wet, and boisterous; and that the winter is long and severe, and the country fitted only for the maintenance of a hardy abstemious population. No doubt, the population is numerous in many districts, in proportion to the extent of fertile land, but nevertheless the people have supported themselves, with an independence, and a freedom from parochial aid, which a richer, more favoured, and more fertile country, might envy.

The indolence of the Highlander is a common topic of remark: at the same time it is admitted, that, out of their own country, they show no want of exertion, and that, in executing any work by the piece, and in all situations where they clearly see their interest concerned, they are persever-

ing, active, and trust-worthy.* But still it is maintained, that, if placed on small farms in their native country, they are worse than useless. If this opinion be well-founded, it might furnish a subject of inquiry, why men should be persevering as labourers in one situation, and in another useless, and that too, though labouring for their own immediate comfort, and for the support of their families? It might also furnish a surmise, that as they seldom show any deficiency of intellect in comprehending their own interests, so there is something wrong in the system under

* The integrity and capability of the numerous bands of Highlanders which supplied Edinburgh with *Caddies* is proverbial. These Caddies were, during the last century, a species of porters and messengers plying in the open street, always ready to execute any commission, and to act as messengers to the most distant corners of the kingdom, and were often employed in business requiring secrecy and dispatch, and frequently had large sums of money intrusted to their care. Instances of a breach of trust were most rare, indeed almost unknown. These men carried to the South the same fidelity and trust-worthiness which formed a marked trait in the character of the Highlanders of that period, and formed themselves into a society, under regulations of their own. Dr Smollet, in his Humphry Clinker, gives an account of an anniversary dinner of this fraternity, of which nine-tenths were Highlanders, though little now remains of the original order of Caddie. These employments are thrown into other channels, the number of stage-coaches rendering communication so cheap and safe, that special messengers are unnecessary. There are, however, many Highlanders in Edinburgh employed as chairmen, and in other occupations; and it might furnish no uninteresting inquiry, whether the Highlanders formerly employed in Edinburgh were more trust-worthy, and more remarkable for their zeal, activity, and regard to their word, than those of the present day? If such an inquiry should prove that they have not greatly degenerated from the virtues of their predecessors, perhaps there is little foundation for the reports of the deplorable want of religion and morality in the North. It would, on the contrary, show that their moral feelings, and the sense of shame which they attached to a breach of trust, were the best safeguard of that integrity which made them valuable servants to the public. On the other hand, were such an inquiry to show a change of character, it would afford a melancholy contradiction to the reports of the improved religious knowledge of the Highlanders, and show that the blessings resulting from religious and moral education were not so defective in the last age as many have been made to believe.

which they are frequently managed; otherwise what could occasion an inconsistency so difficult to reconcile with any known principle, as that a man should be indolent and careless about his own fields, and yet active and vigilant about those of others? *

Another circumstance has prejudiced the character of the Highlanders in the opinion of strangers; I mean, the reluctance they showed to avail themselves of the employment offered them on the Caledonian Canal, although furnishing employment to the ejected tenantry was one of the reasons assigned for undertaking that work. At the same time, it may be observed, that this expensive relief, the formation of the Canal, *was only temporary*, while the want of employment *is permanent*. The small number of Highlanders

* The small tenantry often complain of the want of encouragement to improve. But the want of encouragement to themselves they would not perhaps feel so much, did they not see great encouragement given to the large farmers, while they are abandoned to their own exertions. Thus, when glens and districts in the Highlands are depopulated, and the lands given to a man of capital, estimates are taken for building a proper establishment, large sums are expended on inclosures, and stipulations are made to recompense the tenant at the end of the lease for improvements made by him. When such are the very commendable encouragements given to farmers on a large scale, why are the small tenants *so often refused any kind of support?* Before large houses are built for tenants, it might, however, be matter of consideration to apportion the rent and taxes in such a manner as to leave a clear income suitable to the accommodation provided for them; otherwise it must appear absurd to place a man in a house proper for an income of six or seven hundred a year, as is often seen, when perhaps the clear profits of the farm are not fifty. There are farms of two and three hundred pounds' rent, where the interest of money sunk in building houses is from fifty to sixty, and in some cases more than one hundred pounds. Had these men the fee-simple of their farms, it might be a question how far it would be prudent to pay such rents for a dwelling-house and its appendages. Several farms within my knowledge are rented at two pounds the acre, but the landlords have erected such expensive buildings, that the interest of the money expended is equal to one pound per acre, leaving only the same sum of clear rent, while the tenant is subjected to an unsuitable expense in furnishing and keeping in repair such an establishment. A process which is so hurtful to the tenant, and which reduces the landlord's rent one half, is called by our statistical economists, improving his property.

who have been employed on the Canal has afforded ground for an opinion, that they have a disinclination to labour, and are not calculated for any exertion beyond the habits of a pastoral life. To those who are strangers to their habits and way of thinking, this of itself might appear a sufficient proof of their aversion to any stationary or laborious employment; but not so to those who know that land and cattle, with their usual appendages, form, as I have already noticed, the principal aim of a Highlander's ambition. Deprived of these, he is lowered and broken in spirit; and to become a labourer in his own country, and to be forced to beg for his daily hire and daily bread, in sight of his native mountains, and of those who witnessed his former independence, he cannot bear without extreme impatience. Hence, while so few resorted to the constant and well-paid labour on the Canal, in the heart of their country, thousands crowded down for employment to the most distant Lowlands. Indeed, the greater the distance the better, as at a distance from home they were unknown, and their change of station remained concealed, or unnoticed. For the same reason, they overcome their attachment to their native country, and emigrate to the woods of America, in the hope of obtaining a portion of land, the possession of which they consider as the surest and most respectable source of independence. "Wherever the Highlanders are defective in industry," says the late Professor Walker, "it will be found upon fair inquiry, to be rather their misfortune than their fault, and owing to their want of knowledge and opportunity, rather than to any want of spirit for labour. Their disposition to industry is greater than is usually imagined, and, if judiciously directed, is capable of being highly advantageous both to themselves and to their country."

Their spirit and industry may be seen by looking to the nature of the country, and the length of time during which the Highlands formed a separate and independent kingdom, repelling all invasions, and at length establishing their king and government in more fertile regions. It must therefore have been capable of supporting a greater population than

it is commonly supposed adequate to maintain; for, surrounded as the people were by the sea, and by neighbours often hostile, preventing any excursions beyond their mountains, except by force of arms, their sole dependence must have been on their own resources. But these must have been sufficient to maintain the whole inhabitants, or they could not have so long existed in independence. Indeed, it is not easy to form an opinion of the extent to which population might be carried by spirited and liberal encouragement to the industry and energy of the people. Unfortunately, however, this is not the opinion of many, who hold that the country cannot prosper while the original inhabitants remain, and that, to improve the soil, where the people are without capital or skill, would be a vain attempt. This opinion is probably the cause why, in so many cases, the liberal encouragement of Highland landlords has been directed to other channels than that of raising the condition of the original occupiers of their estates. If the Highlanders are deprived of their lands, where is the benefit to them, that great sums are expended in building large and commodious establishments for the stranger of capital? Is it of any advantage to the ancient race, that the landlord liberally sacrifices part of his expected rents to encourage the present skilful possessors, to make room for whom they were removed? Nor does it seem clear that the natives of the country can profitably avail themselves of the admirable roads, for the formation of which gentlemen advanced large sums; or that they can frequent the inns built, and the piers and shores formed, since by their removal to their new stations, as cottagers, they are left without a horse to travel on the roads, without produce to embark at the shores, and deprived of the means of acquiring property or independence.

It was not by depopulation, or by lowering the condition of the inhabitants; it was not by depriving the country of its best capital and strength, "a sensible, virtuous, hardy, and laborious race of people," * and, by checking all further increase of wealth, except what might arise from the in-

* Professor Walker's Economical History.

creased value of the produce of pasture lands, that the Dutch reclaimed fertile meadows from the ocean, that the Swiss turned their mountains into vineyards, and that the natives of Majorca and Minorca, scraping the rocky surface of their respective islands, (as hard as the most barren within the Grampians), caused them to produce corn and wine in abundance. What industry has accomplished on the rocks of Malta is proverbial. But, in the North, "the climate is a common-place objection against every improvement. It is certain that improvements which, for this reason, are resisted in the Highlands, have taken place successfully in districts of Scotland, which are more unfavourable in point of climate." * If such is the case in other districts, the difficulty should be more easily overcome in the Highlands, from the abstemious and hardy habits of the people, who are contented and happy with the plainest and cheapest food. Wherever time has been allowed, and proper encouragement afforded, the industry of the tenants has overcome the difficulties of climate, and of unproductive soil. † Although their labours are unremitting, their time

* Professor Walker's Economical History.

† No encouragement to a Highlander is equal to the prospect of a permanent residence, and of an immediate return for his labour. The rent should be fully as high as the produce will admit, with a promise of reduction in proportion to the extent of improvements made. Hence, when men rent small farms of fifteen, twenty, and thirty acres, they will, by their personal labour, and that of their families and servants, be able to drain, clear, and inclose the land. The improvements should be annually valued, and one-fourth or one-third of the amount allowed to the tenant as a deduction from his rent. In this manner an industrious tenant will work equal to twenty or thirty per cent. of the rent. This will make the farm cheap during the progress of improvement, and, as these operations can be completed in a few years, the landlord will afterwards have his full rent, which the tenant will be enabled to pay easily by the improved state of his land; and, at the end of the lease, can afford a considerable augmentation from his increased produce, the consequence of his own industry, and of the encouragement given him,—which may be said to have cost the landlord nothing, as the money remitted out of the rent could not perhaps have been paid without the personal labour and improvement of the tenant. It is evident that this process could not be accomplished by mere capital alone, without the personal labour of the occupier; and that the farm must conse-

and attention are divided among so many objects, that the aggregate produce of their labour is less visible than where the same time is employed in the single endeavour to extract the utmost produce from the soil. The tending of cattle wandering over mountains, or constantly watched in pastures not inclosed, and the preparing and carrying home their fuel, with numerous interruptions, divide and increase their toil, in a manner of which the people of the plains can form no idea. These, indeed, are not monotonous labours, that chain down the body to a certain spot, and limit the mind to a narrow range of ideas; but still they are toils incessant and exhausting. A different kind of labour may seem more advantageous to those economists, who would reduce the labouring class to mere machines, and produce, in this free country, a division of the people into castes, like the population of India. But such a change is nowhere desirable, and is impossible, in regions divided from each other by almost insurmountable barriers. A general plan of making all persons, however different their circumstances, conduct the agriculture of their respective districts, in the same manner,—like the iron bed of Procrustes, which all were made to fit, by being either stretched to the proper length, or shortened by mutilation,—must not only be inexpedient, but cruel and oppressive to the tenant, and subversive of the best interests of the landlord. *

quently be small, because, if the work were done by hired labour, the payment by the landlord would be no relief to the tenant in the way of abatement of rent, as he must pay it away to those he hired; whereas, if he labours himself, with the assistance of his family, he retains the money for his immediate use. Such a mode as this might be advisable in barren land, which will not always reimburse any considerable outlay of money, without the assistance of the personal labour of the cultivator.

* The sagacity and facility of accommodation to novel situations that mark the Highland character, may be ascribed to the versatility arising from such varied occupations. As emigrants settling in a wilderness, the exemption from dependence on tradesmen must be peculiarly useful. If the Highland, like the English peasant, could not subsist without animal food, and bread made of the best of flour, together with ale and beer, it would give some

But it is unnecessary to talk of economy, industry, and good morals, in regard to a country without people, as is the state of many Highland districts. These districts, once well-peopled with a race who looked back for ages to a long line of ancestors, will now only be known like the ancient Pictish nation; that is, by name, by historical tradition, and by the remains of the houses and the traces of the agricultural labours of the ancient inhabitants. In these there can be no increase of the general produce, by any amelioration of the soil, and consequently the rents can advance only by a rise in the value of the animals fed on the pastures; and as this increase of price may proceed from a previous loss by severe winters, diseases, and other causes, it is rather a precarious contingency. The increased value of animal produce has enabled those interested to put forth statements of the unprecedented riches of the country, and of the expected prosperity of those placed in the new villages.* But no hint is given of this important truth, that

strength to the opinion of those who think that the barren lands of the North ought to be left in a state of nature, and that an attempt to improve them to advantage would be hopeless, as the produce of so sterile a soil could not support a people requiring such expensive food. But, when we have men of vigorous bodies, capable of subsisting on potatoes and milk for nine months in the year, using animal food, beer, or spirits, only on great occasions, and wheaten bread never; it may be allowed that a Highland proprietor, having lands fit for cultivation, and a hardy race, might preserve the one and improve the other, and thus secure a better and more certain income on his improved soil, than that which depends entirely on the price of sheep or cattle.

* In the same manner, reports are published of the unprecedented increase of the fisheries on the coast of the Highlands, proceeding, as it is said, from the late improvements; whereas, it is well known, that the increase is almost entirely occasioned by the resort of fishers from the South. To form an idea of the estimation in which Highland fishermen are held, and the little share they have in those improvements of the fisheries noticed in the newspapers, we may turn to an advertisement in the Inverness newspapers, describing sixty lots of land to be let in that county for fishing stations. To this notice is added a declaration, that a "*decided preference will be given to strangers.*" Thus, while, on the one hand, the unfortunate natives are driven from their farms in the interior, a "decided preference" is given to strangers to settle on the coast, and little hope left for them, save that those invited from a distance will

the same high prices would have equally affected the small occupiers as the great stock graziers, and that the high prices are the causes of the increased value of land, and not the cold-hearted merciless system pursued, and the change of inhabitants. Wherever there is a space and soil covered with a well-disposed population, experience, example, and encouragement, will teach them to better their situation.

I shall only notice one other argument adduced in support of the depopulation of the Highlands; and that is, that sheep are the stock best calculated for the mountains. On this subject there can be but one opinion; but why not allow the small farmer to possess sheep as well as the great stock grazier? It is indeed said that it is only in extensive establishments that stock-farming can be profitable to the landlord. This hypothesis has not yet been proved by sufficient experience, or proper comparison. But allowing that it were, and allowing a landlord the full gratification of seeing every tenant possessing a large capital, with all comforts corresponding to the opinion of a great proprietor, who wishes to have no tenant but who can afford a bottle of wine at dinner; there is another important consideration, not to be overlooked in introducing this system into the Highlands—that, in allotting a large portion of land to one individual, perhaps two, or three, or even five hundred persons will be deprived of their usual means of subsistence, compelled to remove from their native land, and to yield up their ancient possessions to the man of capital, * to enable him to drink

not accept the offer. When they see themselves thus rejected, both as cultivators, shepherds, and fishermen, what can be expected but despondency, indolence, and a total neglect of all improvement or exertion?

* We have lately seen 31 families, containing 115 persons, dispossessed of their lands, which were given to a neighbouring stock-grazier, to whom these people's possessions lay contiguous. Thus, as a matter of convenience to a man who had already a farm of nine miles in length, 115 persons, who had never been a farthing in arrear of rent, were deprived of house and shelter, and sent pennyless on the world. The number of similar instances of disregard of the happiness or misery of human beings in an age which boasts of enlight-

wine, to drive to church in a gig, to teach his daughters music and quadrille-dancing, and to mount his sons upon hunters, while the ancient tenants are forced to become bondsmen or day-labourers, with the recollection of their former honourable independence still warm. Yet this is a system strongly recommended, and practised with great inconsistency, by men who have the words liberty and independence in their mouths, and are loud in their complaints of the slavish and oppressed state of the people.

It is impossible to contemplate, without anxiety and pain, the probable effects of these operations in producing that demoralization, pauperism, and frequency of crime, which endanger the public tranquillity, and threaten to impose no small burden on landlords, in contributing to the maintenance of those who cannot or will not maintain themselves. Will the Highlanders, as cottagers, without employment, refrain from immorality and crime? Can we expect from such men the same regularity of conduct as when they were independent, both in mind and in circumstances?† When collected together in towns and villages, will they be able to maintain the same character that

ened humanity, patriotism, and friendship for the people, are almost incredible, and do unspeakable injury to their best principles, by generating a spirit of malice, envy, and revenge.

† When the engrossing system commenced in the North, and the people were removed from their farms, a spirit of revenge was strongly evinced among those who were permitted to remain in the country. They saw themselves reduced to poverty, and, believing that those who got possession of their lands were the advisers of their landlords, hatred and revenge, heightened by poverty, led to the commission of those thefts from the pastures noticed in the criminal convictions in the Appendix, BB. As cattle-stealing disappeared when the people were convinced of the immorality of the practice, and as the crime now noticed commenced only when they were reduced to poverty, and instigated by vindictive feelings for the loss of their ancient habitations, may it not be believed that, if these irritating causes had not occurred, neither would the crimes which seem to have resulted from them? And if circumstances confirm the justness of this supposition, may we not ask what degree of responsibility to God and to their country attaches to those whose plans led to the commission of these crimes?

was their pride on their paternal farms? Losing respect for the opinion of the world, * will they not also lose that respect for themselves, which, in its influence, is much more powerful than laws, on morality and public manners; and attempt to procure a livelihood by discreditable expedients, by petty depredations, or by parish aid? We have the example of Ireland, where the people are poor and discontented. In the tumults and outrages of that country, we see how fertile poverty and misery are in crimes. The Irish and Highlanders were originally one people, the same in lineage, character, and language, till the oppression of a foreign government, and the system of middlemen, as they are called, with other irritating causes, have reduced the lower orders in the former country to a state of poverty which, while it has debased their principles, has generated hatred and envy against their superiors. This has been the principal cause of those outrages which throw such a shade over the character of a brave and generous people; who, if they had been cherished and treated as the clansmen of the Highlands once were, would, no doubt, have been equally faithful to their superiors in turbulent times, and equally moral and industrious in their general conduct. † But, instead of exhibiting such a character as has been depicted,

* See Appendix EE.

† The misery of the lower orders in Ireland is frequently produced as an instance of the misery resulting from the continuance of small tenants in the Highlands. This, however, must originate in gross ignorance of the relative state of the two countries, which will not bear a comparison. The small tenants in the Highlands generally possessed from two to ten or twenty milch cows, with the usual proportion of young cattle, from two to five horses, and from twenty to one or two hundred sheep; the quantity of arable land being sufficient to produce winter provender for the stock, and to supply every necessary for the family. To each of these farms a cottager was usually attached, who also had his share of land; so that every family consumed their own produce, and, except in bad seasons, were independent of all foreign supplies. This was, and still is, in many cases, the small farming system in the Highlands, to which the system prevalent in Ireland bears so little resemblance, that it is impossible to reason analogically from the one to the other.

we have the following view from an intelligent author on the "Education of the Peasantry in Ireland." In allusion to the absence of proprietors, their ignorance of the character, dispositions, and capability of the native population, and their harsh measures towards them, he says, "The gentry, for the most part, seldom find time for such inquiries; the peasantry who live around them are sometimes the objects of fear, but more usually of contempt; they may be enemies to guard against, creatures to be despised, but never subjects of research or examination. The peasantry saw that the real hardships of their condition were never inquired into. Their complaints were met by an appeal to force: the impatience of severe oppression was extinguished in blood. This served to harden their hearts; it alienated them from the established order of things; it threw them back on their own devices, and made them place their confidence in their wild schemes of future retaliation.

"The gentry, of a lofty and disdainful spirit, intrepid and tyrannical, divided from the people by old animosities, by religion, by party, and by blood; divided, also, frequently by the necessities of an improvident expenditure, which made them greedy for high rents, easily to be obtained in the competition of an overcrowded population, but not paid without grudging and bitterness of heart; the extravagance of the landlord had but one resource—high rents; the peasant had but one means of living—the land: he must give what is demanded, or starve; and, at best, he did no more than barely escape starving. His life is a struggle against high rents, by secret combination and open violence: that of the landlord, a struggle to be paid, and to preserve a right of changing his tenantry when and as often as he pleased. In this conflict, the landlord was not always wrong, nor the peasantry always right. The indulgent landlord was sometimes not better treated than the harsh one, nor low rents better paid than high. The habits of the people were depraved; and the gentry, without

attending to this, and surprised that no indulgence on their part produced an immediately corresponding return of gratitude and punctuality, impatiently gave up the matter as beyond their comprehension, and the people as incapable of improvement."

This being given as the state of the Irish, we have the following view of the English peasantry from an able author, who, as I have already stated, in p. 153, describes the degradation consequent on the expulsion of the agricultural population from their lands. "Millions of independent peasantry were thus at once degraded into beggars. Stripped of all their proud feelings, which hitherto had characterized Englishmen, they were too ignorant, too dispersed, too domestic, and possessed too much reverence for their superiors, to combine as mechanics or manufacturers in towns. Parish relief was, therefore, established as a matter of necessity." Endeavouring to show the impossibility of preserving independence and morality in the precarious state of existence to which many are subject in England, he proceeds: "In England, the poor quarrel about, and call for, charity as a right, without being either grateful or satisfied. The question of property should be but of secondary consideration on this subject with the State. Whether the rents of the parish go to one great lord, or to one hundred great paupers, is a point of less importance than moral character. It has been already shown, that the poor rates of England tend to make the peasantry base and vicious. Men having no encouragement will idle if they can, but the parish officers will not let them if they can. The peasantry will not find work, but the parish officers will. The peasantry are put upon the rounds, as it is called; that is, they are sent round the parish, from door to door, not to beg, indeed, but to work a certain number of days, according to the extent of the property on which they are billeted, whether there be any work for them to do or not. The roundsmen are paid eight or tenpence a-day, and so much is saved apparently to the parish funds. But the

roundsmen knowing this, and having no mercy on the parish fund, thinking they are used ill in being thrust about, and being treated probably with ill humour by those they are thrust upon: under these circumstances, the roundsmen do just as little work as they can, and perhaps do more harm than good. Thus pushed about, as a nuisance, are the peasantry of this great, wealthy, and enlightened nation, without house or living, kindred, or protecting superiors; and yet we shall be told, these are free-born Englishmen, and that the slaves in the West Indies are hardly off, though they possess those enjoyments of which the English peasant is deprived, except personal liberty; that is, the enjoyment of being disregarded by every one, except as a nuisance. This is the state of the lower orders; and yet we are told, that teaching them to read will remove the evil—will correct the vices which such a horrible system necessarily generates. Give them not a looking-glass; gin and drugged beer will do better." *

We have here a short but impressive view of the state of the peasantry in the two sister kingdoms; what the peasantry have been in the northern part of Scotland, and what they now are, I have attempted to show. But if the Highlanders are forced to renounce their former habits of life; if the same system is applied to them as to the peasantry of the two sister kingdoms, infinitely more favoured by climate, soil, and every natural advantage for promoting the comfort, independence, and contentment of the people; are we not to expect that the results will be much more fatal in a country comparatively poor, and destitute of such adventitious aids, as might counterbalance, or fix a limit to, the evils of systems which have produced so much wretchedness? Should the Highlanders be placed in similar circumstances, may we not dread lest they realize in the North of Scotland the lawless turbulence of the sister island of

* Serious Considerations on the State of the English Peasant.

Celts, and the degraded pauperism of a large portion of England?

After the year 1745, when many of the Highlanders were driven from their homes, and forced to lead a wandering life, we know that many depredations were committed, although the great body of the people remained sound. Judging from recent symptoms, we may safely hazard the assertion, that the irritating causes in 1746, 1747, and in 1748, did not affect the morals of the people to the same extent as the events which have lately taken place. At no period of the history of the country, indeed, were the people more exemplary than for many years posterior to the Rebellion, when the moral principles peculiar to, and carefully inculcated at that period, combined with the chivalry, high feeling, and romance of preceding times, strengthened by the religious and reverential turn of thinking peculiar to both, gave force and warmth to their piety, and produced that composition of character, which made them respected by the enemy in the field, and religious, peaceable, and contented in quarters, as well as in private life.* What they have formerly been, will they not still continue to be, if they were only made to experience the same kindness as their forefathers? The cordial and condescending kindness of the higher orders, as I have already oftener than once said, contributed materially to produce that character which the people seem anxious to perpetuate. This is particularly exemplified by the exertions which they make to give their children an education suitable to their station in life, and often far above it. The value of education is well understood; and whenever they have the power, and their circumstances are comfortable, they seldom fail to give it to their children.†

* See Appendix FF.

† One of the many instances of this is exhibited in a small Highland valley, the length of which is less than six miles, and the breadth from half a mile to one mile and a quarter. This glen is, with one exception, managed in the old man-

But unless their temporal, as well as their intellectual and spiritual concerns are attended to, it may be a question, whether any degree of learning will make them contented and moral. If men live in the dread of being ejected at every term, or contemplate the probability of being obliged to emigrate to a distant country, the best education, unless supported by a strong sense of religion and morality, will hardly be sufficient to produce content, respect for the laws, and a love of the country and its government.

Scotland has indeed reaped the greatest benefits from education; but perhaps it is rating these advantages too high to ascribe the acknowledged moral character of the people solely to this source. The Scotch were a trust-worthy people before there was any established system of education in the country. Of this we have sufficient evidence in the confidence placed in Scotchmen in France and Holland, where for ages they were held in such esteem as to be preferred to situations requiring the greatest trust, honour, and firmness. Had these men been void of good principles at home, they could not well have acquired, them in a superior degree, in countries where they were preferred to the natives. In a report of the southern counties of Scotland by William Elliot of Stobbs, and Walter Scott of Arkleton, in the

ner, the original people being allowed to remain on their small possessions. How small these are may be judged from the population, which is 985 souls. They are consequently poor, but not paupers. Several aged women, and two men, who are lame, receive ten or fifteen shillings annually from the parish fund. The whole are supported on their lands, for which they pay full value. There are not manufactures, except for home consumption. In this state of comparative poverty, independent, however, of parochial aid, such is their proper spirit, and sense of the value of education, that as the parish school is near one end of the glen, the people of the farther extremity have established three separate schools for their children, paying small salaries, with school fees, to the teachers, who, if unmarried (as is generally the case), live without expense among the more wealthy of the tenants. Thus, these industrious people give an education, suitable to their situation in life, to 240 children (the number when I last saw them), including those at the parish school, without any assistance whatever from the landlords.

year 1649, we find that, after seven years of rebellion and intestine commotion, theft, lying, and swearing (except among a few outcasts), were totally unknown; the people were strong and active, sober, and abstemious in their diet; ingenious, and hating deceit. *

When the tyrannical restrictions on religion and conscience, in the reign of Charles II., drove the people in the western counties to desperation, and when forced to fly to the mountains, woods, and mosses, and to exist on such accidental supplies as an exhausted country could afford, we meet with no firing of houses, nor murders of magistrates, prosecutors and witnesses, as we daily see in the present enlightened age: all was borne with Christian patience, except in cases where fanaticism and bigotry deprived men of their reason; and it ought to be observed, that the principal actors in these instances were generally of the higher and educated orders, as in that of the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe. In the Highlands we find, from many authors, that, with the exception of their forays and cattle depredations, the Highlanders were early considered a valuable trust-worthy race. In the year 1678, when the Duke of Lauderdale and the Ministers of Charles II. ordered the "Highland Host" to the south-western districts of Scotland to put down the Covenanters, their forbearance, considering the nature of their duty, was a topic of remark. In like manner, in 1745, when many thousands were in arms, and let loose from all restraint, with *little education among the common men*, it may be a problem whether, if they had all been graduates of St Andrew's or Aberdeen, they could have conducted themselves with more urbanity and moderation. Such were the characteristic principles of the Scotch, both Lowland and Highland, when education was far from being general. There are upwards of 8000 schools in Ireland, but these apparently exert little influence on the morals of the peasantry, because they are oppressed, despised, and neglected; nourishing a spirit of hatred and

* Report of Selkirk, &c. Advocates' Library, 1649.

revenge, and in a state of poverty and despair which no education can remove.

The truth seems to be, that in a country where a universal system of education has been established as in Scotland, there must have been an early and well-founded principle, of which the schools may be considered as the effect, and not the cause, and which must have produced those estimable habits, long a distinguished feature in the national character. The foundation of those valuable habits may in part have been owing to the cordiality, mutual confidence, and support, which subsisted between the higher and lower orders in Scotland.

Fletcher of Saltoun, a strenuous supporter of the independence of his country, gives indeed a deplorable view of the state to which thousands of the people were reduced at the end of the seventeenth century. His statement seems to refer only to Fife and the counties southward and westward, which at that period did not contain beyond 900,000 inhabitants. Of this population, he states that 200,000 went about in bands of sturdy beggars, or *sorners*, as they were called, without house or habitation, living on the public by begging, open plunder, and private stealing. This frightful number of beggars and outcasts of society, in so small a population, is almost incredible, particularly when compared with the report of the same counties by the Lairds of Arkleton and Stobbs, fifty years preceding. There was, indeed, sufficient cause for poverty, distress, and crimes in Saltoun's time. It was at that period that the stock-grazing system of large farms began in the South, when the higher orders lost all regard for their followers, and forgot all ancient kindness and friendship (of which we have seen too many instances in our times in the North), and thousands of the brave Borderers, whose forefathers defended their country, were sent adrift without house or shelter, in that country for which their ancestors had fought and bled. Then the people naturally lost all confidence and respect for those from whom they received this treat-

ment; and there being no manufacturing towns to receive them, no emigration to America, and no employment in a country all turned to pasture, they had no alternative but to beg or steal.* Were it not for America and the towns in the Lowlands, would not the late ejectments, and depopulations in the North produce a host of sturdy beggars, sorners, and thieves? A reference to the state of England by Sir Thomas More, of Scotland by Fletcher of Salton, and to the recent associations for the suppression of felony in different parts of the Northern Highlands, exhibits a striking coincidence, and shows that the want of education is not the principal cause of crimes and poverty. Now that schools are generally established in Scotland, it behoves the higher orders to endeavour, by protection, by kindness, and by example, to preserve those principles which have been so honourable to this country, which form the best basis for good education among a people, and without which, in-

* I happened to read Fletcher of Salton's Statement of the Scotch Poor early in life, and was much struck with it. I mentioned the subject to Mr Stewart of Crossmount, who, as I have already noticed, died in 1791, in his 104th year, consequently was born before the reign of King William, and was 15 years of age at the death of that monarch in 1702. He had a perfect recollection of the period to which Fletcher's Statement refers. I have already said that he was a man of sound judgment and accurate memory, but from his extreme youth at the period in question, he could not speak from personal observation beyond the glen in which he lived; yet he remembered, that King William's seven years of famine, as they were called by the Jacobites, were the subject of all conversations, and that his father made a considerable sum of money by a speculation in grain which he brought from Dundee and Perth. In the Highlands the grain never ripened for many harvests. It would not grind into meal from its softness. The people dried or roasted the best and ripest grains, and, pounding it between two stones, ate it in that state. He knew little more of the South, than that he always heard that the people there suffered more than the Highlanders, because they had not so many cattle and deer to kill for their food. The number of cattle killed in those years, and afterwards sent to England, when the trade opened after the Union, raised the price to a height formerly unknown; that is, to twenty shillings or a guinea for a fat ox or cow. He added, that he went south with the rebels in 1715, and was wounded and taken at Sheriffmuir. When he recovered he came back through the south-east of Scotland. He saw many wandering beggars.

deed, education may be a curse instead of a blessing. But, unfortunately, many Highlanders have begun, (as I have too often had occasion to mention), to lose all confidence in the views and line of conduct of their superiors, of whom they say, " When I see a man subscribing for schools and bible societies, while he reduces his tenants to poverty by exorbitant rents; while he has school-books and bibles in one hand, and in the other a warrant of ejectment, or an order for *rouping out* for the rent; and when he makes speeches at public meetings lamenting the loss of morals, and in private, lectures against drunkenness and the vices it produces, while, at the same time, the rents are such that they cannot be paid without smuggling, cheating, perjury and lying;—when all this is daily seen and practised, who can doubt but that there is much hypocrisy at the bottom?"

Such are the sentiments I often hear expressed by the people, and which may be ascribed to the operation of that grasping selfish system, which looks only to what is supposed to bring the most immediate advantages, careless of the loss to others,—tempting men to cheat and deceive by calling for the cheapest contracts,—raising a spirit of rivalry and over-reaching by auctioning, and receiving secret offers for farms,—and which have occasioned great distress and discontent in the Highlands, with much less permanent advantage to the promoters than might have been obtained by a more open, and a milder line of conduct. If people see that their welfare is attended to, they will return the favour. Gratitude, kindness, and friendship, are natural to man; but harshness and oppression will quickly destroy all. In the Highlands, the contrast between the past and present manners are the more striking, from the recollection of those times when the poorest clansman received a kind shake of the hand from the laird, and was otherwise treated like an independent man, and a proper regard shown to his feelings. Modern customs allow of no such intimacy with the lower orders, and strangers,

with no recommendation but money, are preferred to all ancient claimants. "If a Lowlander," said an old acquaintance to me, with tears in his eyes, "comes among us with a good horse, a pair of spurs, and a whip, he is immediately received by the laird, who takes him to his house; he has the choice of a farm, and a whole tribe of us are sent to cot-houses on the moors, or ejected entirely; and while the Lowlander gets a fine house at the landlord's expense, I must build my own hut, get no allowance for the house I have left, although I built it myself, and while the stranger is supplied with Norway wood for his house, if I take a birch-tree not worth five shillings from the hill-side, the constable is sent after me with a warrant; I am threatened with a removal and the terrors of the law by the laird on whose lands I built the house, and whose property it will be when I leave it, which I would do to-morrow if I knew where to go." Will education cure this poor man's grief and indignation? Will reading make him contented with his lot, loyal to his king and government, and *attached to his landlord?* Reading will more clearly show him his misery. To make a man comfortable in his circumstances, and easy in his mind, and thus to remove all temptation or necessity for resorting to improper practices, are better and more certain preservatives of morals than reading or writing, particularly if the educated reader is in poverty and destitution, and that destitution occasioned by the oppressive conduct of others.

As a man blind from his infancy may be virtuous, and well instructed in all useful knowledge, without ever having read a line in his life, so are the bulk of the uneducated Highlanders well instructed in a knowledge of the Gospel and of the Scriptures, and possessed of great intelligence in all that immediately concerns themselves, and comes within the range of their knowledge, confined, as it must necessarily often be, to the narrow bounds of a Highland strath or glen.

I have already mentioned, that many Highland gentle-

men, though possessed of honourable and humane dispositions, have, with the best intentions, allowed themselves to be seduced into hasty measures, and the adoption of plans unsuitable to their lands and their tenants; and have thus unhinged the social virtues, and the mutual confidence between them and their formerly attached dependants, whose sentiments and feelings are deplorably changed in many respects. May we not therefore hope, that when prejudicial effects are produced on the minds of the tenants, an abatement of hasty changes will ensue; and that we shall not see advertisements inviting strangers to offer for their lands, while they are themselves willing and able to pay equally high rents; with other measures calculated to raise their indignation, and check the inclination to improve their farms and modes of cultivation? May we not hope, that gentlemen will take into consideration the well-known fact, that the agricultural system now carried on with such spirit in Scotland, was 140 years * in progress in England before the prejudices of the southern Scotch farmers were so far overcome as to embrace and practise it? And if gentlemen will also recollect, that their own fathers and grandfathers, men of education and knowledge of the world, saw these improved changes, in their frequent intercourse with the South, long before they introduced them into their own practice, many never having done so at all; will they not then make some indulgent allowance for the prejudices of the poor and ignorant Highlander, who never travelled beyond the bounds of his own or the neighbouring districts, and af-

* A respectable Highland clergyman, of talents and learning, who occupied a farm of some extent contiguous to his glebe, was so wedded to old customs, that it was not till the year 1815 that he commenced green crops, liming, and fallow; although two gentlemen (the honourable Baron Norton and Mr Macdonald of Glenco) in his immediate neighbourhood, had carried on the system for some years with great success. Now, when such a person rejected all innovations, is it surprising that an ignorant Highlander, with his deep-rooted predilection to ancient habits, should not commence a system (by order, perhaps, of a harsh and authoritative agent) which would overturn all notions of respect and reverence for the customs of his fathers?

ford him time to comprehend the advantages of changes so recent, and so opposite to his usual habits? Should landlords arraign their people as incorrigible, because they do not change with every variation of every political or economical opinion, or according to the direction in which newly-adopted theories would turn them, and embrace systems of which they have never been made to comprehend the advantages, and without any encouragement or spur for exertion but *an augmentation of rent?*

In what manner the people comprehend and act on the new system of agriculture, when the knowledge of it is attainable, is clearly seen in those districts whose vicinity to the South has enabled the inhabitants to follow the example shown them.* Any person travelling through Athole, Breadalbane, and other districts of the Highlands of Perthshire, will observe, in the altered appearance of the country, how readily the people have availed themselves of useful and practical knowledge, and to what extent improvements have been carried, both in respect to the quantity and the quality of the produce. These districts furnish decisive proof of this progressive improvement. In glens where a few years ago, turnips and the green crop system were totally unknown, they are now as regularly cultivated as in Mid-Lothian; on a small scale, to be sure, as it must necessarily be, from the size of the farms and the narrow limits of cultivation, but in a manner calculated to produce good rents to the proprietors, and great comparative comfort to the te-

* The inveteracy and the difficulty of overcoming ancient habits, in countries highly favoured by many opportunities of improvement, is shown in several parts of England, where ploughing is still performed, even on light soils, with four and five horses; whereas that custom has long been laid aside in Scotland, where two horses are found sufficient for the deepest soils: yet, with this example before them, English farmers continue such a waste of labour, at great additional expense to themselves and consequent loss to the landlord. But it would be endless to state instances of prejudices as deep-rooted and prejudicial as any entertained in the Highlands, where the people have suffered so much from mischievous experiments, founded on their supposed incapacity and incurable prejudices.

nants. This spirit of improvement is extending northwards, and has every appearance of spreading over the whole country, although it has, in various instances, been checked by attempts to force it on too rapidly, and by theories founded on the customs of countries totally different, both in soil, in climate, and in the habits of the people. One obvious evil is, the too frequent practice of giving leases for only seven years. This the people dislike more than none at all, † as, according to their opinion, the expiration of these short terms serves to remind the landlords of an increase of rent

† On several estates, tenants neither ask for leases, nor are any given, yet improvements are carried on with the same spirit as on estates where leases are granted. In the former case, much of the confidence of old times remains, the landlord's promise being as good as his bond; and the tenants trust to this in preference to a documentary term of years, and are safe from a removal while they conduct themselves with propriety, and are willing at the same time to augment their rents according to the times. In the latter they would be in anxious suspense, and in dread of removal at the end of each lease. Such is the manner of acting and thinking peculiar to landlords and tenants on the estates of honourable and judicious men, some of whom I have the happiness to call my friends; and such also is the custom in many parts of England. A highly enlightened and respectable friend, a native of Yorkshire, has favoured me with the following communication: "The practice of letting farms to the highest bidder is unknown. It would be utterly destructive of that good faith that subsists between landlord and tenant. In Yorkshire, few gentlemen grant leases. It may be supposed that the want of leases impedes improvement, inasmuch as tenants are unwilling to lay out their capital upon an uncertain tenure. This may be true to a certain extent, but the good faith that subsists between landlord and tenant is a sort of relationship in which they stand to each other. They are not bound to observe each other's interest by leases or bonds of parchment; but they are bound by obligations of honour, of mutual interest, and reciprocal advantage. The right of voting at county elections gives the freeholder of forty shillings a high degree of importance and respectability in his own opinion, and in that of his landlord. He confers a favour on his superiors, and he has at least once in seven years the power of showing his independence, and of chastising the insolence or oppression of the rich. At a late county election, the popular candidate of a northern county waited on a shoemaker to solicit his vote. 'Get out of my house, Sir,' said the shoemaker: the gentleman walked out accordingly. 'You turned me out of your estate,' continued the shoemaker, 'and I was determined to turn you out of my house; but, for all that, I will give you my vote.'"

on the improvements made, without allowing time to the tenants to reap the benefit of their previous exertions.

Much of the want of that spirit for improvement, so much complained of, is owing to the practice of augmenting the rent on any successful exertion or change made by the tenant. On several estates within my knowledge, the rents were augmented *every third and fourth year after the improvements commenced*; but the consequence of the last augmentation was a complete bar to further exertions on the part of the tenants, who then saw no prospect of being allowed any benefit from their labours. Another practice equally incredible is gaining ground, and calculated to excite surprise in an enlightened age, with the example of Ireland as a warning, were we not accustomed to see many extraordinary things in the management of the poor Highlanders. Landlords and their agents have employed middlemen, to whom they let a tract of country, with power to subset, on a rent of their own fixing, to the small tenants,—a system pregnant with misery and discontent, without one apparent advantage to the landlord, except the saving of trouble by collecting rent from one great middleman instead of thirty or forty small tenants.

But notwithstanding these insulated cases, when we find, that in the southern Highland districts, the natural course of improvements has led to the best results, the same might be expected in more northern counties, if the inhabitants were allowed the additional time rendered necessary by their *greater distance from example*, and suffered to reap the advantage of the new communications opened by the admirable roads, the construction of which does so much credit to the spirit and liberality both of the proprietors and of government, at whose joint expense they have been formed. * It is hoped, therefore, that gentlemen

* The amount of this joint expenditure exceeds 460,000*l*. Upwards of 1200 miles of new roads have been made, and about 540 miles of the old military roads completely repaired, with 1436 bridges, of one or more arches, and 11,460 water-courses and covered drains.—See Reports of Parliamentary Commissioners.

will believe, that Highlanders may acquire skill by experience, and a capital by their exertions and industry; and that they will also believe, that, although a numerous tenantry may consume more produce than one large establishment, humanity, and the poverty, misery, and perhaps crimes, resulting from their removal, ought not to be totally forgotten; nor a plausible theory of feeding a surplus population, at the landlord's expense, be allowed to make them lose sight of the important fact, that their income is never so secure as when their farms are occupied by an economical, industrious, and well-principled people;*—a people who always attach so much disgrace to a failure in the payment of rent, that, on a reverse of fortune having befallen a man, he comforted himself with this reflection, "I have one happiness, I have paid my rent, and have not lost credit with my landlord." †

* The late Mr Campbell of Achallader, who, as I have already mentioned, was fifty-five years agent or factor to the late Earl of Breadalbane, often stated, that during this long period, a failure of payment was so rare, and so much shame was attached to it, that when, by misfortune or accident, a person happened to be deficient, his friends or neighbours generally assisted him by a loan, or otherwise. The deficiency was never officially known to the chamberlain, except in cases of total bankruptcy, or roguery on the part of the tenant. I have the same good authority for stating, that of these the instances were very rare; and such was the mutual confidence, and such the honourable manner in which business was conducted, that no receipt for rent was ever asked. An account was opened for every tenant, and when the rent was paid, Achallader put the initials of his name below the sum credited. This was sufficient receipt for upwards of eleven hundred sums paid by that number of tenants under his charge. I know not whether this is more honourable to the noble proprietor, to the judicious management of his excellent chamberlain, or to the integrity and industry of the numerous tenantry. During that period there were several years of severe pressure, and particularly the autumns, from 1770 to 1774, were cold and wet, and very unproductive in the higher grounds, where the corn did not ripen for three successive harvests. I am informed by my friend Mr Stewart of Ardvorlich, a gentleman of the first respectability and intelligence, who succeeded Mr Campbell, that he experienced equal fidelity to their engagements on the part of the tenants, and that he never had a shilling of arrears while he had the management, which he resigned many years ago.

† A young artist, who has raised himself to the first eminence by his talents, painted, a few years ago, two pieces on a subject highly interesting

This is a principle worth preserving, and a more honourable security for good payments than distraining for rents, and other modes much too frequent; for it is no uncommon thing to see a tenant's whole stock under sequestration, without liberty to dispose of an article, unless by consent of the landlord, who orders an examination of the stock and produce at certain periods, and what is marketable to be disposed of for the rent. Will it be credited, that such a system can be pursued, and that men, who thus

to agriculturists, but, as Mr Wilkie found, not a popular piece of art. These he called Rent-Day, and Distraining for Rent. The latter was little known in the Highlands till introduced with the improvements; and Rent-Day, as it was held in former times, is no longer seen in what are called *the improved districts*. In former times, the collection of rents was a kind of jubilee, when the tenants on great estates attended, and spent several days in feasting and rejoicing at fulfilling their engagements with their landlords, and in offering grateful libations to their honour and prosperity. Perhaps things are differently managed now, and the irregularity of payment renders general meetings impossible. But in Yorkshire, as I am informed by a friend to whom I owe very interesting communications, "The good custom of Rent-Day Dinners still continues to be observed, when all the tenantry on the estate assemble in the hall of the landlord's mansion, and are regaled with roast beef, plum-pudding, and home-brewed ale, and the Squire's health is drank with affectionate enthusiasm. In ancient families it is still customary for the landlord to preside in person, but in more refined modern establishments, the steward takes the head of the table. The annual appearance at this table is a subject of honest pride. The absence of a tenant is considered ominous of his declining credit. Not to appear at the rent-day is disgraceful. The conversation at these dinners is on the best breed of cattle, and the best modes of husbandry. They have given rise to agricultural societies. Thus emulation, good neighbourhood, respectful attachment to landlords, and friendly feelings towards each other, are promoted. The man who would offer a higher price for his neighbour's farm, or endeavour to supplant him, could not show his face at the Rent-Day Dinner; and the landlord who would accept such an offer at the expense of an old and respectable tenant, would be held in contempt by many of his own rank, and in abhorrence by his tenantry. Such, I believe, are the implied conditions between landlord and tenant; and how soon the increasing progress of luxury and extravagance may produce rapacity and extortion, it is impossible to say; but hitherto the respect paid to good faith, and the value attached to good character, have prevented those melancholy and cruel effects which have been so severely felt in many of the northern parts of the island."

act towards their tenants, complain of their indolence and want of spirit to improve—*under sequestration, and an annual warning to remove?*

After so long a disquisition on a most painful subject, I now turn to one of a more agreeable nature,—the exertions made of late years to remedy, or rather to restrain the progress of those evils which press so heavily on the natives of the Highlands. These efforts, and the examples shown by individuals, have done much; but having avoided the mention of names, either in approbation or the reverse, I shall now follow the same rule, and merely notice public bodies. Among these, the high respectability of the members of the Highland Society of Scotland,—the judicious discrimination and spirit with which the objects of this institution are carried into effect,—the benefits it has conferred,—and the liberal and impartial manner in which its premiums are distributed,—justly entitle this patriotic body to high estimation, and render it the most eminently useful of any public association ever connected with the Highlands.

"The Highland Society of Scotland derives its origin from a number of gentlemen, natives of, or connected with the Highlands, assembled at Edinburgh in the year 1784. That meeting 'conceiving (as the words of their own resolutions express) that the institution of a Highland Society at Edinburgh would be attended with many good consequences to the country, as well as to individuals,' determined to take the sense of their countrymen on the propriety of such an institution. A numerous meeting of such gentlemen as a residence in or near Edinburgh allowed of being called together, was assembled. They warmly approved of the measure; agreed to become members of such a society; proceeded to the nomination of a President, Vice-Presidents, and Committee; and having thus far embodied themselves, wrote circular letters to such noblemen and gentlemen as birth, property, or connexion qualified, and, as they supposed, might incline to join in the formation of such an es-

tablishment, inviting them to become members of the proposed society." *

The original objects of the Society were, an inquiry into the present state of the Highlands and adjacent Isles, with the condition of their inhabitants; the means of their improvement by establishing towns and villages, roads and bridges, advancing agriculture and extending fisheries, introducing useful trades and manufactures, and by an exertion to unite the efforts of the landlords, and to call the attention of Government towards the encouragement and promotion of these useful purposes. The Society also proposed to pay attention to the preservation of the language, poetry, and music of the Highlands. These were the original objects of the institution; but they are now extended so as to embrace a great variety of branches, both of agriculture and the arts. The premiums annually distributed by the Society have raised a spirit of emulation, exertion, and a desire to improve, productive of the greatest advantages. Premiums have been given in every district of the country for improving the breed of horses, cattle, and sheep,—for draining, trenching, clearing, and planting,—for the cultivation of green crops in all their varieties, as well as for many other improvements, more especially applicable to the Highlands. In support of national literature, the Society has been equally liberal; and the amount of the sums expended in preparing and publishing a Gaelic Dictionary is, I believe, almost unexampled in the history of literature. Premiums are also given for various agricultural improvements, &c. in the Lowlands. Much labour, and a considerable portion of the Society's funds, have been expended on the subject of establishing an uniformity of weights and measures, with many other important objects intimately connected with the welfare of the country.

Faithful to the purposes of its institution, the Society has

* Introduction to the first volume of "Transactions and Essays of the Highland Society," by Henry Mackenzie, Esq. one of the Directors.

taken every opportunity of encouraging whatever tends to improve the cultivation of the country in general, and particularly of the remote and mountainous region from which it assumed its name. The premiums, therefore, are not confined to the Highlands, or to such kinds of agriculture or manufactures as are exclusively adapted to that country; they have extended, and continue still farther to extend, to draw forth information, and to stimulate ingenuity in every branch of those departments which may be useful, whether in the Highlands or other parts of the country: and in the eloquent language of one of its first members, who has ever been a constant, zealous, and able conductor of its duties,—" The Highland Society has been, not unaptly, compared to one of our native rivers, which has its rise indeed in the Highlands, but which, increasing as it flows, fertilizes and improves Lowland districts, at a distance from those less cultivated regions whence it originally springs." * In prosecution of these views, the Society has, within the last twelve years, distributed about L.1400 annually in premiums.

The subject of emigration did not escape the attention of the Society; but the Directors were too intelligent to attempt to prevent emigration, among a people who, in the language of the Report on the subject, have been " thrown, as it were, loose from their native land," and left without the means of subsistence. With more humanity they endeavoured to show the cruelty of such measures, and, at the same time, suggested the necessity of establishing regulations to preserve the health and lives of the emigrants on their voyage, by preventing vessels from taking more than a certain number of passengers, that there might be pro-

* Introduction to the third volume of the Transactions of the Highland Society, by Henry Mackenzie, Esquire. Lord Bannatyne and Mr Mackenzie are now the only surviving members of the Lounger and Mirror Club. For a period of thirty-nine years they have never been absent from a General or Committee Meeting of the Highland Society, except in instances of indisposition, or some indispensable engagement.

per accommodation and a sufficient supply of provisions, so that emigrants may in future be treated with humanity, "instead of being delivered over, by numberless privations, and the want of comfort and care, to diseases and destruction."† In conformity to these views of this important subject, the Society got a bill brought into Parliament, founded on their suggestions: It passed with little opposition, ‡ so that an emigrant has now the chance of reaching his destination without danger of being doomed to "diseases and destruction." With this humane act, I conclude this short notice of the patriotic Highland Society of Scotland, which has rendered such essential service to that part of the country whose name it bears. It consists of nearly 1500 members.

A few years previous to the institution of the Highland Society of Scotland, a Society was established in London in somewhat similar circumstances. General Fraser of Lovat, and several Highland gentlemen, met at the Spring-Garden coffee-house in the year 1778, and, after a few arrangements, formed themselves into a Society with the same views, and for somewhat similar purposes as those I have detailed of the meeting in Edinburgh. The Society soon increased in numbers, and in the rank and respectability of its members, among whom were not only many of the first nobility and men of talents and property in the kingdom, but several members of the Royal Family; and in 1817,

† Report of the Highland Society.

‡ Emigration, properly regulated, ought to be encouraged from those districts where the new improvements have sent the people to patches of land, and laid the foundation for realizing the cottage and potatoe-garden system, and the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry. It is surely better for the mother country that they should emigrate than remain with such deplorable prospects in view. Two years ago some Highland gentlemen, resident in India, lamenting the state to which so many of their countrymen were reduced, subscribed about L.1250, and sent home the money to pay for the passage of a certain number of emigrants. About 200 received the benefit of this donation, and have gone to Canada. The humane act of these gentlemen is called the "Demon of Reform" by those who write in praise of the new order of things in the North.

his Majesty, then Prince Regent, was graciously pleased to become "Chief of the Highland Society of London."

The Highland Society of Scotland taking the lead in promoting the agricultural, and indeed the general improvement of the country, that of London confines itself chiefly to the language, music, poetry, and garb of the Highlands, and, along with these, to preserve, perhaps, some of the best traits of the ancient character of the people: and while in Edinburgh, rewards and premiums are given for agricultural improvements, ingenious inventions, and other objects applicable to civil life; in London it was intended to give rewards and honorary marks of distinction for particular instances of courage, distinguished talent, and chivalrous deeds in war, as they might be displayed by Scotchmen and Scotch corps. But in this respect the intentions of the Society have been interrupted by an unfortunate misunderstanding, which will be noticed afterwards. In the encouragement of national music and other objects, it has been most liberal; as is seen at the annual exhibition in Edinburgh of the ancient war and field music of the mountains, and of the Highland garb, which was instituted, and the expense defrayed, by the London Society. But the greatest and most important benefit which it has conferred, was the institution of the Caledonian Asylum in London, for educating, supporting, and clothing the children of soldiers and sailors of Scotland killed or disabled, or of other destitute Scotchmen resident in London. This institution originated with the Highland Society of London; and having concluded the notice of the Society of Scotland by the act for the protection of the unfortunate emigrants, I finish now this notice of the sister Society, by stating its connexion with the Caledonian Asylum.

Two such dissertations as the foregoing, on the past and present state of the Highlands, may be considered as out of the line of my profession, and not a very suitable preliminary to a military memoir. But as the same people form the subject of both, and as their personal hardihood and

moral qualities were such as peculiarly fitted them for the toils and privations of a military life, as will more fully appear in the military narrative; it may not perhaps be foreign to the principal subject, to show of what materials the Highland regiments were originally composed, and what were the habits of thinking and acting which, formed and matured within their native mountains, accompanied them in their military progress. And, as much of the happiness of the Highlanders, and no small share of the prosperity of the country, depends on the manner in which they are treated by their natural protectors, in whose hands Providence and the laws have placed so much power to raise or depress their condition; it is surely of importance to remember that this race of people, although poor in circumstances, has been both moral and independent; and as symptoms of a retrograde tendency have recently begun to show themselves, I trust I shall not be thought presumptuous in making this feeble attempt, founded on a long intimacy with the people, both as inhabitants of their native glens, and as soldiers in barracks and in the field, and on some knowledge of the state of the country—to show what they were, what they now are, and what, under a proper management, they may yet become. The revolution to which I have so often alluded, considering the short space of time in which it has been in operation, has been great. Had it been accomplished in a more gentle manner, its influence on the general disposition and character of the people would have been less evident and more beneficial, and they might have been taught to become more industrious, without any loss of attachment or of moral principle.

In the central Highlands, industry can be employed only in the cultivation of the land. Fuel is too scarce, and all materials, except wool and flax, are too distant for manufactories. This is not to be regretted; there is sufficient space for manufactories in the low country, and the towns are abundantly populous. Let the Highlanders, therefore, remain a pastoral and agricultural people; the superabun-

dant population filling our military ranks with good recruits, sending out an annual supply of labourers to the Low country when required, and colonizing our distant possessions with a loyal and well-principled race. Although there may be some waste of labour, and some parts of that produce consumed on the spot, which might otherwise be sent to distant markets, still it may be admitted, that the general value of produce does not depend on the difference between a distant and home consumption. It matters little to the general welfare of the State, whether the consumption be on the spot, or at the distance of forty or one hundred miles; and, although on a first view, it may appear a waste of labour to employ more persons in agriculture than are absolutely necessary to cultivate the soil, yet the morality and the independence of the agricultural population is surely of some, if not of the highest, consideration. It ought not, moreover, to be forgotten, that, if small farmers raise the same quantity of produce as large farmers, the greater consumption on the spot, in the former case, cannot possibly affect the question, or form any solid objection that can be brought into comparison with the advantage the bulk of the people derive from having a share in the cultivation of the soil: seeing that, while these people remain in the country, they are to be fed from its produce, it matters not in what particular place they consume it. It may be further remarked, that the frequent distress of the working classes, is mainly to be ascribed to the too general adoption of the present agricultural system, which forces people from the country to the towns, increases in an inordinate degree the number of competitors for employment, and entails misery on themselves and all who are in similar circumstances. These observations will receive additional force, when it is considered, that this agricultural independency is the best security against poor's rates. It is evident that these rates originated in England when the people were driven from the cultivation of the land, and left without any share in the profits of

the soil, except as labourers hired by others. It is equally well known, that, in Scotland, people occupying land never apply for charity, except in extreme cases. Numerous examples show, likewise, that the consumption of a few additional mouths will not diminish the rent: therefore, as the population in the Lowlands is already fully adequate for the present state of manufactures in that part of the country, is it prudent or patriotic to overstock them by depopulating the glens of the Highlands? There, experience has proved, that a man may be poor, yet independent, and innocent, although idle: but how idleness and poverty generate vice in populous towns, the records of the criminal courts sufficiently evince. These show, likewise, how numerous the crimes committed by Highlanders, or, at least, persons with Highland names, and of Highland descent, have become in cities. In their native country, on the contrary, the convicted criminals in seventy years, during periods the most turbulent and lawless, and taken from a population of 394,000 souls, did not exceed 91;* while the number of criminals convicted in one year (1817), at the spring and summer assizes at Lancaster, was 86; and yet the agricultural parts of the neighbouring county of Westmorland, and some counties in Wales, equal any part of the kingdom in morality and exemption from crime. It may be said, that, to compare the habits, temptations, debauchery, and crimes of cities, with the innocence of an agricultural or pastoral life, cannot be fair and just. Certainly it is not; but is it then consistent with our duty to God, or to humanity, with our love of country, or our patriotism, to drive the people away from the innocent walks of life, and force them into the resorts of immorality and crime?

* Records of the Court of Justiciary.

PART III.

MILITARY ANNALS OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

Military Character—National Corps advantageous, especially in the Case of Highlanders—Character of Officers fitted to command a Highland Corps.

In the preceding pages, I have attempted to delineate a sketch of the general character of the Scottish Highlanders, and to assign some of the causes which may have contributed to its formation.

It was a saying of Marshal Turenne, that "Providence for the most part declares in favour of the most numerous battalions." The success of the British arms has often refuted this observation, and proved that moral force, unyielding fortitude, and regular discipline, frequently make up for inferiority of numbers.

Military character depends both on moral and on physical causes, arising from the various circumstances and situations in which men are placed. Every change in these circumstances tends either to improve or deteriorate that character; and hence we find, that nations which were once distinguished as the bravest in Europe, have sunk into weakness and insignificance, while others have been advancing

to power and pre-eminence. The importance of preserving this character is evident. Unless a people be brave, high-spirited, and independent in mind and in principles, they must, in time, yield to their more powerful neighbours. To show how the Highlanders supported their character, both in their native country and when acting abroad, is the principal object which I have now in view.

In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth, and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connexions are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty, as a mem-

ber of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine and duty marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result, as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial, by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady: neither French nor German is confident in himself, if an enemy gain his flank or rear. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted with certainty that he will be victorious, or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue, his resistance of hostile opposition, his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors, all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most *conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment*. Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well-disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of Highlanders is entrusted, must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own con-

duct. * He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which, he will not be respected.

Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers, find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been obtained; but when distrust prevails, severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and, by a continuance of this unhappy misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and, in the end, mutinous. † The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, and will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties. A learned and ingenious author, who, though himself a Lowlander, had ample opportunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus develops their conduct in the field: "The character of ardour belongs to the Highlander; he acts from an internal sentiment, and possesses a pride of honour, which does not permit him to retire from danger with a confession of inferiority. This is a property of his nature, and as it is so, it becomes the business of officers who command Highland troops to estimate the national character correctly, that they may not,

* In some instances, when the misconduct of officers, particularly in the field, was not publicly censured, the soldiers who served under them made regular representations that they could not and would not remain longer under their command, and that, if they were not relieved from the disgrace of being so commanded, they would lay their complaints before the highest authority. In like manner, when any of the soldiers showed a backwardness in facing an enemy, their comrades brought them forward, calling for punishment on the poltroons, who were a disgrace to their country, their name, and their kindred. With such checks to disgraceful, and such incitements to an honourable line of conduct, the best results might be anticipated, as indeed experience has proved.

† See Appendix GG.

through ignorance, misapply their means, and thereby concert their own ruin.

" If ardour be the characteristic of Highlanders, it is evident that they are not calculated for mechanical manœuvres, nor for demonstrations and encounters with a view to diversion; for unless the purpose be previously explained and understood in its full extent, the Highlander darts on the enemy with impetuosity, rushing into close action, where it was only intended to amuse. He does not brook disappointment, sustain a galling distant fire with coolness, or retire from an enterprise with temper. He may be trusted to cover the most dangerous retreat assigned to him as a duty; a retreat in consequence of his own failure is likely to degenerate into a rout. In action, the Highlander requires to see his object fully: he then feels the impression of his duty, and acts animately and consistently, more from impression and sentiment than from external impulse of command; for, when an enemy is before the Highlander, the authority of the officer may be said to cease. Different nations have different excellencies or defects in war. Some excel in the use of missile weapons: the power of the Highlander lies in close combat. Close charge was his ancient mode of attack; and it is probably from impression, ingrafted in his nature in consequence of the national mode of war, that he still sustains the approaching point of a naked weapon with a steadier eye than any other man in Europe. Some nations turn with fear from the countenance of an enraged enemy: the Highlander rushes towards it with ardour; and if he can grasp his foe, as man with man, his courage is secure."

I shall subjoin one other quotation from the same author. After describing their social meetings, at which the enterprises of war were the frequent and usual themes of conversation, he proceeds:—" The Highlanders, in this manner, looking daily on war, and the enterprise of war, with interest and animation, acquire radical ideas of the military art. Without design, or formal intention, this germ of military

education, planted in the first years of life, assumes a fair growth among these northern Scots; for, as objects of war, and warlike enterprise, command more than other objects the exertions of the thinking faculty, the Highlanders, formed with sound minds, and susceptible of good impressions, discover more natural sagacity than any other class of people in the kingdom, perhaps than any other people in Europe. The Highlanders, in relation with their southern neighbours, were considered as freebooters, barbarians, given to spoil and plunder. In former times, the charge had some appearance of truth; for the Lowlanders were considered as a hostile or strange people. But though they drove the cattle of a hostile tribe, or ravaged a Lowland district, with which they had no connexion or bond of amity, their conduct in the year 1745 proves that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people; for no troops probably ever traversed a country which might be esteemed hostile with fewer traces of outrage. They are now better known: their character is conspicuous for honesty and fidelity. They possess the most exalted notions of honour, the warmest friendships, and the highest portion of mental pride, of any people perhaps in Europe. Their ideas are few, but their sentiments are strong; their virtues, principles in their nature." *

Having thus briefly described the military character of the Highlander, and his disposition and aptitude for war, † and noticed the line of conduct necessary on the part of his superior officer to render his courage and capacity effective, I now proceed to give an account of the first corps of Highlanders embodied for the service of Government, and afterwards formed into a regiment of the regular army.

* Jackson's Systematic View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of European Armies.

† See Appendix HH.

SECTION I.

Black Watch—Independent Companies—Embodied into a regular Regiment at Taybridge, 1740—Ordered to march for England —Review—Desertion.

THIS corps, which has been so well known for nearly eighty years under the appellation of the 42d or Royal Highland Regiment, and which, at different periods, has been designated by the titles of its successive commanders, as Lord Crawford's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders, was originally known by the name of the *Freicudan Dhu*, or Black Watch.

This was an appellation given to the independent Companies of which the regiment was formed. It arose from the colour of their dress, and was applied to them in contradistinction to the regular troops, who were called Red Soldiers, or *Seidaran Dearag*. From the time they were first embodied, till they were regimented, the Highlanders continued to wear the dress of their country. This, as it consisted so much of the black, green, and blue tartan, gave them a dark and sombre appearance in comparison with the bright uniform of the regulars, who at that time had coats, waistcoats, and breeches, of scarlet cloth. Hence the term Dhu, or Black, as applied to this corps.

The companies were six in number: three distinguished by the name of large companies, consisted of one hundred men each; and three smaller companies, of seventy men each. The former were commanded by captains, and the latter by captain-lieutenants, each commanding officer being, as the name implies, independent of the others. To each company, great and small, was attached the same

number of subalterns, viz. two lieutenants and one ensign. These companies were first formed about the year 1729 or 1730; and Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, were appointed to the command of the larger; and Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, to that of the smaller.

Some Highlanders had been armed so early as 1725, when Marshal Wade was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, but it was not till the year above mentioned that they were formed into regular companies receiving pay. Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families,—men who felt themselves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection. In addition to the advantages derived from their superior rank in life, they possessed, in an eminent degree, that of a commanding external deportment, special care being taken in selecting men of full height, well proportioned, and of handsome appearance.* In such a range of country, without commerce, or any general employment for young men, no difficulty was found in persuading individuals to engage in a corps which was to be stationary within the mountains, and of which the duties were such as to afford them merely an agreeable pas-

* In confirmation of this, I may notice a friend and grand-uncle by marriage, the late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, who was one of the gentlemen soldiers in Carrick's company. This gentleman, a man of family and education, was five feet eleven inches in height, remarkable for his personal strength and activity, and one of the best swordsmen of his time, in an age when good swordsmanship was common, and considered an indispensable and graceful accomplishment of a gentleman; and yet, with all these qualifications, he was only a centre man of the centre rank of his company. After serving seven years in the companies and in this corps, he retired some time before the march to England.

time. The Highlanders had also another urgent motive for entering on this duty. I have already mentioned, that, in the Highlands, men were accustomed to go continually armed,—a custom which they were most anxious to retain. At the period now under consideration, the carrying of arms was prohibited by penalties; less severe, indeed, than those which were afterwards enacted, but sufficiently galling to a high-spirited and warlike people. Young men, therefore, gladly availed themselves of the privilege of engaging in a profession which relieved them from the sense of degradation and dishonour attached to the idea of being disarmed.

Hence it became an object of ambition with all the young men of spirit to be admitted, even as privates, into a service which procured them the privilege of wearing arms. * This accounts for the great number of men of respectable families who were to be found in the ranks of the Black Watch,—a circumstance which has often excited the surprise of those who were ignorant of the extent to which the motives above mentioned operated. When this regiment was first embodied, it was no uncommon thing to see private soldiers riding to the exercising ground followed by servants carrying their firelocks and uniforms. †

* An old gentleman in Athole, a friend of mine, Mr Robertson of Auchleeks, carried this spirit so far, that, disobeying all restrictions against carrying arms, he never laid them aside, and wore his dirk even when sitting in his dining-room, until his death, in his 87th year.

† They were thus described by an English officer of engineers, who was stationed in the Highlands when the independent companies were on foot, and who was not a little surprised at a practice certainly not common in the South. "I cannot forbear to tell you, before I conclude, that many of those private gentlemen-soldiers have *gillys*, or servants to attend them in quarters, and upon a march to carry their provisions, baggage, and firelocks." The day before the regiment was embodied at Taybridge, five of the soldiers dined and slept in my grandfather's house at Garth. The following morning they rode off in their usual dress, a tartan jacket and truis, ornamented with gold lace, embroidery, or twisted gold cords, as was the fashion of the time; while their servants carried their military clothing and arms.

Such were the materials of which the 42d regiment was originally composed.

The independent companies, being stationed in different parts of the country, had no general head-quarters, and, although the service was open to all Highlanders, as soldiers, the commandants and officers were taken from what were called the loyal, or Whig clans, the Campbells, Grants, Munros, &c. &c. For this reason, probably, although a great number of the privates were from Athole, and the Highlands of Perthshire, there were no officers from that district, except Colonel Campbell of Finab. This selection of men for the various commands was rendered necessary by the nature of the duties imposed upon them. These duties were, to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, to prevent any convocations or meetings, or give information of them, and to check the plunder and reprisals of cattle between rival clans, and more particularly the depredations committed on those of their more peaceable neighbours of the plains.

For such duties these companies were peculiarly well qualified, from their own habits and knowledge of the people, language, and country; and, under the control of leaders devoted to the service of the government, they could not fail to answer the expectations of those who had suggested and established this mode of internal defence; although their obedience to orders, their sense of duty, and their private feelings, must have been sometimes at variance, when enforcing the laws against their own families and friends. In allotting to them the stations in which they were to act, it was found advisable that the companies should generally take charge of the district in which they were raised. They were thus spread over an extensive tract of country, many of the detachments being very small. Lord Lovat and the Frasers were stationed in Fort Augustus, and the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire; Culcairn and the Munros in Ross and Sutherland; Ballindalloch and the Grants in Strathspey and Badenoch: Athole and Breadalbane being

border counties, and of suspicious loyalty, two companies, Lochnell's and Carrick's, were stationed there. The company of Campbell of Finab, who was then abroad, was quartered in Lochaber, and the northern parts of Argyleshire, among the Camerons and Stewarts of Appin. In this manner, the several companies continued until the year 1739, when it was determined to form them into a regiment of the line, and to augment their numbers by four additional companies, as will be seen by the letters of service.

LETTERS OF SERVICE, *for forming the* HIGHLAND REGIMENT *from the Independent Companies of the* BLACK WATCH.

GEORGE R.—Whereas we have thought fit, that a regiment of foot be forthwith formed under your command, and to consist of ten companies, each to contain one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and one hundred effective private men which said regiment shall be partly formed out of six Independent Companies of Foot in the Highlands of North Britain, three of which are now commanded by captains, and three by captain-lieutenants. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that one serjeant, one corporal, and fifty private men, be forthwith taken out of the three companies commanded by captains, and ten private men from the three commanded by captain-lieutenants, making one hundred and eighty men, who are to be equally distributed into the four companies hereby to be raised; and the three serjeants and three corporals, draughted as aforesaid, to be placed to such of the four companies as you shall judge proper; and the remainder of the non-commissioned officers and private men, wanting to complete them to the above number, to be raised in the Highlands with all possible speed; the men to be natives of that country, and none other to be taken.

This regiment shall commence and take place according

to the establishment thereof. And of these our orders and commands, you, and the said three captains, and the three captain-lieutenants commanding at present the six Independent Highland Companies, and all others concerned, are to take notice, and to yield obedience thereunto accordingly.

Given at our Court at St James's, this 25th day of October 1739, and in the 13th year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

(Signed) WM. YONGE.

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-Beloved Cousin, John Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay. *

The following list will show the original officers of the regiment:

	Dates of Commissions.	
Col. John Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay,	25th Oct. 1739.	Died in 1748.
Lt.-Col. Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, Bart.	do.	Killed at Falkirk, 1746.
Maj. Geo. Grant, brother of the Laird of Grant.		Removed from the service by sentence of a court-martial, 1746.
Captain George Munro of Culcairn,	„	Killed in 1746.
Dugal Campbell of Craignish,	„	Retired, 1745.
John Campbell of Carrick,	„	Killed at Fontenoy.
Colin Campbell, junior, of Monzie,	„	Retired, 1743.
Sir Jas. Colquhoun of Luss, Bart.	„	Promoted to be Major, retired in 1748.
Colin Campbell of Ballimore,	„	Retired.
John Munro,	„	Promoted to be Lt.-Col. in 1745, retired 1749.
Capt.-Lieut. Duncan Macfarlane,	„	Retired 1744.
Lieut. Paul Macpherson,	„	
Lewis Grant of Auchterblair,	„	
John Maclean of Kingarloch,		Both removed from the regiment in consequence of having fought a duel, in 1744.
John Mackenzie,		
Alexander Macdonald,	„	
Malcolm Fraser, son of Culduthel,	„	Killed at Bergen-op-Zoom, 1747.
George Ramsay,	„	
Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant,	„	Died Lieut.-Gen. 1782.
John Macneil,	„	

* See Appendix II.

	1739.	
Ensign Dugal Campbell,	Oct. 25th.	
Dugal Stewart,	"	
John Menzies of Comrie,	"	
Edward Carrick,	"	
Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie,	"	
Gordon Graham of Draines,	"	
Arch. Macnab, son of the Laird of Macnab,		Died Lt.-Gen. 1790.
Colin Campbell,	"	
Dugal Stewart,	"	
James Campbell of Glenfalloch,	"	Died of wounds at Fontenoy.

Chaplain. Hon. Gideon Murray.

Surgeon. Jas. Munro, son of Sir Henry Munro of Foulis. Killed at Falkirk in 1746.

Adjutant. Gilbert Stewart.

Quarter-Master. John Forbes. *

Although the commissions of the officers were dated in October, and the following months of 1739, the men were not assembled until the month of May 1740. The whole were then mustered, and embodied into a regiment in a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy, in the county of Perth, under the number of the 43d regiment, but they still retained the country name of the Black Watch. The uniform was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace, tartan plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder, ready to be thrown loose and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night, the

* In a country where so many are of the same name, some distinguishing mark besides the common appellation was absolutely necessary. I have already noticed the manner in which the people managed this in the Highlands. But, in the south, as well as the north of Scotland, districts contain many of the same name; and gentlemen are distinguished by that of their estates. In this manner, the officers in the foregoing list are distinguished. This method I must continue, so far as I know the families of different officers, as, from the number of gentlemen of the same name whom I shall have occasion to mention, it will, in many cases, be quite impossible otherwise to know what officer is meant. In all old lists of the names of Highland officers, whether regimental, or merely stating their deaths or wounds, the name of the family of each, if known, was added. By this means, the relations of these officers are now, at this distant period, able to distinguish them.

plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlander. These were called belted plaids, from being kept tight to the body by a belt, * and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg † was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red, and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the fess cheque in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, ‡ and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bear-skin. The arms were a musquet, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These

*. This belt was the same as that anciently used by the people, which was of strong thick ox leather, and three or four inches in breadth, fixed by a brass or silver buckle in front. When the Highlanders had an expeditious journey to perform, or to run up or down a hill, they tightened the belt, which they said strengthened their loins. They also used the belt for another purpose. When pinched with hunger on their expeditions, they experienced great relief from tightening the belt. This belt was worn by old men within my remembrance, but is now entirely disused in the Highlands; latterly it has been resumed by young gentlemen of fashion, who wear it tight round the waist. In several cavalry regiments a belt or sash somewhat similar is worn. In 1823, ladies of fashion have assumed a belt with a square buckle in front, both perfect resemblances of the Highland costume, but of less size.

† While the companies acted independently, each commander assumed the tartan of his own Clan. When embodied, no clan having a superior claim to offer an uniform plaid to the whole, and Lord Craufurd, the colonel, being a Lowlander, a new pattern was assumed, and which has ever since been known as the 42d, or Black Watch tartan, being distinct from all others, and appertaining to no clan or district, but peculiar to, and belonging to the regiment, as the original distinguishing uniform plaid. Lord John Murray gave the Athole tartan for the philibeg. The difference was only a stripe of scarlet, to distinguish it from that of the belted plaid. The pipers wore a red tartan of very bright colours, (of the pattern known by the name of the Stewart or Royal Tartan), so that they could be more clearly seen at a distance. When a band of music was added, plaids of the pipers' pattern were given to them.

‡ Tradition says, that this fashion commenced in Montrose's army in the civil wars, as a token of loyalty to the king, and in distinction to the large and flat blue bonnets of the Covenanters and Puritans.

were furnished by Government: such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of their country.* The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle.

In a corps which numbered in its ranks many men of birth, and of respectability, from character and education, those were esteemed fortunate who obtained commissions; indeed, a company at present is less prized than an ensigncy in the *Black Watch* was in those days.

The regiment remained about fifteen months on the banks of the Tay and Lyon; Tay Bridge and the Point of Lyon, where the river Lyon joins the Tay, a mile below Taymouth Castle, being their places of rendezvous for exercise. There they were trained and exercised by the Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, a veteran of much judgment and experience.

In the year 1740 the Earl of Craufurd was removed to the Life Guards, and Brigadier-General Lord Sempill was appointed colonel of the Highlanders.

In the winter 1741–2, the regiment was marched to the northward, and quartered in their old station, until the month of March 1743, when they were assembled at Perth, preparatory to a march for England. The order was unexpected on the part of the men, who expressed no small surprise on the occasion. The measure raised the indignation of many, and was in an especial manner disapproved of, and opposed, by the Lord President Forbes, than whom no one knew better the character of the corps, the nature of the duty on which they were employed, and their capability of performing it. The following extract of a letter from his Lordship to General Clayton, who had succeeded Mar-

* Grose, in his Military Antiquities, speaking of the Black Watch, says, "I doubt whether the dirk is part of their regimental arms; but I remember, in the year 1747, most of the private men had them, and many were also permited to carry targets. The regiment was then on service in Flanders."

shal Wade in the chief command in Scotland, sufficiently explains the sentiments of that eminent man on the subject:—"When I first heard," says he, "of the orders given to the Highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern. I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have been lately assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on this subject, however late they may come." His Lordship then goes on to state the consequences to be expected by removing this regiment. "I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort-William, along the chain of lakes which, in a manner, divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and, by a body of disciplined Highlanders, wearing the dress, and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manners of other troops are proper. These Highlanders now regimented were at first independent companies, and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the Low country from depredations, yet that was not the sole use of them; the same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch; they served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country whose mountains and bogs render cavalry useless, and, if properly disposed of over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people, and the sameness of language." *

There are grounds for believing that, when these men

* Culloden Papers.

were regimented, the measure was represented to them as merely a change of name and officers, with the additional benefit of more regular pay and duty, under which arrangement they were to continue, as usual, the Watch of the country. Surprised at the orders to march to England, they were told it was only to show themselves to the King, who had never seen a Highland regiment. This explanation satisfied them, and they proceeded on their route to London.

Their departure was thus announced in the Caledonian Mercury:—"On Wednesday last Lord Sempill's regiment of Highlanders began their march for England, in order to be reviewed by his Majesty. They are certainly the finest regiment in the service, being tall, well-made men, and very stout." *

* The King, having never seen a Highland soldier, expressed a desire to see one. Three privates, remarkable for their figure and good looks, were fixed upon and sent to London a short time before the regiment marched. These were Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, John Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell of the family of Duneaves, Perthshire, and John Grant from Strathspey, of the family of Ballindalloch. Grant fell sick and died at Aberfeldy. The others "were presented by their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, to the King, and performed the broadsword exercise, and that of the Lochaber axe, or lance, before his Majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose, in the Great Gallery at St James's. They displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, as to give perfect satisfaction to his Majesty. Each got a gratuity of one guinea, which *they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out.*" † They thought that the King had mistaken their character and condition in their own country. Such was, in general, the character of the men who originally composed the Black Watch. This feeling of self-estimation inspired a high spirit and sense of honour in the regiment, which continued to form its character and conduct, long after the description of men who originally composed it was totally changed. These men afterwards rose to rank in the army. Mr Campbell got an ensigncy for his conduct at Fontenoy, and was captain-lieutenant of the regiment when he was killed at Ticonderoga, where he also distinguished himself. Mr M'Gregor was promoted in another regiment, and afterwards purchased the lands of In-

† Westminster Journal.

During the march great good humour prevailed, heightened, no doubt, by the friendly reception and unbounded hospitality which they experienced in the country and towns on their route through England. A Highlander, in his full garb, was an extraordinary object to Englishmen. Of his character they had received unfavourable impressions from the current stories of the ferocious and savage wildness, and the frightful conflicts of the clans. Their astonishment was, therefore, great on witnessing the orderly conduct and martial appearance of this regiment. *

In the present times, it is not easy to imagine the absurd tales and notions which were circulated and believed at that period, when many of the good people of England knew as little of their neighbours of the Scottish mountains as they did of the inhabitants of the most remote quarter of the globe.

On the 29th and 30th of April the regiment, in two divisions, reached the neighbourhood of London, and on the 14th of May following was reviewed on Finchley Common by Marshal Wade, who was intimately acquainted with many of the officers and soldiers, and knew well the nature of the corps, from having been so many years commander-in-chief in Scotland, and especially from having spent much of his time in the Highlands, when planning and superintending the new line of roads.

verardine in Breadalbane. He was grandfather of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a commander in South America.

* In Merchant's History of the Rebellion, published in 1746, we find a gentleman in Derby expressing his astonishment, "to see *these savages*, from the officer to the commonest man, at their several meals, first stand up and pull off their bonnets, and then lift up their eyes in a most solemn and devout manner, and mutter something in their own gibberish, by way, I suppose, of saying grace, as *if they had been so many Christians.*" When Gordon of Glenbucket, described by the Lord President, who knew him intimately, as a "good-natured, humane man," marched up his followers to join the rebel army in England, it was gravely questioned, whether they killed their prisoners and sucked their blood, to whet their appetite for war, "*after the manner of other savages.*"

In the interval between their arrival and the review, immense crowds of people, from London and all the country round, flocked to see the strangers, whose dress and language were equally objects of wonder. A greater degree of interest was excited by the favourable reports which had been spread of their appearance and behaviour on the march. Amongst the numbers who resorted to the quarters of the Highlanders, some had other objects beyond the gratification of their curiosity. Insidious and malicious falsehoods were industriously circulated among the men. They were told that Government meant to transport them to the American plantations (the Botany Bay of that day), there to remain for life; that the pretext assigned for bringing them from Scotland, to be reviewed by the King and the Prince of Wales, was a shameful deception, as they might easily perceive, since his Majesty had embarked for Hanover, previously to their arrival; and that the real object and intent of the measure was to get so many disaffected and rebellious Jacobites out of the kingdom.

These incendiaries thus availed themselves of the accidental circumstance of the King's departure for the Continent * to give plausibility to their insinuations. Strangers to the country, and possessing the feelings which accorded with the rank of gentlemen, which so many held at home, and which was so much the character of all at that period, the mere surmise of being entrapped filled the Highlanders with indignation.

In those whom he knows, a Highlander will repose perfect confidence, and, if they are his superiors, will be obedient and respectful. But ere a stranger can obtain his confidence, he must show that he merits it. When once given, it is constant and unreserved; but, if confidence be

* "The King and the Duke of Cumberland sailed from Greenwich 30th April, and were driven back to Sheerness the same night, where they remained wind-bound until 1st May, when they again set sail, and arrived at Helvoetsluys on the 2d, in the evening, from whence his Majesty proceeded next morning to Hanover."—*Westminster Journal*, 1743.

lost, no man is more suspicious. Every officer of a Highland regiment, on his first joining the corps, must have observed, in his little transactions and settlements of accounts with the men, how minute and strict they are in every item, but, when once confidence is established, scrutiny ceases, and his word or nod of assent is as good as his bond. *

In the case in question, notwithstanding the arts which were practised to mislead the men, they behaved with that characteristic moderation and firmness, which has so frequently distinguished their countrymen, when in a similar predicament: they proceeded to no violence, but, believing themselves deceived and betrayed, the only remedy that occurred to them was to get back to their own country. It does not appear that they imputed any blame to their officers, whom they considered, equally with themselves, the

* Major Grose, in his Military Antiquities, treating of the formation of the Highland regiment, and the subsequent enlisting and desertion, and detailing the previous circumstances which led to it, observes, "Among other inducements to enlist, thus improperly held forth, it is said the men were assured that they should not go out of their own country. Under the faith of this promise, many respectable farmers' and tacksmens' sons entered themselves as privates in the corps, who would not otherwise have thought of enlisting." After narrating various circumstances of this unhappy affair, he concludes, "This transaction, likewise, shows the danger and even cruelty of making promises to recruits under any thing less than the greatest certainty they will be faithfully observed; the contrary has more than once produced the most dangerous mutinies, and that even among the Highland regiments, *whose education tends to make them more regular and subordinate than either the English or Irish*; and if the causes of almost every mutiny that has happened were diligently and dispassionately inquired into and weighed, it will be found that nine times out of ten the soldiers, however wrong and unjustifiable in that mode of seeking redress, *have had great reason of complaint, generally of the breach of some positive promise made them at enlisting.*"

Of the justness and truth of the preceding observations we have had too many proofs. They are peculiarly applicable to the case of Highland corps, which were raised and embodied as it were in mass. Being thus kept in immediate contact with each other, the individuals aggrieved by any violation of faith, *who sometimes were nearly the whole regiment*, had an opportunity of recounting their injuries; and their resentments became thus more exasperated by communication.

dupes of the deception; and, indeed, the sole motive of those who endeavoured to stir up the men was hostility to Government, and their aim, in accusing it of a breach of faith, to create a spirit of disaffection and discontent. The means which they employed could scarcely fail of success.

That the unfortunate act which threw such a dark shade over the character of a body of brave men was the result of their simplicity, in allowing themselves to be deceived, rather than of any want of principle, was sufficiently proved by their subsequent conduct. But such an occurrence happening among men, of whose loyalty many were suspicious, produced, as may well be imagined, no inconsiderable sensation in the country.

The affair was the subject of much discussion both in conversation and in the publications of the day. Among the numerous accounts published in the journals and in detached pamphlets, there was one, in particular, that appeared immediately after the mutiny, which shows considerable knowledge of the subject, and contains a fair statement of the facts of the case. The author having alluded to the purpose for which these independent companies had been at first embodied, and having described their figure and dress, and the effect produced in England by the novelty of both, proceeds to state the cause and circumstances of the mutiny: "From their first formation they had always considered themselves as destined to serve exclusively in Scotland, or rather in the Highlands; and a special compact was made, allowing the men to retain their ancient national garb. From their origin and their local attachments they seemed destined for this special service. Besides, in the discipline to which they were at first subjected under their natural chiefs and superiors, there was much affinity with their ancient usages, so that their service seemed merely that of a clan sanctioned by legal authority. These and other considerations strengthened them in the belief that their duty was of a defined and specific nature, and that they were never to be amalgamated with the regular disposable force

of the country. As they were deeply impressed with this belief, it was quite natural that they should regard, with great jealousy and distrust, any indication of a wish to change the system. Accordingly, when the design of marching them into England was first intimated to their officers, the men were not shy in protesting against this unexpected measure. By conciliating language, however, they were prevailed upon to commence and continue their march without reluctance. It was even rumoured, in some foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and returned to their native mountains. This account, though glaringly false, was repeated from time to time in those journals, and was neither noticed nor contradicted in those of England, though such an occasion ought not to have been neglected for giving a candid and full explanation to the Highlanders, which might have prevented much subsequent disquietude.

"On their march through the northern counties of England, they were every where received with such hospitality, that they appeared in the highest spirits, and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the *true-bred English clowns*, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated even to the lowest private with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors, nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their Sovereign. A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the Marines, the Invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed. With no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage, there was

another consideration which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the act of Parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the Colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, &c. as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them except death, and, when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that, '*after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire.*' These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his Majesty, or some of the Royal Family. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly delighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage. From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country, and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves unsuspectedly with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capability of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday after the review that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the North. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the Lords-Justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them

and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the Secretary at War, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday, 19th May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately dispatched Captain Ball of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood, between Brig Stock and Dean Thorp, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order, near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his Majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the Captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms, and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general should send them a written promise, signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the Captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz. that if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the Lords-Justices; when they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the conditions of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon: 'Hitherto,' exclaimed the Captain, 'I have been your

friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the King's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive, and, for my own part, I assure you, that I shall give quarter to none.' He then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and, taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour, by every means, to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched these to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted, and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms, (the powder being blown out of their pans), and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," says the intelligent writer to whom we are indebted for the foregoing facts, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But, amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and, by a strange kind of inuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty and staid here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where I dare say, it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In

King William's war, there was a Highland regiment that, to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland. When they came to the Confederate Army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health,—a report which was probably very true. The King, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who was near him, how they behaved in the field?—'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why, then,' replied the King, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered to London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

To the preceding account of this very unfortunate affair I shall only add an extract from another pamphlet of the day, detailing a short examination of two of the deserters, which shows the feelings by which they were influenced, their suspicions of an attempt to entrap them, and the horror with which they were impressed of the country and climate to which they believed themselves destined.

Private Gregor Grant being asked several questions, answered through an interpreter, as follows:

"I am neither Whig * nor Papist, but I will serve the

* The term WHIG was not applied by the Highlanders in a political sense. It extended generally to their neighbours on the plains, and a "*Lowland Whig*" comprehended the Puritan, Covenanter, and all those whose "dark domineering spirit" and fanatical gloom were in essential opposition to the more striking traits of their own character and feelings. According to Mrs Grant, it "was by no means among them a term appropriated to political differences.

King for all that. I am not afraid; I never saw the man I was afraid of.

"I will not be cheated, nor do any thing by trick.

"I will not be transported to the Plantations, like a thief and a rogue.

"They told me I was to be sent out to work with black slaves: that was not my bargain, and I won't be cheated."

John Stewart of Captain Campbell of Carrick's company being interrogated, answered as follows:

"I did not desert: I only wanted to go back to my own country, because they abused me, and said I was to be transported.

"I had no leader or commander; we had not one man over the rest.

"We were all determined not to be tricked. We will all fight the French and Spaniards, but will not go like rogues to the Plantations.

"I am not a Presbyterian; no, nor a Catholic."

After the deserters were taken back to London, they were tried by a general court-martial on the 8th of June, found guilty, and condemned to be shot; but the capital part of the punishment was remitted to all but three,—

It might, perhaps, mean, in a confined sense, the adherents of King William, by far the greatest caitiff in Highland delinquency. * But it meant more; it was used to designate a character made up of negatives, who had neither ear for music, nor taste for poetry, nor pride of ancestry, nor heart for attachment, nor soul for honour: one who merely studied comfort and conveniency, and was more anxious for the absence of positive evil, than the presence of relative good. A Whig, in short, was, what all Highlanders cordially hated, a cold, selfish, formal character." †

* The Highlanders never forgave King William for Glenco; and for placing troops and garrisons in their country, and turning his arms against his father-in-law. I have already noticed the strength of parental affection among the Highlanders. Living at a distance from the seat of government, they were ignorant of the political and religious distractions which occasioned the Revolution; and looking, therefore, to the single circumstance of King William and Queen Mary depriving their father of his kingdom, and driving him into exile and poverty, they considered them as monsters of filial ingratitude.

† Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.

Corporals Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson, * and Farquhar Shaw, who were ordered for execution, and shot accordingly, on Towerhill. The following account appeared in the St James's Chronicle, of the 20th July 1743.

"On Monday the 12th, at six o'clock in the morning, Samuel and Malcolm M'Pherson, corporals, and Farquhar Shaw, a private man, three of the Highland deserters, were shot upon the parade within the Tower, pursuant to the sentence of the court-martial. The rest of the Highland prisoners were drawn out to see the execution, and joined in their prayers with great earnestness. They behaved with perfect resolution and propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and namesakes, and buried in one grave, near the place of execution."

There must have been something more than common in the case or character of these unfortunate men, as Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of them hung up in his dining-room. I have not at present the means of ascertaining whether this proceeded from an impression on his Lordship's mind that they had been victims to the designs of others, and ignorantly misled, rather than wilfully culpable, or merely from a desire of preserving the resemblances of men who were remarkable for their size and handsome figure.

Two hundred of the deserters were ordered to serve in different corps abroad, the distribution being as follows; viz. 50 sent to Gibraltar, 50 to Minorca, 40 to the Leeward Islands, 30 to Jamaica, and 30 to Georgia. †

* Samuel M'Pherson was brother to the late Lieutenant General Kenneth M'Pherson of the East India Company's service, who died in 1815.

† It is impossible to reflect on this unfortunate affair without feelings of regret, whether we view it as an open violation of military discipline on the part of brave, honourable, and well-meaning men, or as betraying an apparent want of faith on the part of Government. The indelible impression which it made on the minds of the whole population of the Highlands, laid the foundation of that distrust in their superiors, which was afterwards so much increased by va-

rious circumstances to be detailed in the article on the Mutinies of Highland Regiments, and latterly still more confirmed by the mode of treatment pursued by Northern landholders towards their people.

From the evidence of eye-witnesses, and of those who wrote and published at the time, it appears evident that the men considered their service and engagements of a local nature, not to extend beyond Scotland, nor even beyond the Highland boundary. The Lord President Forbes, Major Grose, and the author from whom I have so liberally quoted, furnish proof of this belief on the part of the men. The last being an Englishman, who wrote on the spot, and published in London immediately after the mutiny, his impartiality, so far as regarded the soldiers, and the accuracy of his information with regard to the whole, may be considered as undoubted. The public opinion at the time may be collected from the communication of the departure of the regiment from Scotland, given in the Caledonian Mercury, an old and excellent record of events in Scotland. It is there expressly stated, that their march to England was for the purpose of being reviewed by the King.

SECTION II.

Flanders—Fontenoy 1745—*The Regiment cover the Retreat of the Army after the Battle—England—Prestonpans* 1745—*Coast of France* 1746—*Ireland—Flanders* 1747—*Ireland* 1748—*Character.*

THE regiment was soon restored to order, and, towards the end of May, embarked for Flanders, where it joined the army under the command of Field-Marshal the Earl of Stair. Unfortunately, it arrived too late to be present at the battle of Dettingen; but although the men had not then an opportunity of showing themselves good soldiers in the field, all the accounts agree that, by their conduct, they proved themselves decent and orderly in quarters. "That regiment (Sempill's Highlanders) was judged the most trust-worthy guard of property, insomuch that the people in Flanders chose to have them always for their protection. Seldom was any of them drunk, and they as rarely swore. And the Elector Palatine wrote to his envoy in London, desiring him to thank the King of Great Britain for the excellent behaviour of the regiment while in his territories in 1743 and 1744; 'and for whose sake,' he adds, 'I will always pay a respect and regard to a Scotchman in future.'"*

The regiment was not engaged in active service during the whole of 1743 and 1744, but was quartered in different parts of the country, where it continued to maintain the same character. By several private letters written at that period from the Continent, it appears, that they had gained the good opinion and entire confidence of the inhabitants, who expressed their anxious desire to have a Highland soldier quartered in each of their houses, "as these men were

* Dr Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner. London, 1749.

not only quiet, kind, and domestic, but served as a protection against the rudeness of others."

In April 1745, Lord Sempill, being appointed to the 25th regimcnt, was succeeded, as colonel of the Highlanders, by Lord John Murray, son of the Duke of Atholl.

The season was now well advanced, and the King of France, with the Dauphin, had joined his army in Flanders, under the command of Marshal Count Saxe, who, having been strongly reinforced, determined to open the campaign by laying siege to Tournay, then garrisoned by eight thousand men, under General Baron Dorth. Early in May, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from England, and assumed the command of the allied army, which consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of British, five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians, all under the immediate command of his Royal Highness; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch, under the command of the Prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians, under Field-Marshal Konigseg.

With this force the allied generals resolved to raise the siege of Tournay, before which the French had broken ground on the 30th of April. The French army was more numerous, but the whole of their force could not be brought forward, as large detachments were left in front of Tournay and other places. Marshal Saxe was soon aware of the intention of the Allies, and prepared to receive them. He drew up his line of battle on the right bank of the Scheldt, extending from the wood of Barri to Fontenoy, and thence to the village of St Antoine. Entrenchments were thrown up at both these places, besides three redoubts in the intermediate space, and two at the corner of the wood of Barri, whence a deep ravine extended as far as Fontenoy, and another from that village to St Antoine. A double line of infantry in front, and cavalry in the rear, occupied the whole space from the wood to St Antoine, while an additional force of cavalry and infantry was posted behind the redoubts and batteries. A battery was also erected on the other side

of the river, opposite to St Antoine. The artillery, which was very numerous, was distributed along the line, and in the village and redoubts.

Such was the position pitched upon by Marshal Saxe to receive the Allies, who moved forward on the 9th of May, and encamped between the villages of Bougries and Moubray, at a short distance from the outposts of the enemy. On the evening of that day, the Duke went out and reconnoitred the position chosen by the French general. The Highland regiment was ordered to the advanced post, "when his Royal Highness, with Field-Marshal Konigseg and the Prince of Waldeck, went out to reconnoitre, covered by the Highlanders, who kept up a sharp fire with the grassins * concealed in the woods. After this service was performed, Lord Crawford, being left in command of the advance of the army, proceeded with the Highlanders and a party of hussars to examine the outposts more narrowly. In the course of this duty, a Highlander in advance, observing that one of the grassins repeatedly fired at his post, placed his bonnet upon the top of a stick, near the verge of a hollow road. This stratagem decoyed the Frenchman; and while he was intent on his object, the Highlander, approaching cautiously to a point which afforded a sure aim, succeeded in bringing him to the ground." †

Whilst the allied generals were thus employed, it was found that the plain between their position and that of the French camp, was covered with some flying squadrons of the enemy, and that their outposts likewise commanded certain narrow defiles, through which the allied forces must march to attack the besieging army. It became, of course, necessary to disperse these squadrons, and to dislodge the outposts. As this service could not be attempted at so late an hour in the evening, it was postponed until an early hour next morning, when six battalions and twelve squadrons were ordered to scour the plain, and clear the defiles.

* Sharpshooters.

† Rolt's Life of the Earl of Crawfurd.

In this detachment was included a party of the Highlanders, who, consequently, for the first time, saw the face, and stood the fire of the enemy in a regular body. To the conduct of these Highlanders, in this their noviciate in the field, we have the following testimony: "A party of Highlanders was selected to support some Austrian hussars, hotly pressed by the French light troops, who were quickly repulsed with loss; and the Highlanders were taken great notice of for their spirited conduct." *

The plain being cleared, and the French outposts driven in, the Commander-in-chief of the allied army rode over it, and having examined the ground between the respective camps, made his dispositions for attacking the enemy next morning. The British and Hanoverian infantry were formed in two lines opposite the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, with their cavalry in the rear. The right of the Dutch was posted near the left of the Hanoverians, and their left towards St Antoine, fronting that place and the redoubts between it and Fontenoy.

These arrangements being completed, his Royal Highness moved forward at two o'clock in the morning of the 11th of May, and drew up his army in the above order, in front of the enemy. Previously to the general engagement, the Duke ordered an attack on a redoubt advanced on the right of the wood, occupied by 600 men. This operation took place about four in the morning, "when the Guards and Highlanders began the battle, and attacked a body of French near Vizou, in the vicinity of which place the Dauphin was posted. Though they were entrenched breast-high, the Guards with bayonets, and the Highlanders with sword, pistol, and dirk, forced them out, killing a considerable number." †

Thus successful in the commencement, the British and Hanoverians advanced to the attack, and, after a severe contest, in which every inch of ground was disputed, they drove

* History of the War.

† History of the War.

the enemy back on their entrenchments. During this operation, the Dutch on the left attacked Fontenoy, but without success. The army suffering exceedingly from the batteries, which kept up an incessant fire, the Duke of Cumberland detached a body of infantry to occupy the wood of Barri, and drive the enemy from that redoubt. The Highlanders formed part of this detachment; but, owing to a mistake in delivering the orders, or a misconception on the part of Brigadier-General Ingoldsby, and the loss of Lieutenant-General Sir James Campbell of Lawers, who was mortally wounded, this attack did not take place. Immediately afterwards his Royal Highness ordered Lord Sempill's regiment away to assist in the attack on the village, which still held out against the Dutch, who had failed in every attempt. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the Duke determined to attempt the passage of the ravine between the redoubts and the village. When the British had advanced beyond this ravine, the ground between the wood and Fontenoy being insufficient for the whole to form in line, the flanks wheeled back on their right and left, and then facing towards their proper front, moved forward, along with the centre; thus forming the three sides of a hollow square. While the whole were pushing forward in this order, the French infantry made three desperate attacks, supported by the cavalry, who attempted to charge, and avail themselves of the impression made by the infantry. They were repulsed, however, in every charge, though assisted by a tremendous cannonade from the redoubts, the batteries in the wood and on the opposite bank of the Scheldt, and from the villages which still remained in possession of the enemy.* The previous arrangements of Marshal Saxe were most judicious, and his movements well supported by the

* Indeed, the fire from two of the redoubts was latterly more noisy than dangerous; for the shot being expended, they only fired powder. From the noise and confusion, the deception was not discovered. Though the cannonade from these redoubts was so harmless, they kept up such a rapid and continued fire, that they appeared to be the most active and efficient of the whole.

batteries, which could all bear on the English line when advanced beyond the ravine.

These attacks lasted several hours. The English, although suffering severely, were always gaining ground in advance of the front line of the redoubts. Marshal Saxe, perceiving that no decisive effect was produced, and that, while he was losing his bravest men, the English were gaining upon him, became anxious for the result, and sent notice to the King of France that it was necessary to retire farther from danger. He resolved, however, to make one desperate attack, with every arm which he could bring to bear on the British, who had now advanced so far beyond the confined ground as to be able to form the greatest part of the army into line. He quitted a litter, in which he had been carried the whole day, being much reduced by long-continued disease (a dropsy far advanced), and mounting on horseback, two men supporting him on each side as he rode, he brought up the household troops of the King of France: his best cavalry were posted on the flanks, and the flower of the infantry, with the King's body guards, in the centre. He also brought forward all his field-pieces, and, under cover of their fire and that of the batteries, he made a combined charge of cavalry and infantry on the English line. This united attack was irresistible. The British were forced to give way, and were driven back across the ravine. The Highlanders who had been ordered up from the attack of the village, and two other regiments ordered from the reserve to support the line, were borne down by the retreating body, and retired along with them. The whole rallied beyond the ravine, and after some delay, the Duke determined on a final retreat, directing that the Highlanders and Howard's (the 19th) regiment should cover the rear of the retreating army, and check the advance of the enemy, who pursued the moment the retreat commenced. The Dutch and Hanoverians retired at the same time.

A great military error seems to have been committed in advancing so far while the fortified villages and redoubts

remained in possession of the enemy. On the other hand, Marshal Saxe had not strengthened with sufficient care the ravine, or space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri. This oversight had nearly lost him the battle; for if the village had been taken by the Dutch (to whom this duty was intrusted), before the British forced their way through the ravine, their flanks would not have suffered. Indeed, the enemy could not have maintained their ground had their own guns been turned upon them. Marshal Saxe, in his account of the battle, says, "The truth is, I did not suppose that any general would be so hardy as to venture to make his way through in that place." In this opinion he paid a handsome compliment to the troops who penetrated a defile which this able master of the art of war thought so impracticable, that he neglected the defences which were afterwards found necessary, and for which he had had full time, as he was three days in the position previous to the attack.

A battle of such importance, with a result so unfortunate, occasioned, as may be imagined, much discussion both in public and in private, and gave rise to numerous pamphlets and publications. I shall adduce such parts of the correspondence of persons present as will, in some manner, show what part the Highlanders bore in the battle. As it was the first in which the regiment had encountered an enemy, the attention of many was directed towards them. Some were suspicious of their conduct in the service of a king to whose authority they were supposed to be adverse.* Others, again, anxious for the honour and military fame of Scotland, rejoiced in this opportunity of putting them to the test, and of showing that, opposed to a common enemy, they

* This impression was so strong in some high quarters, that, on the rapid charges made by the Highlanders, when pushing forward sword in hand nearly at full speed, and advancing so far, it was suggested that they inclined to change sides and join the enemy, who had already three brigades of Scotch and Irish engaged, which performed very important services that day

would well sustain the honour of their country. Captain John Munro† of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, (as they were now called), in a letter to his friend, President Forbes of Culloden, says, "While things were going on in this manner, the left did not succeed so well, and in a short time we were ordered to cross the field, and attack (our regiment I mean, for the rest of the brigade did not march to this attack) the village of Fontenoy. As we passed the field, the French batteries played upon our right and left flanks, but to little purpose, for their batteries being on a rising ground, their balls flew over us, and struck the second line. We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We were obliged to wait (covering ourselves from the fire) for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved so and so. In the course of an hour, the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought we should retire, for we had the whole batteries of the enemy's line playing upon us. We retired, but had not marched fifty yards when we had orders to return and support the Hanoverians, who were at this time advancing on the batteries on the left. They behaved most gallantly and bravely, and had the Dutch taken example by them, we had stopped at Tournay.

"By two o'clock the whole retreated, and we were ordered to cover the retreat of the army, as the *only regiment that could be kept to their duty*. The Duke made so friend-

† This gentleman was promoted the same year, in a manner somewhat startling to our present ideas of strict regard to justice, precedency, and length of service. Although there were a major and three captains senior to him in the regiment, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel in room of Sir Robert Munro, and continued in this situation, till succeeded, in 1749, by the late Duke of Argyll, then Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, on the half-pay of Lord Loudon's Highlanders. I have not been able to discover if this promotion, from the command of a company to that of a regiment, was a reward for any marked good conduct in this battle, in which it appears he commanded the regiment, in their more rapid movements, immediately under Sir Robert Munro, who, from his extreme corpulency, and being on foot, could not move with the rapidity sometimes necessary.

ly a speech to us, that, if we had been ordered to attack their lines afresh, our poor fellows would have done it." *

In the official account of this battle, it is stated, that, "after several other attempts with more or less success, and after the Austrians and Dutch had failed in their attack, it was resolved by the Duke of Cumberland, Prince Waldeck, and the Field Marshal, that the whole army should retire, and the commanding officers of General Howard's (19th regiment), and of the Highlanders, were ordered to put themselves in readiness to cover the retreat, which was made in great order; the two battalions fronting and forcing back the enemy at every hundred paces." †

Such confidence in the steadiness of a new regiment, in its first encounter with an enemy, is not common. The first in the attack, they were also the last in the retreat, and, together with another corps, successfully resisted all the attacks of the pursuing enemy, who, elated with success, were consequently the more ardent and enterprising.

The Highlanders were fortunate in being commanded on that day by a man of talents, presence of mind, and a thorough knowledge of his men. ‡ He knew the way of managing them to the best advantage,—a qualification of

* Culloden Papers. † Official Dispatches.

‡ Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, Baronet, chief of his name and clan, the 24th in regular descent from father to son of his family, and member in several Parliaments for the county of Ross. He served in the latter part of King William's reign, and in Queen Anne's wars, under the Duke of Marlborough, by whom he was appointed to a company in the Scotch Royals in 1712; and in 1714 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1739, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the new Highland Regiment. Lord Craufurd, the Colonel, being abroad, the discipline was conducted by the Lieutenant-Colonel,—in what manner, and with what success, may be judged from the behaviour of the regiment at Fontenoy. On this account he was promoted to the command of the 37th regiment in room of General Ponsonby, who was killed that day.

He commanded his new regiment at the battle of Falkirk, in January 1746; but on this occasion he was not supported by his men as he had been at Fontenoy, for they fled on the first charge of the rebels. Colonel Munro, disdaining to fly, was cut down, and his brother, Doctor Munro, who was present, seeing his situation, ran forward to support him, and shared the same fate.

great moment to a leader of troops, and the neglect of which, in the choice of officers, has sometimes occasioned serious losses to the service. As there is no moral quality of higher importance to a corps, than that patriotic spirit which leads every individual to connect his own honour with that of his country, so the greatest care should be taken to cherish and propagate this spirit. A judicious selection

He was buried the following day with the homage due to so honourable a man, and so gallant a soldier; all the rebel officers, and crowds of the men attending his funeral, anxious to show the last mark of respect to a man whom, notwithstanding the difference of their political principles, they so much esteemed.

His family was unfortunate this year. His brother, Captain George Munro of Culcairn, who had retired from the Highland regiment in the year 1744, raised a company in 1745 for the King's service, and put himself under the command of Lord Loudon. Marching with a party of men along the side of Loch Arkaig, in Lochaber, he was shot by a Highlander, whose house had been burned, his cattle plundered, and his son killed defending his family, who were turned out in the snow. Thus fell three brothers within a few months. Culcairn's death was the more lamented, as he was not the victim intended. The officer whom the Highlander had marked for destruction, as the author of this inhuman outrage on his innocent family, wore a cloak of a particular kind. Riding with Culcairn in a shower of rain, he gave him the cloak, and passed the Highlander, who laying in wait for his enemy, perceived the cloak but not the difference of person, and, taking a sure aim, Culcairn fell dead from his horse. It is a curious circumstance, that the man was never apprehended or punished, although he was well known, and made no secret of the business. This gentleman's death occasioned the more observation and concern, as it *was the only instance of revenge, or murder in cold blood, that occurred during the whole progress of the insurrection*; if that can be called cold blood where a man had his son killed, the rest of his children and his wife driven out upon the snow, and his house and property burnt and destroyed—sufficient motives for kindling a spirit of retaliation in the coldest blood. With this exception, however, all opposition was in the open field, or what is considered fair military warfare.

Colonel Grant of Moy, who died in April 1822, in his 90th year, was walking along the road with a gun on his shoulder when Culcairn was shot. A turn of the road concealed him from the soldiers at the moment; but when he came in sight with his gun, they immediately seized him upon suspicion, and carried him to Fort William. After a short confinement he was released. Colonel Grant entered the 42d as a volunteer, or soldier of fortune, and afterwards got a cadetship in India, from which he returned with a handsome fortune nearly fifty years ago.

of officers is one of the primary means to this important end, as, by the influence of their conduct and example, the character of the men will in a great measure be formed. There have been instances, in which national spirit and patriotic feelings have existed among troops for years, independently of example or influence from superiors; but such instances are rare and anomalous. General experience shows that the moral temperament, and indeed the mind that actuates a body of men, cannot be properly guided and cultivated without due qualifications on the part of their leader.

"The gallantry of Sir Robert Munro and his regiment at Fontenoy, was the theme of admiration through all Britain. He had obtained leave of the Duke of Cumberland to allow them to fight in their own way. Sir Robert, according to the usage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire, and instantly after its discharge, they sprang up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their own lines; then retreating drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times the same day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was every where with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency, and when in the trenches, he was hauled out by the legs and arms by his own men; and it is observed, that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright receiving the whole fire of the enemy; * and

* At this period the celebrated Dr Adam Ferguson was chaplain to the Highland regiment. When the regiment was taking its ground on the morning of the battle, Sir Robert Munro perceived the chaplain in the ranks, and, with a friendly caution, told him there was no necessity for him to expose himself to danger, and that he ought to be out of the line of the fire. Mr Ferguson thanked Sir Robert for his friendly advice, but added, that, upon this occasion, he had a duty which he was imperiously called upon to perform. Accordingly, he continued with the regiment during the whole of the action, in the hottest of the fire, praying with the dying, attending to the wounded, and

this, because, (as he said), though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action; and a most eminent person in the army was heard to say upon the occasion, that it was enough to convince one of the truth of the doctrine of predestination, and to justify what King William, of glorious memory, had been used to say, that every bullet has its billet, or its particular direction and commission where it should lodge." †

One consequence of the mode of attack here described was (what every good commander must earnestly wish and endeavour by all possible means to effect) a great preservation of the lives of the troops; for the loss was trifling, con-

directing them to be carried to a place of safety. By his fearless zeal, his intrepidity, his friendship towards the soldiers (several of whom had been his school-fellows at Dunkeld), and his amiable and cheerful manners; by reproving them with severity when it was necessary, mixing among them with ease and familiarity, and being as ready as any of them with a poem or heroic tale,—he acquired an unbounded ascendancy over them. Such chaplains as Dr Ferguson are rarely to be met with; but as many pious and exemplary clergymen may be procured, it is matter of regret that this office has been lately dispensed with. It has been said, that chaplains were frequently men of immoral characters, who, by their profligate example, were more calculated to do evil than good. As this must have proceeded from an improper choice, it may be presumed that, if due precautions were observed, and the pay of chaplains increased in the same proportion as that of surgeons, pious, able, and learned men would enter an honourable service, where their incomes would render them independent, and where their religious and moral instructions, enforced by their own example, would influence the conduct, and prove highly beneficial to every rank under their charge.

This regiment was peculiarly fortunate in the choice of chaplains made for them by Lord John Murray, while he commanded. These were Dr Ferguson, Messieurs James and John Stewart for the two second battalions, raised in 1758 and 1780, and Mr Maclagan, afterwards minister of Blair Athole, than whom, perhaps, the Highlands of Scotland could not have produced a successor more worthy of Dr Ferguson, or a chaplain better qualified for the Highland regiment.

† Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner.

sidering how actively the regiment was engaged. What impression their mode of fighting made on the enemy, we may judge from an account of the battle published at Paris a few days after it happened. After detailing the previous events of the day in a clear and candid manner, the writer proceeds: "It must be owned, that our forces were thrice obliged to give way, and nothing but the good conduct and extreme calmness of Marshal Saxe could have brought them to the charge the last time, which was about two o'clock, when the Allies in their turn gave way. Our victory may be said to be complete; but it cannot be denied that, as the Allies behaved extremely well, more especially the English, so they made a soldier-like retreat, which was much favoured by an adjacent wood. The British behaved well, and could be exceeded in ardour by none but our officers, who animated the troops by their example, *when the Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest.* I cannot say much of the other auxiliaries, some of whom looked as if they had *no great concern in the matter which way it went.* In short, we gained the victory; *but may I never see such another!*" *

The command of the troops covering the retreat was intrusted to Lord Crawfurd, who "conducted the retreat in excellent order till his troops came to the Pass, when he ordered them to file off from the right. He then pulled off his hat, and returning them thanks, said, that they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained a battle." † Such approbation must be consolatory to a soldier after sustaining a defeat, and to the Highlanders it must have been peculiarly satisfactory, coming from a man who knew them so well as their late colonel did, and whom they so highly honoured for his chivalrous and heroic spirit.

In a battle, where the combatants on both sides were so

* Published at Paris, 26th of May 1745.

† Rolt's Life of the Earl of Craufurd.

numerous, the struggle so obstinate and the carnage so considerable, many instances of individual bravery and good conduct must have occurred. Tradition has preserved many anecdotes, the recital of which might still be interesting. Having already quoted, perhaps too liberally, I shall confine myself to the mention of one additional circumstance taken from a pamphlet of that day.

In this pamphlet, entitled, "The Conduct of the Officers at Fontenoy considered," speaking of the exertions of the Duke of Cumberland, the author says, that his Royal Highness was "every where, and could not, without being on the spot, have cheered the Highlander, who with his broad sword killed nine men, and making a stroke at the tenth, had his arm shot off, by a promise of something better than the arm, he (the Duke) saw drop from him." *

* On this occasion the Duke of Cumberland was so much struck with the conduct of the Highlanders, and concurred so cordially in the esteem which they had secured to themselves both from friends and foes, that, wishing to show a mark of his approbation, he desired it to be intimated to them, that he would be happy to grant the men any favour which they chose to ask, and which he could concede, as a testimony of the good opinion he had formed of them. The reply was worthy of so handsome an offer. After expressing acknowledgments for the condescension of the commander-in-chief, the men assured him that no favour he could bestow would gratify them so much, as a pardon for one of their comrades, a soldier of the regiment, who had been tried by a court-martial for allowing a prisoner to escape, and was under sentence of a heavy corporal punishment, which if inflicted, would bring disgrace on them all, and on their families and country. This favour, of course, was instantly granted. The nature of this request, the feeling which suggested it, and, in short, the general qualities of the corps, struck the Duke with the more force, as, at that time, he had not been in Scotland, and had no means of knowing the character of its inhabitants, unless, indeed, he had formed his opinion from the common ribaldry of the times, when it was the fashion to consider the Highlander "as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, and inhabiting a barren and gloomy region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to enter."

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
The total loss of the British, including officers and non-commissioned officers, was - -	1338	2151
Hanoverians, - -	515	1194
Dutch, - - -	505	702
Austrians, - - -	307	401
Total,	2665	4458

The Highlanders lost Captain John Campbell of Carrick, * Ensign Lachlane Campbell son of Craignish, and 30 men, Captain Robert Campbell of Finab, Ensigns Ronald Campbell nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch, 2 sergeants, and 86 rank and file, wounded.

If we consider how actively this corps was engaged in various parts of the field on the preceding evening, and during the whole of this hard fought contest,—having been employed first by the Commander-in-chief, and then by Lord Crauford, to support and cover him when reconnoitring,—early engaged at the first point of attack next morning, then ordered to the assault of a second strong position,—called away from thence to the support, first of the Dutch, and then of the Hanoverians,—and previously to the last struggle, brought from the left with other troops to support the line immediately before it gave way; and, at length, when the conflict was decided, chosen, along with another regiment, to cover the army in its retreat,—in short, having

* Captain John Campbell of Carrick was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his day. Possessing very agreeable manners, and bravery, tempered by gaiety, he was regarded by the people as one of those who retained the chivalrous spirit of their ancestors. A poet, a soldier, and a gentleman, no less gallant among the ladies then he was brave among men, he was the object of general admiration; and the last generation of Highlanders among whom he was best known, took great pleasure in cherishing his memory, and repeating anecdotes concerning him. He married a sister of General Campbell of Mamore, afterwards Duke of Argyll, and grandfather to the present Duke.

been placed in every situation of difficulty or danger,—the small loss sustained in killed and wounded must be matter of surprise. It can be accounted for only by their mode of advancing against the enemy, a circumstance well worthy of the notice of all soldiers, as it shows, that, if a body of men push forward firmly and expeditiously to an attack, the loss will be smaller, and the chance of success more certain, how strong soever the position to be attacked, or the resistance to be expected; and that delay or hesitation in assailing an enemy only tends to increase the advantage which they may already possess from superiority of number or strength of position. Hence it appears that, though some of the allies, as the French account states, "looked as if they had no concern in the matter," and, as we learn from another account, "were very dilatory, and behaved so and so,"* their loss was fully proportionate to that of the British, who sustained the brunt of the action.

In support of the opinion which I have ventured to form on so important a subject, I may advert to an occurrence at Fontenoy, in which the loss sustained by two regiments was as opposite as their situations and duties in the course of the battle. Brigadier-General Ingoldsby having been accused of neglecting to obey an order to advance with his brigade to attack a battery early in the action, published a vindication of his conduct, denying that he had ever received any orders to advance at the moment in question, and stating, that he had so many contradictory orders, that he knew not which to obey. He observes, that, "after his Royal Highness had ordered Sempill's Highlanders away from his brigade to the attack of the village, he continued

* The cautious and circumspect conduct of a certain commander of the allied army, upon this occasion, called forth the ridicule of his friends, and procured him the jocular appellation of the Confectioner. Being asked why he did not move forward to the front with more rapidity, he replied, "I am *preserving* my men."

Sir Robert Munro also "preserved" his men; but his preservation did not consist in keeping them in the rear when they ought to have been in the front, and close to the enemy.

at the head of Dutoure's regiment, (the 12th,) within 150 paces of the redoubt, from which he was exposed to a continued fire from the beginning of the action, which the loss of that regiment will make appear." The loss of this regiment, which remained so long stationary, we accordingly find, beyond all proportion greater than that of the Highlanders, whose situation was the very reverse. The loss of Duroure's was 6 officers, 5 sergeants, 148 privates, killed; 10 officers, 7 sergeants, 142 privates wounded; whereas the loss of the Highland regiment, as already stated, was only 2 officers, 30 privates, killed; 3 officers, 2 sergeants and 66 privates, wounded. When we consider the different circumstances in which the two regiments were placed, this appears a remarkable disproportion.

Impetuosity on one side is apt to paralyze resistance on the other, and, if attacked "by furies rushing in upon them with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest," an enemy may have their nerves somewhat disordered by the shock; and, while the arm is rendered unsteady, the aim cannot be correct, or the fire effectual. * If, on the contrary, an enemy approach with a hesitating caution, indicating rather the fear of defeat than the animating hope of victory, or a resolute determination to conquer, it will inspire confidence in the adverse party, and confidence naturally

* I once got a very natural answer on this subject from an Indian, or Carrib of St Vincent's. It was said that these people were such expert marksmen, that, with a common gun, they could shoot a dollar off the cork of a quart bottle, and perform other feats equally remarkable. This expertness and steadiness of aim, however, deserted them when a skirmishing warfare was waged against them in the woods of St Vincent in 1796. In these skirmishes, except when concealed behind trees or rocks, they were found to be very indifferent marksmen. Being at that time in the island, and wishing to ascertain the truth of what was so much talked of, I on one occasion gave a loaded musket to a Carrib prisoner, desiring him to fire at an orange on the mouth of a bottle, at the distance of 200 yards. On the first attempt he missed, on the second he broke the bottle, and the third time he hit the orange. I then asked him why he did not mark so well against the soldiers as against the orange; "Massa," he replied, "the orange no gun or ball to shoot me back; no run at me with bayonet."

producing steadiness, successful resistance may be expected.

Such was the battle of Fontenoy, and such were the facts from which a very favourable opinion was formed of the military qualifications of the Black Watch, as it was still called in Scotland. *

The regiment having sustained so moderate a loss in this battle, and having still nearly nine hundred men fit for service, was soon called out again, and detached, with a body of Dutch cavalry and grenadiers, on a particular service, under the command of General Hawley. This was soon accomplished, as the enemy, who had made demonstrations of descending in great force in the neighbourhood of Halle, retired without making any resistance, and sooner than was expected. On the return of this detachment to head-quarters it was said, that, " in the last day's march of thirty-eight miles, in a deep sandy road, it was observed, that the Dutch grenadiers and cavalry were overpowered with the heat and fatigue, but that not one man of the Highlanders was left behind."

The 43d regiment was one of eleven ordered for England in October 1745, in consequence of the Rebellion. They arrived in the River Thames on the 4th of November, and joined a division of the army assembled on the coast of Kent, to repel a threatened invasion; while the other regiments which had arrived from Flanders were ordered to Scotland under the command of General Hawley.

The Highlanders were exempted from this northern service. Without attempting to throw any doubt on their loyalty, a duty that would have called men to oppose their brothers and nearest connections and friends in the field of battle, would have occasioned a struggle, between affection and duty, more severe than any in which they could have been employed against the most resolute enemy. How painful such a struggle must have been may be judged from

† At this period there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians.

this circumstance,—that on a minute inquiry, in different parts of the country, I have good reason to believe that more than three hundred of the soldiers had fathers and brothers engaged in the Rebellion.

Early in the year 1745 three new companies were raised and added to the regiment. The command of these was given to the gentlemen who recruited the men,—the Laird of Mackintosh, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, and Campbell of Inveraw. The subalterns were James Farquharson, the younger of Invercauld, John Campbell, the younger of Glenlyon,* and Dugald, Campbell, and Ensigns

* This gentleman's younger brother joined the rebels, and fought in all their battles. He was quite a youth, and was sent by his father to encourage his men, being at the same time under the control and guidance of an adherent and descendant of the family, a man of judgment and mature years. * Old Glenlyon, who commanded Lord Breadalbane's men, had joined the rebellion of 1715, and still retained his attachments and principles so strongly, that he never forgave his eldest son for entering the army. When the young man came to visit him in his last sickness, in the year 1746, he refused to see him. After his father's death, in the autumn of that year, he was ordered with a party of men, to garrison his own house, and to perform the usual duties of seizing rebels, of whom numbers were in concealment in the woods and caves in the neighbourhood. His brother was, in this situation, hid in a deep den above Glenlyon House, and supplied with provisions and necessaries by his sisters and friends. On one occasion, owing to some interruption, he had not seen his sisters for two nights, and leaving his hiding-place rather too early in the evening of the third night, in the hope of seeing some of them, he was observed by his brother and some English officers, who were walking out. His brother, afraid of a discovery, pretending to give the alarm, directed the officers to call out the soldiers immediately, while he would keep the rebel in sight. He ran after him, and called out to his brother in Gaelic to run for his life, and take to the mountains. When the party made their appearance, no rebel could be seen, and the unfortunate outlaw was more careful in future. Ten years afterwards he was appointed to Fraser's Highland regiment, along with several others who had been engaged in the Rebellion, and was shot through the body at the battle of Quebec.

* He was the father of John Campbell, the soldier of the Highland Watch, who along with Gregor Macgregor, was presented to King George II., promoted to an Ensigncy for his conduct at the recent battle of Fontenoy, and afterwards killed at Ticonderoga, being among the first of the resolute men who

Allan Grant, son of Glenmoriston, John Campbell, son of Glenfalloch, and Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine. These companies were recruited in different parts of the Highlands; but owing to the influence of Sir Patrick Murray, through the Atholl family, and that of the other gentlemen of Perthshire, Invercauld, Glenlyon, and Glenfalloch, a greater portion of the new levy consisted of men from the districts of Athole, Breadalbane, and Braemar, than was to be found in the original composition of the regiment. The privates of these companies, though of the best character, did not occupy that rank in society for which so many individuals of the independent companies had been distinguished. The new companies did not join the regiment immediately, but were employed in Scotland during the Rebellion. One of them was at the battle of Prestonpans, where all the officers, Sir Patrick Murray, Lieutenant Farquharson, and Ensign Allan Campbell, and the whole of the men, were either killed or taken prisoners.

It would appear that the Highland soldiers, in this engagement, had not the same good fortune, and probably did not manifest the same steady conduct as at Fontenoy, or in the different battles which they afterwards fought. In proof of this it may be mentioned, that the Honourable Captains Mackay and Stuart, brothers of Lord Reay and the Earl of Moray, Munro of Allan, and Macnab of Macnab, with all the subalterns and men, of four companies of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, shared the same fate with those of Lord John Murray's Highlanders; whereas, at Fontenoy, when the latter made more impetuous attacks,

forced their way into the work. While the son thus distinguished himself among so many gallant men at Fontenoy, the father was equally conspicuous at Culloden, where he was desperately wounded in the sword-arm in a personal rencounter with a cavalry officer. He seized his sword with his left hand, and making a cut at the officer's thigh, unhorsed him. Mr Campbell was an old man, and had been out in 1715. He was grandfather to Colonel Sir Archibald Campbell, Brigadier-general in the Portuguese service, whose father, Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, was in the 42d regiment, and wounded at Ticonderoga, where his brother was killed.

and resisted more violent charges, the loss was trifling in comparison. The difference of result has been accounted for, and, perhaps, with justice, from the different character of the troops to whom they were opposed.

In this latter battle, their antagonists were their former friends and countrymen, and their defence may consequently be supposed to have been less obstinate and determined. The royal army, to whom no suspicion of disloyalty could attach, suffered in the same manner as they did; and it would be doing the Highlanders injustice to believe them possessed of less loyalty or courage than those who experienced the same discomfiture and rout. Indeed, their loyalty and fidelity to the oath which they had taken was soon put to a severer proof than in the field of battle; for while they were prisoners, all entreaties, offers, and arguments, were used, and the whole influence of promises and threats employed to prevail upon them to forsake their colours, and join a cause in which so many of their kindred and countrymen had engaged. All these attempts to shake their allegiance proved unavailing; not one of them forgot his loyalty, or abjured his oath. In this respect, the conduct of the Black Watch formed a contrast to that of Loudon's men, of whom a considerable number joined the rebels. This difference of conduct in men, whose sentiments and feelings were supposed to be congenial, and who were placed in similar circumstances, was variously accounted for at the time; the prevailing opinion was, that Lord John Murray's men, having sworn to serve as a regular regiment, which had been several years embodied, felt more the obligations implied in the terms of their enlistment, than those of Lord Loudon's regiment, who had, very recently, entered into what they supposed only a kind of local and temporary service, on conditions of engagement which they considered as far less binding than those of a permanent regiment. Besides, in the case of Loudon's, the men had the example of their officers, several of whom joined the rebels,—a circum-

stance of great importance at that time, when the system of clanship, confidence, and attachment, remained unbroken.

The complete overthrow of well-disciplined and well-appointed troops by a body of men, half armed, strangers to war and discipline, and who, till that day, had never met an enemy, may be ascribed to the rapidity and vigour with which the Highlanders made their attacks, driving the front line of their adversaries on the second, and throwing both into such irretrievable confusion, that the second line was overpowered when mixed with the first, which attempted to retreat through its broken ranks.

The company of this regiment taken at Preston remained prisoners and inactive during the Rebellion, but the other two companies were employed in different parts of the Highlands, during the autumn and winter of 1745 and 1746, on those duties for which they were so strongly recommended by the Lord President. *

After the suppression of the Rebellion, they were employed on a service which ought not to have been executed at all, or assigned to other agents. This was to execute a barbarous order, to burn the houses, and lay waste the lands and property of the rebels,—a species of military execution, where the innocent suffer equally with the guilty. It may easily be imagined, that in a country where rebellion had been so general, many cases would occur, in which the loyal officer, under orders to devastate the estates of his neighbours and friends, would find his allegiance at

* In the periodical publications of the day they are frequently mentioned. The Caledonian Mercury, of the 26th August 1745, states, "that Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Patrick Halket of Pitferran had been detached at the head of three companies of the Honourable Colonel Lee's regiment, preceded by the companies of Highlanders under the Lairds of Mackintosh and Inveraw, in order to advance up to the Highlands, and to obtain a proper account of what was passing there:" And it is farther stated, that "in September the Laird of Inveraw, with his company of Highlanders, marched from Perthshire to Inverlochy." In this manner they were employed for the season, but none of them was ever actually engaged with the enemy except the company at Prestonpans.

variance with his feelings. † Instances of this occurred in Perthshire. Lieutenant Campbell of Glenlyon was obliged to burn the houses, and take away the horses, cattle, and sheep, on the estates of his neighbours, the Laird of Strowan, and other gentlemen who had been engaged in the Rebellion. Seven gentlemen's houses were plundered and burnt to the ground on that occasion, with many of the houses of the tenants who had never left their homes or joined the rebels.

These companies remained in Scotland till the year 1748,

† One of these duties fell to the lot of Captain John Menzies, father of Lady Abercromby. Castle Menzies was then the head-quarters of the troops in that district. Information had been received, that several gentlemen who were concealed in the woods and fastnesses, after the suppression of the Rebellion, were to assemble, on a certain night, in the house of Faskally, the proprietor of which, Mr Robertson, being one of the number "in hiding," and all of them friends and relations of Captain Menzies. He was ordered to march at ten o'clock at night, and cross the mountains by an unfrequented route. The secrecy of the march, and the darkness of the night, prevented the usual communication of the movements of the military to those to whom such information was so necessary, and which, by the fidelity and active zeal of the people, seldom failed. But, in this case, it was not till the military were marching up the avenue to the house, that those within knew of their approach. It was now daylight, and they had scarcely time to dash into a deep woody glen close to the house, and make their escape, when the troops were at the door. When the party returned, Captain Menzies sent a soldier ‡ forward to Comrie Castle, on the banks of the Lyon, where his father resided. When the old man saw the soldier on the opposite side of the river, and knowing where he had been, he eagerly called out, "Has my son seized upon any of his unfortunate friends?" When he was told they had all escaped, he pulled off his bonnet, and, with uplifted hands, exclaimed, "May God Almighty make me thankful for this mercy! My unfortunate son (unfortunate in being employed on such a duty) has not been the means of bringing these honourable men to the scaffold."

Such were those times when a father thought a son fortunate because he did not perform what would have been considered as an important piece of service. One of the gentlemen (James Robertson, Esq.) who were in Faskally House that night is still alive, (1819,) being the only survivor of 1500 men of Lord George Murray's Athole Highlanders "*out*" on that occasion.

‡ This soldier was Alexander Stewart, the follower of Rob Roy, mentioned in Appendix C.

occasionally sending reinforcements of volunteers and recruits to the regiment. *

Government having determined to send an expedition to North America, a body of troops, consisting of Lord John Murray's Highland regiment, and several others, under the command of General St Clair, embarked at Portsmouth for Cape Breton. They sailed on the 15th of June, but, being driven back by contrary winds, the troops were relanded. On the 5th of August, the armament sailed a second time, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lestock. Again forced back by adverse winds, they made a third attempt on the 24th, and after reaching Portland, were once more driven back to Portsmouth. Their destination was now changed to a descent on the coast of France; and, accordingly, the army was reinforced by 2000 of the Foot Guards, and a strong detachment of Artillery. The land forces amounted to nearly 8000 men. While the Highland regiment lay at Portsmouth, it was joined by so large a detachment from the additional companies in Scotland, as to increase the battalion to 1100 men.

On the 15th of September the expedition sailed from Portsmouth, and on the 19th anchored at Quimperly Bay. Immediate preparations were made for landing, which was

* In 1747, Lieutenant, afterwards General John Small, commanded a party stationed in Glenelg. In September he was ordered to apprehend Macdonell of Barrisdale, an active partisan in the rebellion. In this man's case there was exhibited a striking instance of the influence of that personal respect and attachment which so often guided the conduct of the Highlanders. Without an acre of land, and with no authority to command obedience, he being only a tenant to the Laird of Glengarry, but descended from an ancient race, long respected in the country, and possessed of affable manners, and a person remarkably graceful and portly, he could, at any time, command the services of 150 armed men, always ready to follow wherever he chose to lead them. Whether it was that he made an improper use of this influence, or from his activity in the rebellion, he was made to suffer an imprisonment of nine years in Edinburgh Castle; but he was at length released, and, after an imprisonment unexampled in duration in modern times, was appointed, in 1761, to a lieutenancy in General Græme's, or the Queen's Highlanders, and died at Barrisdale in 1787. His brother, who had been appointed to Fraser's Highlanders, was killed on the heights of Abraham in 1759.

effected by the Grenadiers and Highlanders without much opposition. They immediately commenced operations against L'Orient, which they reached on the 24th, and on the evening of the following day one mortar battery, and two twelve gun batteries, were completed. On the 28th, the French made several sallies, in one of which they assumed a garb resembling that of the Highlanders, in expectation that, under this deception, their advance would not be interrupted. They accordingly approached close to the batteries before the deception was discovered, when they were saluted with a volley of grape shot, which drove them back with great precipitation, followed by those whose garb they had partly assumed. The firing, which had done considerable damage to the town, ceased in the evening, and secret preparations were made for a retreat, as the enemy were collecting in great force. This was accordingly carried into effect, and the troops re-embarked without interruption.

The expedition sailed from Quiberon, and formed itself into divisions, some of which sailed for England and some for Ireland. The Highlanders were destined for Cork, where they arrived " on Saturday the 4th November. Lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders marched in there with his Lordship, the colonel, at their head, who, with the whole corps of officers and men, were dressed in the Highland dress." From that city they marched to Limerick, where they remained three months, and in February 1747 returned to Cork, where they embarked for the Downs, to join a large body of troops, assembled to reinforce the army in Flanders. The greater part of the troops that formed this reinforcement consisted of those who had been ordered from Flanders in consequence of the Rebellion. Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and a detachment from the additional companies of the Black Watch, joined this force, which sailed from Leith early in April 1747. *

* It is stated in the Caledonian Mercury of March 1747, that " Lieutenant John Campbell of Glenlyon, and Ensign John Grant of Glenmoriston, with a

The French having invaded Zealand and the adjoining part of Flanders, the first battalion of the Royals, Bragg's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders, were ordered to Flushing, under the command of Major-General Fuller, and landing at Stopledyke on the 1st of May, were marched to the relief of Hulst, then closely besieged. The commandant of that place, General St Roque, ordered Bragg's and the Highlanders to halt within four miles, and sent the Royals to the Dutch camp of St Bergue, appointed to watch the movements of the enemy, but too weak to attack or dislodge them. They remained here till the evening of the 5th of May, when the French, having advanced almost under the pallisadoes, began the assault with great resolution. The out-guards and picquets were quickly forced back into the garrison, when the Dutch regiment of Thiery, which "had behaved well in the former assault, * marched out to oppose the attack, but were so disconcerted by the vigorous resolution of the enemy, that they gave way. On this the Royals advanced, regained what little ground was lost, repulsed the French in every attack, and maintained the post with the greatest bravery, till relieved by the Highland regiment, on whose coming up the French retired." †.

The loss of the Royals on this occasion was upwards of 90 killed, and more than 100 wounded. The loss of the Highlanders was trifling, being only five privates killed and a few wounded. The enemy, however, resolutely continued the siege, and erecting several new batteries on the sandberg, on the morning of the 9th they opened the whole with great vigour on the town, which surrendered at three o'clock in the afternoon. This event was followed by the capitulation of the troops in Hulst, when Lord John Mur-

strong detachment from the additional companies of the Black Watch, sailed in the fleet for Flanders. When it was notified to the men that only a part of them was to join the army, all claimed the preference to be permitted to embark, and it was necessary to draw lots, as none would remain behind."

* The enemy made an attack on the 3d of May, when this regiment repulsed them with great gallantry.

† Hague Gazette.

ray, who then commanded the British regiments, marched to Wellshorden, where they were joined by the Duke of Cumberland, who had left the main army to visit all the lower parts of Dutch Flanders, then blockaded and surrounded by the enemy. The intention of his Royal Highness was to superintend the defence of Hulst in person; but his object was defeated by the surrender of the place sooner than was expected, not without suspicion of misconduct on the part of the commander, who had notice that reinforcements were ordered to his relief. The British regiments were ordered to South Beveland. The Duke staid till he saw the troops embarked, and, in this position, exposed himself to considerable danger. Scarcely had he gone on board, when a great body of French came up, and "attacked 300 of the Highland regiment, who were the last to embark. They behaved with so much bravery, that they beat off three or four times their number, killing many, and making some prisoners, with only the loss of four or five of their own number." *

In the beginning of June, Marshal Saxe collected his army, and encamped between Mechlin and Louvain. The French King arriving at Brussels on the 15th of June, his army was put in motion, and marched towards Tirlemont, the Allies being as ready to accept as the French to offer battle. Prince Wolfenbuttle, with the reserve of the first line, was ordered through Westerloo to the Abbey of Everbode, and the second line to take post at Westerloo, to sustain the reserve. On the 17th, the whole Allied Army had reached their destination, and were formed in order of battle; but the enemy declining an engagement on that day both armies manœuvred till the 1st of July, making the necessary arrangements for the battle, which took place next morning at Lafeldt. This battle was obstinately contested; but the Allied Army was forced to retreat, with the loss of 5620 killed and wounded, while that of the enemy exceeded 10,000 men. That the loss of the vanquished should be

* Hague Gazette.

less, by nearly one half, than that of a victorious army, must at first excite surprise. From nine in the morning till one in the afternoon, the Allies had the advantage. During that time, the village of Lafeldt had been thrice carried, and as often lost. The battle raged with the greatest violence round this spot. Thither the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance. The enemy gave way to the vigour of this attack, and victory seemed within the grasp of the Confederates, when Marshal Saxe brought up some fresh troops, (the Irish and Scotch brigades in the service of France,) who charged the centre, under Prince Waldeck, with such impetuosity, that they were driven back in confusion.* Some squadrons of Dutch cavalry, seeing what was passing in their front, turned to the right about, and instead of marching up to the support of the line, retreated at full gallop, overturning five battalions of infantry marching up from the reserve. So sudden were these movements, that it was with difficulty his Royal Highness could reach the left wing; and a complete rout would in all probability have ensued, had not General Lord Ligonier, with three British regiments of cavalry, and some

* In an account of this battle, printed at Liege in July 1747, it is said that the King of France's brigade marched up under the command of Marshal Saxe, and carried the village of Lanhery after a repulse of forty battalions, who had attempted it successively. A letter from an officer in the army to his friend at York says, "That the brigade consisted of Scotch and Irish in the French service, who fought like devils; that they neither gave nor took quarter; that, observing the Duke of Cumberland to be extremely active in defence of this post, they were employed, on this attack, at their own request; that they in a manner cut down all before them, with a full resolution, if possible, to reach his Royal Highness, which they certainly would have done, had not Sir John Ligonier come up with a party of horse, and thereby saved the Duke at the loss of his own liberty; that it was generally believed the young Pretender was a volunteer in the action, which animated these rebellious troops to push so desperately; and as what advantage the French had at Fontenoy was as well as now owing to the desperate behaviour of these brigades, it may be said that the King of France is indebted for much of his success to the natural-born subjects of the crown of Great Britain." *

* Gentleman's Magazine, 1747.

squadrons of Austrians, charged the enemy with such vigour and success, as to overthrow the part of their force opposed to him, and thus caused such a diversion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect his retreat to Maestricht. Lord Ligionier became the victim of his own gallantry; for his horse being killed, he was taken prisoner. The Allies were not pursued in their retreat. The enemy seem satisfied with a victory, of which at one time, they had no expectation, and which was attributed to the second disposition of the Allies, by which only one half of their force could be brought forward, while the enemy could exert their whole strength.

In the mean time, the Highlanders, with some British troops, remained in South Beveland, till Count Lohendhal was detached by Marshal Saxe, with a force of twenty-five thousand men, to attack Bergen-op-zoom.

When his designs were discovered, the troops left in Zealand and Beveland, with the exception of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, were collected and marched to the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the celebrated Coehorn, which, having never been stormed, was generally esteemed impregnable. Lord Loudon's Highlanders were employed in the defence of this place, and Lord John Murray's remained in Beveland; but Lord John, Captain Fraser of Culduthel, Captain Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of his regiment, were on duty at the siege.

In March 1748, the British army, under the Earl of Albemarle, consisting of the Royals, 8th and 20th, Scotch Fusileers, 31st, Lord John Murray's and Lord Loudon's Highlanders, joined the Allies near Ruremond.

In the month of May, Maestricht, with an Austrian garrison, being attacked by the French, was carried after a short but warm siege. Preliminaries of peace were soon afterwards signed, and the army went into quarters.

Though Fontenoy was the only battle of great importance in which they were engaged, yet the Highlanders had

during this war, many opportunities of displaying their discipline, and capability of enduring fatigue and privations in the field. In quarters, their conduct was exemplary, and procured them the esteem and respect of those among whom they were stationed. Whether in a hostile or friendly country, no insubordination was exhibited, nor any acts of violence or rapine committed. The inhabitants of Flanders and other places seemed equally satisfied with their conduct. Of all this I could produce many instances, but the testimony of the Elector of Baden, which I have already quoted, to their conduct in the years 1743 and 1744, renders it superfluous to add more.

While the regiment was thus employed abroad, the three additional companies remained in Scotland, supplying it with recruits, and performing various duties in the Highlands. They were encamped at Fort Augustus till September 1747, when they marched into winter quarters. The companies under Captains Menzies and Macneil were ordered to Taybridge and the neighbouring parts of Perthshire, and the Laird of Mackintosh to Tarland in Aberdeenshire. In March 1748, the three companies marched to Prestonpans, to embark for the purpose of joining the regiment in Flanders; but in consequence of the signing of the preliminaries of peace, the orders were countermanded, and in the course of that year these companies were reduced.

The regiment remained in Flanders during the whole of the year 1748, and returned to England in December, when it was proposed to send them to the Highlands, to be employed on that duty for which they were originally raised as independent companies. This intention was, however, relinquished; and, being put on the establishment of Ireland, they were sent to that country.

In the year 1749, the number of the regiment was changed from the 43d to the 42d, in consequence of the reduction of General Oglethorpe's, then the 42d regiment.

It is unnecessary to follow the regiment through all its

changes of quarters in Ireland, from the conclusion of the war till the year 1756, during which period it was stationed in different parts of the country. There is one circumstance, however, the more worthy of notice, as it was not followed by a result too frequent at that period, when animosities, jealousies, and disputes, between the military and the inhabitants among whom they were quartered, existed to a considerable degree. On the part of the Highlanders, the case was so different, that, though they were stationed in small detachments, and associated much with the people, the happiest cordiality subsisted between them. The effects of this good understanding were permanently felt. Of this several characteristic anecdotes have been communicated to me by old officers who had served in the regiment, and by others who visited Ireland at a subsequent period, and met with gratifying proofs of the favourable impression entertained in that country of the character of the 42d regiment. Perhaps the similarity of language, and the general and prevailing belief of the same origin, might have had some influence over the Irish and Highlanders. Upon the return of the regiment from America in 1767, many applications, founded on this favourable opinion, were made by towns and districts to get them stationed among them.

There were few courts-martial; and, for many years, no instance occurred of corporal punishment. If a soldier was brought to the halberts, he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual.

Great regularity was observed in the duties of public worship. In the regimental orders, hours are fixed for morning prayers by the chaplain; and on Sundays, for Divine service, morning and evening.* The greatest re-

* These orders state, "Prayers to-morrow at nine o'clock—Prayers in the barracks on Tuesday at eight o'clock." It would appear that various causes

spect was observed towards the ministers of religion. When Dr Ferguson was chaplain of the corps, he held an equal, if not, in some respects, a greater, influence over the minds of the men than the commanding officer. The succeeding chaplain, Mr Maclaggan, preserved the same authority; and, while the soldiers looked up with reverence to these excellent men, the most beneficial effects were produced on their minds and conduct by the religious and moral duties which their chaplains inculcated. *

While their religious and moral duties were under the guidance of Dr Ferguson, they were equally fortunate in having, as their military director, so excellent and judicious a man as the late Duke of Argyll, who commanded during the six years they were stationed in Ireland, viz. from 1749 to 1755. Under such auspices and instructions, and with the honourable principles which generally guided the soldiers, the best result was to be anticipated; and it was not without reason that their countrymen of the North considered them as an honour to their districts, and held them up as an example to the rising generation.

Although the original members of the regiment had now almost disappeared, their habits and character were well sustained by their successors, to whom they were left, as it were, in charge. This expectation has been fulfilled through a long course of years and events. The first supply of recruits after the original formation was, in many instances, inferior to their predecessors in personal appearance, as well as in private station and family connexions, but they lost nothing of that firm step, erect air, and freedom from awkward restraint, the consequence of a spirit of independence and self-respect, which distinguished their predecessors.

interrupted the daily prayers; but by these orders it appears they were frequent.

* I have been told that many of the old soldiers were more anxious to conceal any little breach of moral conduct from the chaplain than from the commanding officer.

Such were the character and behaviour of this corps during the eight years of peace which succeeded the German war of 1740 and 1748. They were soon to be more actively employed in a distant part of the world.

SECTION III.

OPERATIONS IN AMERICA.

Embark for New York, 1756—*Louisburg*, 1757—*Ticonderoga*, 1758—*Louisburg*, 1758—*Fort Du Quesne*, 1758—*West Indies*, 1759—*Guadaloupe*, 1749.

In the year 1754, mutual encroachments on their respective territories in the Western world led to hostilities between the English and the French in that quarter. Several skirmishes were fought on the frontiers. The first of these, in point of importance, was an attack on a post commanded by Major (afterwards the celebrated General) Washington, which the French claimed as within their territories. Washington, after a good defence, surrendered by capitulation. This affair, which gave the first proof of Washington's military talents, excited a considerable sensation in England; but nothing further was done, than to direct our ambassador to make a representation on the subject to the French Court. In this manner hostilities were continued for nearly two years, till at length, in May 1756, war was formally declared.

A body of troops, the Highlanders forming a part, were embarked under the command of Lieutenant-General James Abercromby, and landed at New York, in June 1756. These were soon followed by more troops, under the Earl of Loudon, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army in North America. An active war was now expected; but much valuable time was wasted in holding councils of war, in making preparations, and in accustoming the troops to what were called the usages of war. The general was so occupied with schemes for improving the condition of his troops, that he seemed to have no time for employ-

ing them against the enemy, and allowed a whole season to pass away without undertaking a single enterprise. In the mean time, the Marquis de Montcalm, the commander of the French army, carried on, with great activity, an irregular warfare, by skirmishes and detached incursions, exceedingly distressing to the inhabitants, and destructive to the British troops.

The Forts of Ontario, Oswego, Granville, &c. fell in succession. Oswego, under the command of Colonel Mercer, held out for two days, when he was killed; and the death of their brave commander so dispirited the garrison that they surrendered immediately. By the terms of capitulation, it was agreed that the troops should be protected from plunder, and conducted safely as prisoners to Montreal. These terms were most scandalously violated. The troops were robbed and insulted by the Indians; several were shot as they stood defenceless on the parade; and, to crown all, Montcalm gave up twenty of the men to the Indians, to be sacrificed by them to the manes of their countrymen, who had fallen in battle. Montcalm attempted to exonerate himself from the reproach of such inhuman conduct, by alleging that the British soldiers gave spirits to the Indians, and that, in their intoxication, these excesses were committed; though he did not explain how his prisoners came to have spirits at their disposal.

Some time previous to this, several changes and promotions took place in the 42d regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell (the late Duke of Argyll) was promoted to the command of the 54th regiment, and was succeeded by Major Grant;* Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw was advanced to the majority; Thomas Græme of Duchray, James Abercromby, son of General Abercromby of Glassa, then

* When the men understood that there was to be a vacancy in the regiment, by the promotion of Colonel Campbell, they came forward with a sum of money, subscribed among themselves, to purchase the Lieutenant-Colonelcy for Major Grant; but the promotion going in the regiment without purchase, the money was not required.

their Commander-in-Chief in America, and John Campbell of Strachur, were appointed captains; Lieutenant John Campbell, captain-lieutenant; Ensigns Kenneth Tolme, James Grant, John Græme, brother of Duchray, Hugh M'Pherson, Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, and Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, were appointed lieutenants; and from the half-pay list were taken, Lieutenants Alexander M'Intosh, James Gray, William Baillie, Hugh Arnot, William Sutherland, John Small, and Archibald Campbell; the ensigns were, James Campbell, Archibald Lamont, Duncan Campbell, George M'Lagan, Patrick Balneaves, son of Edradour, Patrick Stewart, son of Bonskeid, Norman M'Leod, George Campbell, and Donald Campbell.

Previous to the departure of the regiment from Ireland, officers with parties had been sent to Scotland to recruit. So successful were these, that in the month of June, seven hundred recruits were embarked at Greenock for America. When the Highland regiments landed on that continent, their garb and appearance attracted much notice. The Indians, in particular, were delighted to see a European regiment in a dress so similar to their own. *

During the whole of 1756, the regiment remained inactive in Albany. In the winter and spring of 1757, they were drilled and disciplined for bush-fighting and sharp-shooting,—a species of warfare for which they were well fitted, being in general good marksmen, and expert in the management of their arms. Their ardour and impatience, however, often hurried them from their cover, when they ought to have remained concealed.

In the beginning of summer, a plan was laid for an attack on Louisburg. In the month of June, Lord Loudon

* A gentleman in New York wrote, that, "when the Highlanders landed, they were caressed by all ranks and orders of men, but more particularly by the Indians. On the march to Albany, the Indians flocked from all quarters to see the strangers, who, they believed, were of the same extraction as themselves, and therefore received them as brothers."

embarked, with Major-General Abercromby and the 22d, 42d, 44th, 48th, 2d and 4th battalions of the 60th, together with 600 Rangers; making in all 5300 men. Proceeding to Halifax with this force, he was there reinforced by Major-Generals Hopson, Lord Charles Hay, Colonels Lord Howe and Forbes, with Fraser's and Montgomerie's Highlanders, and the 43d, 46th, and 55th regiments, lately arrived from England. The united force amounted to 10,500 men.

The fleet and army were on the eve of departing from Halifax, when information was received that the Brest fleet, consisting of 17 sail of the line, besides frigates, had arrived in the harbour of Louisburg. This intelligence suspended the preparations, and several councils of war were held. Opinions differed widely, and were maintained with considerable warmth.* However, it was at length resolved, that, as the place was so powerfully reinforced, and the season so far advanced, the enterprise should be deferred till a more favourable opportunity. Lord Loudon returned soon after to New York, taking with him the Highlanders and four other regiments. During his absence, the enemy had been most active. Montcalm, as soon as he heard of the expedition intended for Louisburg, collected all his disposable forces, including the Indians, and a large train of artillery, amounting in all to more than 8000 men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry, garrisoned by 3000 men, under the command of Colonel Munro. General Webb, with 4000 men, was stationed at Fort Edward, at the distance of six miles. The siege was conducted with vigour, and in six days after its commencement, Colonel Munro surrendered,

* At one of those councils, Lord Charles Hay, son of the Marquis of Tweeddale, a gallant and enterprising officer, so far lost his temper, as to openly accuse the commander-in-chief of designedly wasting, by his delay and inert movements, the great force placed by his country under his command; movements, as he said, dictated by timidity, and leading to the certain disgrace of our arms.

Lord Charles was put under arrest, and ordered home to be tried; but his death, occasioned, as was supposed, by anxiety of mind, prevented the intended court-martial.

on condition that his garrison should not serve for eighteen months. The garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and two field-pieces. As soon as they were without the gate, they were attacked by the Indians, who committed all sorts of outrages and barbarities; the French, as they said, being unable to restrain them.

Thus terminated this campaign in America, undistinguished by the acquisition of any object, or the performance of a single action which might compensate the loss of territory and the sacrifice of lives. With an inferior force, the enemy had been successful at every point, and, by the acquisition of Fort William Henry, had obtained complete command of the Lakes George and Champlain. The destruction of Oswego gave the dominion of those Lakes, which connect the St Lawrence with the Mississippi, and opened a direct communication from Canada; while, by the possession of Fort du Quesne, they obtained an ascendancy, which enabled them to preserve their alliance with the Indians. The misfortunes attending our arms in America were, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the state of the government at home, distracted by contending factions, and enfeebled by frequent revolutions of counsels and parties. So rapid and so great were frequently the changes of men and measures, that officers knew not how their services would be appreciated, and thus lost one of the most powerful incentives to action, in the apprehension, that the services performed agreeably to the instructions of one minister, might be disapproved of by his successor. Few opportunities of distinguishing themselves were thus offered to the troops, and, excepting the abortive expedition designed against Louisburg, the 42d regiment had no particular duty assigned them during this year.

By the addition of three new companies and the junction of 700 recruits, the corps was now augmented to upwards of 1300 men, all Highlanders, for at that period none else were admitted into the regiment. To the three additional companies the following officers were appointed; James

Murray, son of Lord George Murray, James Stewart of Urrard, and Thomas Stirling, son of Sir Henry Stirling of Ardoch, to be captains; Simon Blair, David Barklay, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Mackay, Alexander Menzies, and David Mills, to be lieutenants; Duncan Stewart, George Rattray, and Alexander Farquharson, to be ensigns: and the Reverend James Stewart to be assistant chaplain.

In the autumn of this year the command of the army again devolved on Lieutenant-General Abercromby, Lord Loudon having been recalled.

The campaign of 1758 opened with brighter prospects. By a change in the Cabinet of the mother country, new spirit was infused into her councils, and the stimulus of popular favour imparted energy and alacrity to the schemes of the new ministers. The command was transferred to new officers, in whom confidence was reposed, and who, relying on the due appreciation of their conduct, undertook, with energy, every enterprise which was proposed to them. A great naval armament, and a military force of 52,000 men, of whom 22,200 were regulars, perfectly fitted for action, afforded the best hopes of a vigorous and successful campaign, and, in the present more favourable expectations, people were willing to forget the delays, disappointments, and disasters, to which they had, for the last three years, been accustomed.

Admiral Boscawen was appointed to command the fleet, and Major-General Amherst, and Brigadier-Generals Wolfe, Townsend, and Murray, were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were proposed for this year. The first was designed to renew the attempt upon Louisburg; the second was to be directed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third against Fort du Quesne, a position from which the French, in conjunction with their Indian allies, had been in the habit of making incursions into the neighbouring state.

The expedition against Ticonderoga was undertaken by

General Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief. The force allotted for the purpose amounted to 15,390 men, consisting of the 27th, 44th, 46th, 55th, Lord John Murray's Highlanders, and the 1st and 4th battalions of the 60th; in all 6337 of the line, with 9024 provincials, and a respectable train of artillery.

Ticonderoga, situated on a point of land between Lake Champlain and Lake George, is surrounded on three sides with water, and on one half of the fourth by a morass. The remaining part was strongly fortified with high entrenchments, supported and flanked by three batteries, and the whole front of that part which was accessible intersected by deep traverses, and blocked up with felled trees, with their branches turned outwards, and their points first sharpened, and then hardened by fire; forming altogether a most formidable defence. The troops were embarked in boats on Lake George, and landing without opposition, were formed into two parallel columns. In this order they marched, on the 6th of July, to the enemy's advanced post, which was abandoned without a shot. The march was continued in the same order, but the ground not having been previously examined, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the columns came in contact, and were thrown into confusion. A detachment of the enemy, which had got bewildered in the wood, fell in with the right column, at the head of which was Lord Howe. A smart skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were driven back and scattered, with considerable loss. This petty advantage was dearly purchased by the death of Lord Howe, who was killed in the beginning of the skirmish, and who was deeply and universally regretted, as a young nobleman of the most promising talents. "He had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observance of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address." He was indeed the life and soul of the expedition, and his death threw a damp over all.

General Abercromby, perceiving that the men were fa-

tigued, ordered them to march back to the landing-place, which they reached about eight o'clock in the evening. Next morning he again advanced to the attack, his operations being hastened by information obtained from the prisoners, that General Levi, with 3000 men, was advancing to succour Ticonderoga. The garrison already consisted of 5000 men, of whom, according to the French account, 2800 were French troops of the line, stationed behind the traverses and felled trees in front of the fort. Alarmed at the report of this unexpected reinforcement, the General determined to strike a decisive blow before a junction could be effected. He, therefore, ordered the engineer to reconnoitre the state of the entrenchments; and report being made that these were still unfinished, and might be attempted with a prospect of success, the necessary dispositions for the attack were immediately formed. The picquets were to commence the assault, and to be followed by the grenadiers, supported by the battalions and reserve. The reserve was composed of the Highlanders, and the 55th regiment, which had been Lord Howe's. When the troops marched up to the entrenchments, they were surprised to find a regularly fortified breast-work, which, with its formidable chevaux-de-frize (defended by so strong a force in its rear), could not be approached without the greatest exertions, particularly as the artillery had not yet been brought up. Unexpected and disheartening as these obstructions were, the troops displayed the greatest resolution, though exposed to a most destructive fire, from an enemy well covered, and enabled to take deliberate aim, with little danger to themselves. The Highlanders, impatient at being left in the rear, could not be restrained, and rushing forward from the reserve, were soon in the front, endeavouring to cut their way through the trees with their broadswords. These weapons were here particularly useful; indeed, without them, no man could have pierced through this species of defence. Much time was lost in this preliminary operation, and many men had fallen from the fire of the strong body who manned the

trenches in rear of the trees, and who retreated within the fort when the assailants penetrated the exterior defences. This destructive fire from the fort was continued with great effect. No ladders had been provided for scaling the breast-work. The soldiers were obliged to climb up on each other's shoulders, and, by fixing their feet in the holes which they had made with their swords and bayonets in the face of the work, while the defenders were so well prepared that the instant a man reached the top, he was thrown down. At length, after great exertions, Captain John Campbell, * with a few men, forced their way over the breast-work, but were instantly dispatched with the bayonet. After persevering for four hours under such disadvantageous and disheartening circumstances, the General, despairing of success, gave orders for a retreat; but the soldiers had become so exasperated by the unexpected check which they had received, and the loss of so many of their comrades, that they could with difficulty be recalled. The Highlanders in particular were so obstinate, that it was not till after the third order from the General that the commanding officer, Colonel Grant, was able to prevail upon them to retreat, leaving on the field more than one-half of the men, and two-thirds of the officers, either killed or desperately wounded.

This impetuosity of Highland soldiers, and the difficulty of controlling them, in the most important part of a soldier's duty, has been frequently noticed and reprobated. To forget necessary discretion, and break loose from command, is certainly an unmilitary characteristic; but, as it proceeds from a very honourable principle, it deserves serious consideration, how far any attempt to allay this ardour may be prudent, or advantageous to the service. An officer of judgment and feeling, acquainted with the character of his soldiers, and disposed to allow this chivalrous spirit full

* This officer has been already mentioned as one of the two soldiers presented to George II. in the year 1743.

play, will never be at a loss for a sufficient check. It is easier to restrain than to animate. It has also been observed, that the modern Highland corps display less of that chivalrous spirit which marked the earlier corps from the mountains. If there be any good ground for this observation, it may probably be attributed to this, that these corps do not consist wholly of native Highlanders. If strangers are introduced among them, even admitting them to be the best of soldiers, still they are not Highlanders. The charm is broken,—the conduct of such a corps must be divided, and cannot be called purely national. The motive which made the Highlanders, when united, fight for the honour of their name, their clan, and district, is by this mixture lost. Officers, also, who are strangers to their language, habits, and peculiar modes of thinking, cannot be expected to understand their character, their feelings, and their prejudices, which, under judicious management, have so frequently stimulated to honourable conduct, although they have sometimes served to excite the ridicule of those who knew not the dispositions and cast of character on which they were founded. But if Highland soldiers are judiciously commanded in quarters, treated with kindness and confidence by their officers, and led into action with spirit, it cannot on any good grounds be alleged that there is any deficiency of that firmness and courage which formerly distinguished them, although it may be readily allowed that much of the romance of the character is lowered. The change of manners in their native country will sufficiently account for this.* But, even if their former sentiments

* The recent statistical changes in the Highlands have set to flight poetry, chivalry, and all remembrance of warlike achievements. These have now given way to stories of squabbles with excise officers, the feats of smugglers, or the adroitness of speculators and bankrupts, seasoned by the cant of pretended inspirations of the gospel; by political and religious tracts, of which they do not comprehend the scope or object; by complaints of the harshness of landlords, and discussions on the legality of distraining for rent, or *rouping out*. These are the subjects which modern civilization and improvement have provided for

and ancient habits had still been cherished in their native glens, the young soldier could not easily retain them, if mixed with other soldiers, strangers to his language, his country, poetry, traditions of battles and of acts of prowess. These companions would be more disposed to jeer and deride, than to listen to what they did not understand.

In the earlier part of the service of the 42d regiment, and when the ancient habits of the people remained unchanged, the soldiers retained much of these habits in their camps and quarters. They had their bards for reciting ancient poems and tales, and composing laments, elegies, and panegyrics on departed friends. These, as they were generally appropriate, so they were highly useful, when none were present to hear them but those who understood them, and whom they could warm and inspire. Another cause has contributed to change the character of the Highland soldier. This is the reserved, haughty, and distant etiquette of modern manners and military discipline. When many of the officers were natives of the mountains, they spoke in their own language to the men, who, in their turn, addressed the officers with that easy but respectful familiarity and confidence which subsisted between the Highland people and their superiors. Another privilege of a Highlander of the old school, was that of remonstrating and counselling where the case seemed to him to require it. * It frequently

the present generation of Highland soldiers, and in which they are to form their education, their habits, and a military, chivalrous spirit.

* In my time, much of that which I have here described had disappeared. The men had acquired new habits from their being in camps and barracks. However, many old soldiers still retained their original manners, exhibiting much freedom and ease in their communications with the officers. I joined the regiment in 1789, a very young soldier. Colonel Graham, the commanding officer, gave me a steady old soldier, named William Fraser, as my servant,—perhaps as my adviser and director. I know not that he had received any instructions on that point, but Colonel Graham himself could not have been more frequent and attentive in his remonstrances, and cautious with regard to my conduct and duty, than my old soldier was, when he thought he had cause to disapprove. These admonitions he always gave me in Gaelic,

happened, also, that they would become sureties, on their own responsibility, for the good conduct of one another; and, as responsibility implies regularity of conduct and respectability of character, these suretyships had the most beneficial influence on the men. But things are now managed differently. The Highland soldier is brave, and will always prove so, if properly commanded; but the chivalry of the character has almost disappeared, and officers may now entertain less dread that their men will disobey orders, and persevere in a disastrous and hopeless conflict. But their character must be acted upon by some powerful cause indeed, unless they continue to be, what they have always been, and what they proved themselves to be at Ticonderoga,—first in the attack, and last in the retreat, which, after all, was made deliberately, and in good order.

The enemy appeared to be so well satisfied with the defence which they had made, that they kept within their lines, without attempting either to pursue or to annoy the wounded, who were all carried away. These amounted to 65 officers, 1178 non-commissioned officers and soldiers: 23 officers, and 567 rank and file, were killed. Of these the 42d regiment had 8 officers, 9 serjeants, and 297 men, killed; and 17 officers, 10 serjeants, and 306 soldiers, wounded. The officers were, Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquharson,*

calling me by my Christian name, with an allusion to the colour of my hair, which was fair, or *bane*, never prefixing *Mr* or *Ensign*, except when he spoke in English. However contrary to the common rules, and however it might surprise those unaccustomed to the manners of the people, to hear a soldier or a servant calling his master simply by his name, my honest old monitor was one of the most respectful, as he was one of the most faithful, of servants.

* One of the lieutenants killed that day was remarked for great firmness of character and good sense. Yet he could not shake off a presentiment that seized him the morning of the action that he would be killed. He gave some directions about his family affairs to Captain Stewart of Urrard and Lieutenant Farquharson. Captain Stewart endeavoured to remove this impression; but when he found that his arguments had no effect, he recommended

Hugh M'Pherson, William Baillie, and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart, brother of Bonskied, and George Rattray—killed: Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray, (afterwards General;) Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant—wounded.

Severe as their loss was on this occasion, the regiment had the greatest gratification that soldiers could receive in such cases—the approbation of their country. No encomiums could be stronger than those bestowed on their conduct in that affair. The periodical publications of the time are full of anecdotes and panegyrics of the corps. I select, from a great number, the two following letters. The first is from an officer of the 55th, or Lord Howe's regiment: "With a mixture of esteem, grief, and envy, I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions, breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us."* The next is an extract of a letter from an officer

to him to exchange his turn of duty; to which he answered, "I know you are my friend, otherwise I would consider your proposal an insult." He marched at the head of the grenadier company, and was shot through the breast by the first discharge.

* St James's Chronicle.

(Lieutenant William Grant) of the old Highland regiment,† not so enthusiastic as that of the English officer, but containing apparently a candid detail of circumstances: "The attack began a little past one in the afternoon, and, about two, the fire became general on both sides, which was exceedingly heavy, and without any intermission, insomuch, that the oldest soldier present never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The affair at Fontenoy was nothing to it: I saw both. We laboured under insurmountable difficulties. The enemy's breastwork was about nine or ten feet high, upon the top of which they had plenty of wall-pieces fixed, and which was well lined in the inside with small arms. But the difficult access to their lines was what gave them a fatal advantage over us. They took care to cut down monstrous large oak trees, which covered all the ground from the foot of their breastwork about the distance of a cannon shot every way in their front. This not only broke our ranks, and made it impossible for us to keep our order, but put it entirely out of our power to advance till we cut our way through. I have seen men behave with courage and resolution before now, but so much determined bravery can be hardly equalled in any part of the history of ancient Rome. Even those that were mortally wounded cried aloud to their companions, not to mind or lose a thought upon them, but to follow their officers, and to mind the honour of their country. Nay, their ardour was such, that it was difficult to bring them off. They paid dearly for their intrepidity. The remains of the regiment had the honour to cover the retreat of the army, and brought off the wounded as we did at Fontenoy. When shall we have so fine a regiment again? I hope we shall be allowed to recruit." This hope was soon realized; for at this time letters of service were issued for adding a second battalion, and an order to make the regiment Royal, "as a testimony of his

† By this name the original Highland corps was now called, in contradistinction to those raised in the Seven Years' War.

Majesty's satisfaction and approbation of the extraordinary courage, loyalty, and exemplary conduct of the Highland regiment." This mark of approbation was the more gratifying, as it was conferred before the conduct of the corps at Ticonderoga was known in England; for, if their previous conduct was considered worthy of approval, their gallantry at Ticonderoga would have given an additional claim.

The vacancies occasioned in the 42d by the deaths at Ticonderoga were filled up in regular succession. The second battalion was to be formed of the three additional companies raised the preceding year, and of seven companies to be immediately recruited. These were completed in three months, and embodied at Perth in October 1758, each company being 120 men strong, all Highlanders, with a few exceptions,* and hardy and temperate in their habits. The seven companies formed a battalion of 840 men, the other three companies having previously embarked for America to reinforce the first battalion.

The officers appointed to the seven additional companies were, Francis M'Lean, Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray, son of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbuthnot, to be captains; Alexander M'Lean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John M'Intosh, James M'Duff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William M'Lean, and Willam Brown, to be ensigns.

* Eighteen Irishmen were enlisted at Glasgow by two officers anxious to obtain commissions. Lord John Murray's orders were peremptory, that none but Highlanders should be taken. It happened in this case that several of the men were O'Donnels, O'Lachlans, O'Briens, &c. The O was changed to Mac; and they passed muster as true Macdonnels, Maclachlans, and Macbriars, without being questioned.

So much was the General disconcerted by his disaster at Ticonderoga, that he immediately embarked his army, and sailed across Lake George to his former camp. Yet, unfortunate as the result of that affair was, the nation was highly satisfied with the conduct of the army; and the regret occasioned by the loss of so many valuable lives was alleviated by the hope, that an enterprise, so gallantly though unsuccessfully conducted, offered a fair presage of future success and glory.

The old Highland regiment having suffered so severely, and the second battalion being ordered on another service, (to the West Indies), they were not employed again this year. But as it is part of my plan to give a detailed narrative of the military service of all corps raised in the Highlands; with a view to preserve an uniformity in combined operations, I shall now trace the movements of an expedition against Louisburg, in which Fraser's Highlanders * were employed, and then follow those of the expedition against Fort du Quesne, under Brigadier-General Forbes, with Montgomery's Highlanders. †

For the first of these enterprises a formidable armament sailed from Halifax on the 28th May, under the command of Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, and Brigadier-Generals Wolfe, Lawrence, Monckton, and Whitmore. This armament, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, eighteen frigates, and a number of bomb and fire-ships, with the Royals, 15th, 17th, 22d, 28th, 35th, 40th, 45th, 47th, 58th, the 2d and 3d battalions of the 60th, 78th Highlanders, and New England Rangers—in all, 13,094 men, anchored on the 2d of June in Garbarus Bay, seven miles from Louisburg. This garrison was defended by the Chevalier Ducour, with 2500 regulars, 600 militia, and 400 Canadians and Indians. Six ships of the line and five frigates protected the harbour, at the mouth of

* See article Fraser's Highlanders, 2d vol.

† See article Montgomery's Highlanders, 2d vol.

which three of the frigates were sunk. The fleet was six days on the coast before a landing could be attempted; a heavy surf continually rolling with such violence, that no boat could approach the shore. On the accessible parts of the coast, a chain of posts had been established, extending more than seven miles along the beach, with entrenchments and batteries. On the 8th of June, when the violence of the surf had somewhat abated, a landing was effected.

The troops were disposed for landing in three divisions. That on the left, which was destined for the real attack, was commanded by Brigadier-General Wolfe. It was composed of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and Fraser's Highlanders. The landing place was occupied by 2000 men, entrenched behind a battery of eight pieces of cannon and ten swivels. Reserving their fire till the boats were near the beach, the enemy opened a discharge of cannon and musquetry. The surf aided their fire. Many of the boats were upset or dashed to pieces on the rocks, and numbers of the men were killed or drowned before they could reach the land. At this time Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert of the Highlanders, Lieutenant Nicholson of Amherst's, and thirty-eight men, were killed. "But nothing could stop our troops when headed by such a general (Wolfe). Some of the light infantry and Highlanders got first ashore, and drove all before them. The rest followed; and, being encouraged by the example of their heroic commander, soon pursued the enemy to the distance of two miles, when they were checked by a canonnading from the town."

For a few days offensive operations proceeded very slowly. The continued violence of the weather retarded the landing of the stores and provisions, and the nature of the ground, in some places very rocky, and in others a morass, presented many serious obstacles. These difficulties, however, yielded to the perseverance and exertions of the troops. The first operation was to secure a point called the Light House Battery, from which the guns could play on the

ships and on the batteries on the opposite side of the harbour. On the 12th, General Wolfe performed this service with his usual vigour and activity; and "with his Highlanders and flankers," took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter, with very trifling loss. On the 25th, the fire from this post silenced the island battery immediately opposite. An incessant fire was, however, kept up from the other batteries and shipping of the enemy. On the 9th of July, the enemy made a sortie on Brigadier-General Lawrence's brigade, but were quickly repulsed. In this skirmish fell Captain the Earl of Dundonald. On the 16th, Brigadier-General Wolfe pushed forward some grenadiers and Highlanders, and took possession of the hills in front of the battery, where a lodgement was made, under a fire from the town and the ships. On the 21st, one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships caught fire and blew up, communicating the fire to two others, which burned to the water's edge. This loss nearly decided the fate of the town. The enemy's fire was almost totally silenced, and their fortifications were shattered to the ground. To effect the possession of the harbour, one decisive blow remained yet to be struck. For this purpose, the admiral sent a detachment of 600 seamen in boats, to take or burn the two ships of the line which remained, determining, if the attempt should succeed, to send in some of the large ships to batter the town on the side of the harbour. This enterprise was gallantly executed by the Captains Laforey and Balfour, who towed off one of the ships, and set the other on fire in the place where she grounded. The town surrendered on the 26th July, and on the 27th Colonel Lord Rollo marched in and took possession: the garrison and seamen, amounting to 5637 men, were made prisoners of war. Thus, with the expense of 12 officers, 3 sergeants, and 150 soldiers killed, and 25 officers, 4 sergeants, and 325 soldiers wounded, the British obtained possession of Cape Breton and the strong town of Louisburg, and destroyed a powerful fleet. Except the Earl of Dundonald, no officer of rank was kil-

led. The Highlanders lost Captain Baillie, and Lieutenants Cuthbert, Fraser, and Murray, killed; Captain Donald M'Donald, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell (Barcaldine) and John M'Donald, wounded; and 67 rank and file killed and wounded.

The news of this conquest diffused a general joy over Britain. Eleven pair of colours were, by his Majesty's orders, carried in full procession, escorted by the horse and foot guards, from Kensington Palace to St Paul's, and there deposited under a discharge of cannon; and addresses of congratulation were sent to the King by a number of towns and corporations.

The third great enterprise of the year 1758 was that undertaken by Brigadier-General Forbes against Fort du Quesne. The prodigious extent of country which he had to traverse, through woods without roads, and over mountains and morasses almost impassable, rendered this expedition no less difficult than the other two, although the point of attack was less formidable, and the number of the enemy inferior. His army consisted of Montgomery's Highlanders, 1284 strong, 554 of the Royal Americans, and 4400 Provincials; in all, 6238 men.

In July the Brigadier marched from Philadelphia; and, after surmounting many difficulties, in the month of September he reached Raystown, ninety miles distant from Du Quesne. Thence he sent forward Colonel Bouquet, with 2000 men, to Loyal Henning, fifty miles in advance, whence this officer despatched Major James Grant * of Montgomery's, with 400 Highlanders and 500 Provincials, to reconnoitre Fort du Quesne, distant about forty miles. If Colonel Bouquet endangered this detachment by sending forward a small force so far beyond the possibility of support from the main body, the conduct of Major Grant did not lessen the risk. When near the garrison, he advanced with pipes playing and drums beating, as if he had been

* Afterwards General Grant of Ballindalloch.

going to enter a friendly town. The enemy did not wait to be attacked. Alarmed at this noisy advance, they marched out to meet the assailants, when a desperate conflict ensued. Major Grant ordered his men to throw off their coats, and advance sword in hand. The enemy fled on the first charge, and rushed into the woods, where they spread themselves; but, being afterwards joined by a body of Indians, they rallied, and surrounded the detachment on all sides. Being themselves concealed by a thick foliage, their heavy and destructive fire could not be returned with any effect. Major Grant was taken in an attempt to force into the wood, where he observed the thickest of the fire. On losing their commander, and seeing so many officers killed and wounded, the troops dispersed. About 150 of the Highlanders got back to Loyal Henning.

Major Grant was taken prisoner, and 231 soldiers of his regiment were killed and wounded. Captains Monro and M'Donald, and Lieutenants Alexander M'Kenzie, Colin Campbell, William M'Kenzie, Alexander M'Donald, and Roderick M'Kenzie, were killed; and Captain Hugh M'Kenzie, Lieutenants Alexander M'Donald junior, Archibald Robertson, Henry Monro, and Ensigns John M'Donald and Alexander Grant, wounded. This check, however, did not dispirit General Forbes, who pushed forward with expedition. The enemy, intimidated by his approach, retired from Fort du Quesne, leaving ammunition, stores, and provisions untouched. * The Fort was taken possession of on the 24th of November, and its name changed to Pittsburg. An alliance was formed with the Indians, who, now beginning to think that the English were the stronger party, renounced their connection with the French, and became as active in aiding the English as they had formerly been in opposing them.

* Major Grant's attack, though unfortunate, must have been made with great effect, as it so much dispirited the enemy as to induce them to retire without an attempt to defend the garrison. Their loss is said to have been severe, but the number has not been stated.

The General returned soon afterwards to Philadelphia, where he died, universally lamented and respected as one of the most accomplished and ablest officers then in America. †

Notwithstanding the disaster at Ticonderoga, and the defeat of Major Grant's detachment, the superiority of the campaign was evidently on the side of Britain. The military character of the nation, which had suffered so much from the events of the preceding campaign, was restored; and our possession of Louisburg, St John's, Frontiniac, and Du Quesne, deprived the enemy of their principal defences, and laying their colonies open, accelerated the success of the vigorous measures which were pursued in the following campaign.

Before detailing the services of the 1st battalion of the 42d regiment during this year, which, indeed, were more fatiguing than brilliant, I return to the 2d battalion, or rather the seven new companies raised and added to the regiment. In August 1758, the officers received their recruiting instructions, and in the month of October following, 840 men were embodied at Perth, 200 of whom were immediately marched to Greenock, where they embarked for the West Indies, under the convoy of the Ludlow Castle, and joined an armament lying in Carlisle Bay, ready for an attack on Martinique and Guadaloupe. Being delayed for want of transports, the other division of the battalion did not join

† General Forbes was the son of Colonel Forbes of Pittencrief, in the county of Fife. He served in the Scotch Greys as cornet, and rose in rank till he commanded the regiment. He was subsequently appointed colonel of the 71st foot. In the German war he was on the staff of Field-Marshal Lord Stair, General Ligonier, and General Sir James Campbell of Lawers. Latterly he was Quartermaster-General to the army in Flanders, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, when he was ordered to America; "where, by a steady pursuit of well-concerted measures, he, in defiance of disease and numberless obstructions, brought to a happy issue a remarkable expedition, and made his own life a willing sacrifice to what he valued more—the interest of his King and country."—*Westminster Journal.*

the armament till after it had left Barbadoes, and was about to disembark at Martinique. The troops employed in this expedition were, the Old Buffs, King's, 6th, 63d, 64th, seven companies of the Royal Highlanders, 800 Marines, and a detachment of Artillery, amounting in all to 5560 men, under the command of Major-Generals Hopson and Barrington, and of Brigadier-Generals Haldane, Armiger, Trapaud, and Clavering.

On the 13th January 1759, they sailed from Barbadoes, under convoy of the fleet commanded by Commodore Moore, and appeared off Martinique on the morning of the 15th. On the 16th three line-of-battle ships were ordered to anchor opposite to Fort Negro, the guns of which they soon silenced; and in the afternoon a detachment of seamen and marines were landed without opposition, and kept their ground during the night, without being disturbed by the enemy. Next morning the whole were landed at Cas de Navire, as if going to exercise, no enemy being then in sight. At 10 o'clock, the Grenadiers, the 4th or King's regiment, and the Highlanders, moved forward, and soon fell in with parties of the enemy, with whom they kept up an irregular fire, the former retreating as the latter advanced, till a party of the Grenadiers and Highlanders got within a little distance of Morne Tortueson, an eminence behind Fort Royal, and the most important post in the island. Whilst they were waiting in this position till the rest of the army came up, the advanced parties continued skirmishing with the enemy, during which it was said of the Highlanders, "that, although debarred the use of arms in their own country, they showed themselves good marksmen, and had not forgot how to handle their arms." In the mean time, General Hopson finding, from the ruggedness of the ground, intersected by deep ravines and rocks, that he could not get up his guns without great labour, determined to relinquish the attempt, and gave orders to re-embark without day. The loss in this abortive expedition was, Captain Dalmahoy, of the Grenadiers of the 4th foot, killed; Captain Campbell,

of the same regiment, and Lieutenant Leslie, of the Royal Highlanders, wounded, and 60 privates killed and wounded.

After the whole army had embarked, a council of war was held, when it was proposed to attack St Pierre, which being an open town, defended by only a few small batteries on a point of land in the neighbourhood, could not be expected to make any serious resistance. To this plan it was objected, that the ships might be disabled, and the troops so much diminished by losses, as not to be able to proceed to any farther service. This opinion prevailed, and Guadaloupe being of equal importance, it was resolved to proceed to the conquest of that island. There might be very good grounds for this preference, although it does not appear how any service of this nature can be accomplished, without running a risk of disabling and diminishing the arms employed. In a political point of view, Martinique was of more importance than Guadaloupe, as, from its spacious and safe harbour, it was the usual rendezvous of the French fleets, although, as a sugar plantation, it is inferior. Accordingly, on the 29th of January, the line-of-battle ships ranged themselves in a line with the town of Basseterre in Guadaloupe, and at 9 in the morning commenced a furious attack on the town and batteries, which was returned and kept up on both sides, with great spirit, for many hours. About 5 o'clock in the evening, the fire of the citadel slackened, and at 10 many parts of the town were in a blaze. The Rippon of 74 guns having run aground, and being observed by the enemy while in that state, they brought all their guns to bear upon her, the other ships being unable to afford her assistance. Captain Leslie of the Bristol coming in from sea, and seeing her in this perilous situation, gallantly dashed in between her and the batteries, and poured in his broadsides with such effect, as to silence their fire, and enable the Rippon to get off with the tide. It was observed as a remarkable circumstance in this engagement, that, although the Burford had all her cables shot away, her

rigging cut and destroyed, and several guns upset, and was at last driven out to sea almost a wreck, there was not a man killed on board.

Next morning (January the 24th) the troops landed without opposition, and after taking possession of the town and citadel, encamped in the neighbourhood. For a few days nothing took place except the establishment of some small posts on the hills nearest the town. On one of these, Major (afterwards General) Melville took up a position opposite to some entrenchments, thrown up by Madame Ducharmey. This heroine, instead of taking shelter in the inaccessible parts of the woods, as the governor and many of the principal inhabitants had done, armed her negroes, and kept our outposts in constant alarm; and, notwithstanding Major Melville's characteristic vigilance and activity, she so frequently annoyed him, that it was at last determined to attack her entrenchments in due form. These were defended with a spirit that did great honour to this Amazon and her garrison, several ladies of which were taken prisoners. The commandress, however, made her escape, ten of her garrison having been killed and many wounded. Of the assailants twelve were slain and thirty wounded; among the latter were "Lieutenants Farrel of Armiger's or the 40th, and M'Lean of the Highlanders, both of whom distinguished themselves on this occasion. Mr M'Lean lost an arm."* In this manner each party continued skirmishing and harassing the other;—certainly the best manner of defence that could have been adopted by an inferior force in a destructive climate, and a difficult country.

On the 13th of February, a detachment of Highlanders

* It would appear that this very noisy and unpolite intrusion on a lady's quarters did not injure Lieutenant M'Lean in the esteem of the ladies of Guadaloupe; for we find, that, although he got leave from General Barrington to return home for the cure of his arm, he refused to quit his regiment, and remained at his duty. "He was particularly noticed by the French ladies for his gallantry and spirit, and the manner he *wore his plaid and regimental garb.*"

and Marines was landed in Grandeterre, in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis, the ships clearing the beach with their guns, as the boats approached the shore; after which, "a party of Marines and Highlanders drove the enemy from his entrenchments, and taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours."

General Hopson having died on the 27th, the command of the troops devolved on General Barrington. But disease had made such ravages, that 1800 men were either dead or in hospital. The new commander, anxious to complete, with all possible dispatch, the reduction of the colony, and to meet the enemy in their own manner of fighting, embarked his troops with an intention of removing the war to Grandeterre and Capesterre, leaving Colonel Debrisay with one regiment, in the citadel of Basseterre. Owing to currents and contrary winds, the transports were some days in reaching Grandeterre. Here the commodore being informed of the arrival of a French fleet with troops at Martinique, sailed to Prince Rupert's Bay in Dominique, to be ready to oppose them if they attempted to succour Guadaloupe. General Barrington having established himself in Grandeterre, ordered Colonel Crump, with 600 men, to attack the towns of St Anne's and St Francis. This was executed next morning at sunrise, with great spirit. Notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from their entrenchments and batteries, both towns were carried with little loss, Ensign M'Lean of the Highlanders being the only officer who fell in this assault. On the following day, Colonel Crump pushing forward, drove the enemy from another position, where they had erected three twenty-four pounders. The general then formed a design to surprise Petit Bourg, St Mary's, and Gouyave, on the Capesterre side, and committed the execution of this duty to the Brigadiers Clavering and Crump. But, owing to the darkness of a tempestuous night, and the terror and ignorance of the negro guides, the attempt failed. The general was now obliged to do that by force, which he could not accomplish by

easier means, and directed the same commanders to land near the town of Arnonville. The enemy, without opposing the landing, retreated to a strong position on the banks of the Licorn. This river, rendered inaccessible, except at two narrow passes, by a morass covered with mangroves, was fortified by a redoubt and entrenchment, well palisadoed and mounted with cannon, the narrow paths being intersected with wide and deep traverses. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the commanders determined to hazard an assault, and began the attack with a fire from their field-pieces and howitzers on the entrenchments, under cover of which the regiment of Duroure (the 38th) and the Royal Highlanders pushed forward. The enemy beginning to waver as they advanced, the "Highlanders drew their swords, and, supported by a part of the other regiment, rushed forward with their characteristic impetuosity, and followed the enemy into the redoubt, of which they took possession." *

The enemy, in the mean time, taking advantage of the removal of the troops from the quarters of Basseterre, made several attempts on the small garrison left there under Colonel Debrisay. In these attacks they were uniformly repulsed. Colonel Debrisay was unfortunately killed by the explosion of a powder magazine, and was succeeded in the command of Basseterre by Major Melville, who afterwards rendered such signal service to the West Indies, as governor-general of the ceded islands. On the other side of the island, Colonels Clavering and Crump did not relax their exertions. In a succession of skirmishes they forced the enemy from their strong holds, took upwards of fifty pieces of cannon, and obtained possession of all the batteries and towns on the sea-coast. At length the enemy were compelled to surrender, after a gallant defence, which was maintained from the 24th of January to the 1st of May, when the capitulation was signed.

* Letters from Guadaloupe.

On the evening of the same day, intelligence was received that the Governor of Martinique had landed on the opposite side of the island with a considerable force, for the relief of the colony; but on hearing of the surrender, he re-embarked and returned to Martinique. The loss of the British on this expedition was severe; but, in consequence of their continued fatigues and exposure, they suffered more by the climate than by the enemy. Of the officers 10 were killed, 21 wounded, and 20 died by the fever. Of the Royal Highlanders, Ensign M'Lean was killed, and Lieutenants M'Lean, Leslie, St Clair, and Robertson, were wounded; Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever; and 106 privates were killed, wounded, or died of disease. This expedition was a tolerably smart training for a young corps, who, nine months before, had been herding cattle and sheep on their native hills. *

* "By private accounts, it appears that the French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the '*Sauvages d'Ecosse;*' they believed that they would neither take nor give quarter, and that they were so nimble, that, as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them; that no man had a chance against their broad-swords; and that, with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child: and as they were always in the front of every action in which they were engaged, it is probable that these notions had no small influence on the nerves of the militia, and perhaps regulars of Guadaloupe." It was always believed by the enemy, that the Highlanders amounted to several thousands. This erroneous enumeration of a corps only 800 strong, was said to proceed from the frequency of their attacks and annoyance of the outposts of the enemy, who "saw men in the same garb who attacked them yesterday from one direction, again appear to-day to advance from another, and in this manner ever harassing their advanced position, so as to allow them no rest,"—*Letters from Guadaloupe.*

SECTION IV.

SECOND CAMPAIGN IN NORTH AMERICA.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 1759—*Niagara*, 1759—*Battle of the Heights of Abraham, and death of Wolfe*, 1759—*Battle of Quebec*, 1760—*Surrender of Montreal*—*Completion of the Conquest of Canada*, 1760.

THE Highlanders were embarked from Guadaloupe for North America, where they arrived early in July, and about the end of the same month, Major Gordon Graham was ordered by General Amherst, then at Crown Point, to take the command of the 2d battalion, and to march them up to Oswego, and afterwards to join either General Prideaux's expedition, or his own army, as circumstances might render necessary. After reaching head-quarters, the two battalions were combined, and served in conjunction during the latter period of this compaign, which comprehended three very important enterprises. Major-General Wolfe, who had given such promise of great military talents at Louisburg, was to attack Quebec from Lower Canada, while General Amherst, now Commander-in-chief, and successor of General Abercromby, should endeavour to form a communication, and co-operate with him through Upper Canada. General Prideaux was to proceed against Niagara, in order to prevent the enemy from giving any interruption to General Amherst's operations on that side, and endeavour to get possession of the strong and important post near the Falls. This great and comprehensive combination, had it been successful, would, in that campaign, have driven the enemy out of all their territories in North America. The army under the Commander-in-chief was first put in motion,

and consisted of the Royals, 17th, 27th, Royal Highlanders, 2 battalions 55th, Montgomery's Highlanders, nine battalions of Provincials, a battalion of light infantry, and a body of Rangers and Indians, with a detachment of artillery. When joined by the 2d battalion of the Royal Highlanders from the West Indies, this army amounted to 14,500 men. At Fort Edward, the point of rendezvous, the whole were assembled, on the 19th of June; and the 1st battalion of Royal Highlanders and light infantry of the army who, a few days before, had been detached in front under the command of Colonel Francis Grant of the 42d regiment, were ordered to strike their tents and move forward next day. The main body followed on the 21st, and encamped on Lake George, on the spot where General Abercromby had encamped the preceding year, previously to the attack of Ticonderoga. Considerable time was spent in making the necessary arrangements for attacking this formidable post, which the enemy seemed determined to defend, and which had already proved so disastrous to our troops. On seeing the English General ready to advance, however, the enemy, having set fire to the magazines and buildings, abandoned the fort, and retreated to Crown Point. The plan of the campaign, on the part of the enemy, seems to have been, to embarrass and retard the invading army, but not to hazard any considerable engagement, nor to allow themselves to be so completely invested as to make a retreat impracticable; and, in withdrawing from post to post, to make an appearance as if determined to defend each. By these means they hoped that the advance of the British would be so far retarded, that the season for action on the Lakes would pass away without any decisive advantage on the part of the invaders, whilst their own force would be gradually concentrating, so as to be enabled to arrest General Amherst in his progress down the St Lawrence to Montreal. With these views they abandoned Ticonderoga, which experience had shown to be so capable of making a good resistance.

But, although the General had reason to imagine that the

enemy would relinquish Crown Point in the same manner as Ticonderoga, yet he took measures as if he expected an obstinate defence, or an attempt to surprise him in his march, recollecting, no doubt, how fatal precipitation and false security had recently proved in that part of the world. Whilst he superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, he was also indefatigable in preparing batteaux and other vessels for conveying his troops, and obtaining the superiority on the Lakes. Intelligence having been received that the enemy had evacuated Crown Point, and had retired to the garrison of Isle aux Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, General Amherst moved forward and took possession of the garrison which the French had abandoned; and, to augment his disposable force, the 2d battalion of the Royal Highlanders was ordered up; Captain James Stewart, with 150 men, being left at Oswego. The General having, by great exertion, obtained a naval superiority, determined to embark on Lake Champlain, but a succession of storms compelled him to abandon the further prosecution of active movements, for the remainder of the season, and returning to Crown Point, the troops were put into winter quarters.

The great object of the enterprise had been to form a junction, and co-operate with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec. Though this plan was frustrated, very important advantages were derived, and a co-operation so far effected, as to prevent the enemy from sending a larger force to oppose General Wolfe in his more arduous undertaking. Before advancing towards Ticonderoga, General Amherst had detached General Prideaux with the 44th and 46th regiments, the 1st battalion of Royal Americans, and some provincial corps and Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson, to attack the fort of Niagara, a most important post, which secures a greater number of communications than any in America. The troops reached the place of their destination without opposition, and investing it in form, carried on the siege by regular approaches. In

a few days after the commencement of the siege, Prideaux was killed by the accidental bursting of a mortar, and the conduct of the operations devolved on Sir William Johnson, who had, on several occasions, given satisfactory proofs of ability. To relieve a post of such consequence, great efforts were made by the French, and a considerable body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Verango, and Presque-Isle. Apprized of their intention, Sir William Johnson made dispositions to intercept them on their march. In the evening, he ordered the Light infantry to post themselves on the left of the road leading to the fort, and reinforcing them the following morning with the Grenadiers and 46th regiment, under Colonel Eyre Massey, and with the 44th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, as a reserve, he ordered them to wait the approach of the enemy, who soon appeared in sight, and immediately attacked with great impetuosity. The Indians commenced with the war whoop, which had now lost its effect upon the British soldiers, and met with such a reception in front, while the Light infantry and Indians in the British service attacked them in flank, that, in little more than half an hour, their whole army was put to the rout, and M. D'Aubray the commander, with a number of officers, taken prisoners. This battle having been fought in sight of the French garrison, Johnson sent Major Harvey to the commanding officer with a flag of truce, and a list of seventeen officers taken. He immediately surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of 607 men, marched out with their baggage on the 24th of July, and were perfectly protected from insult, plunder, or outrage, from our Indian allies; the conduct of the British thus exhibiting a remarkable contrast to the treatment which our garrisons had, in similar circumstances, experienced, and refuting the vague pretence, that the excesses and cruelties of the Indians could not be restrained. This was the second victory Sir William Johnson had gained over the enemy, and on both occasions their commanders had fallen into his hands. Dur-

ing this war, Lord Clive and Sir William Johnson, both self-taught generals, evinced, in a series of successful actions, that genius, although uninstructed, will, by its native power, compensate the want of military experience and discipline. The services of the latter were particularly valuable, from the influence which his justice, honour, and conciliating manners, had acquired over the Indians. *

In this campaign General Amherst was successful in every enterprise which he undertook. † His progress, though slow, intimidated the enemy to such a degree, that, except at Niagara, they made little resistance; and the unimpaired strength of his army afforded the best prospect of success in his future operations. But, however important the reduction and possession of these posts might be, from the extent of the country which they commanded, they were exploits of easy accomplishment in comparison of the conquest of Quebec, the object to which all these operations were subordinate. That being considered as the main undertaking, it seems somewhat extraordinary, that, while General Amherst headed a force of 14,500 men, the division intended

* The services of Sir William Johnson were equally useful and important. On two occasions he had taken the commanders of the enemy whom he fought, and had materially crippled their power. As a reward for these services, he was raised to the rank of Major-General, and received a Parliamentary grant of L.5000, to which his Majesty added the title of Baronet. Throughout the war he proved himself an active and useful partisan, and displayed peculiar talents for that species of warfare which is best calculated for the woods and swamps of America. His strict integrity and conciliating manners gave him great influence over the Indians and provincial troops, whom he managed so as to render them exceedingly useful to the service. He was a native of Ireland, and had been early sent to America by his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, to manage an estate which he had purchased there.

† The following was the opinion of an Indian Sachem, of the state of affairs at the close of the campaign of 1759:

"The English, formerly women, are now turned men, and are thick all over the country as the trees in the woods. They have taken Niagara, Cataraque, Ticonderoga, Louisburg, and now lately Quebec, and they will soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, or drive them out of the country."

for the reduction of Quebec comprehended only the following regiments, 15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, Fraser's Highlanders, the Rangers, and the Grenadiers of Louisburg, in all not more than 7000 effective men. But the spirit, intrepidity, and firmness of the officers and soldiers, more than supplied the deficiency of numbers. This army, so small in comparison of the importance of the service expected, was fortunate in being placed under the command of Major-General Wolfe, who had borne so active a share in the conquest of Louisburg. He was well supported by the Brigadiers Monckton, Murray, and Townshend, (late Marquis Townshend), who executed his boldest and most desperate enterprises with that gallantry and promptitude which his own example was so well calculated to inspire.

Conformably to my intention of noticing the service of all the Highland corps in this war, I shall now give a few particulars of this expedition, in which Fraser's Highlanders served. A detail of the whole would lead me to a more extended narrative than my plan would admit of. The fleet under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, with the transports, reached the Island of Orleans in the end of June, when the troops were disembarked without opposition. The first attempt was to take possession of Point Levi, situated within cannon-shot of the city. For this service General Monckton, with four regiments, passed the river at night, and next morning advanced and took possession of the post, after driving in some of the enemy's regular troops, who skirmished with his advanced guard. Meanwhile, Colonel Carlton took possession of a post in the western point of Orleans. The difficulties of the enterprise were at this time fully ascertained. Co-operation was not to be expected from General Amherst, of whose movements no intelligence had been received. The enemy, more numerous by many thousands, were commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, an able, and hitherto fortunate leader, who posted his army on a piece of ground rendered strong by

precipices, woods, and rivers, and defended by entrenchments where the ground appeared the weakest. Apparently determined to risk nothing, and relying on the strength of his position, he waited for an opportunity to take advantage of his opponent: General Wolfe seemed fully sensible of the difficulties which he had to surmount, but they served only to inspire his active mind with fresh vigour. However arduous the undertaking, "he knew that a brave and victorious army finds no difficulties." * Perceiving the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect his batteries on the north of the St Lawrence, he used many military manœuvres and stratagems to draw his cautious adversary from his stronghold, and decide the contest by a battle. But Montcalm was not to be moved. General Wolfe, therefore, determined to cross the river Montmorency, and attack the enemy's entrenchments. Accordingly six companies of Grenadiers and part of the Royal Americans were ordered to cross the river, and land near the mouth of the Montmorency, while Generals Murray and Townshend were to land higher up. The Grenadiers were to attack a redoubt situated near the water's edge, in the hope that the enemy would make an effort in its defence, and thus bring on the engagement so much desired. The possession of the place was likewise a desirable object, as it would enable the English General to obtain a full view of the French position. The Grenadiers, who first landed, had orders not to attack till the first brigade was sufficiently near to support them. These orders were, however, disregarded. Rushing forward with impetuosity, before they were regularly formed, to attack the enemy's entrenchments, they were received with so steady and well-directed a fire, that they were thrown into confusion, and sustained considerable loss before they retreated. They were again formed behind the brigades, which advanced under General Wolfe, who, seeing the plan of attack totally disconcert-

* General Wolfe's Despatches.

ed, gave orders to repass the river, and return to the Isle of Orleans. The loss on this occasion was severe, being 549 of all ranks killed, wounded, and missing. The whole loss, after the landing of the army till the 2d of September, was 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 9 serjeants, and 160 rank and file, killed; and 4 field officers, 16 captains, 23 subalterns, 20 serjeants, and 570 rank and file, wounded. Of Fraser's Highlanders 18 rank and file were killed; Colonel Fraser, Captains M'Pherson and Simon Fraser, and Lieutenants Cameron of Gleneves, Ewan M'Donald, and H. M'Donald, and 85 rank and file, wounded. That General Wolfe keenly felt this disappointment, would appear from the tenor of the following general orders, which were issued on the morning after the attempt: "The check which the Grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson for them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, unsoldier-like proceedings destroy all order, make it impossible for the commanders to form any disposition for attack, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The Grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army; and, therefore, it was necessary that the corps under Brigadiers Monckton and Townshend should have time to join, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's (15th regiment) and the Highlanders alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to attack them."

It was thought advisable, after this check, that, in future, their efforts should be directed to a landing above the town; but as no opportunity offered of annoying the enemy from that quarter, a plan was formed, among a "choice of difficulties," for conveying the troops farther down, and landing them by night, in the hopes of being able to ascend the Heights of Abraham, and so gain possession of the ground on the back of the city, where the fortifications were weak-

est. These heights rise abruptly from the banks of the river, and, in a great measure, command the city from that quarter. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were particularly discouraging; but the season was considerably advanced, and it was necessary to attempt something, however desperate. The late check, though it had taught them caution, had in no degree damped the courage, or shaken the firmness of the troops. The ardour of the General was unabated, notwithstanding his great debility of body, occasioned by disappointment and agitation of mind on account of the last failure. On the 12th of September, about an hour after midnight, four regiments of infantry, with the Highlanders and Grenadiers, were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, under the command of Brigadier-Generals Murray and Monckton. General Wolfe accompanied them, and was among the first that landed. The rapidity of the stream carried some of the boats beyond the mark. Colonel Howe, who was first on shore with the Light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices, and dislodged a captain's guard, which defended a small entrenched narrow path, by which the rest of the forces could reach the summit. They then mounted without much farther molestation, and General Wolfe formed them as they arrived on the summit. Some time was necessarily occupied in the ascent, as the precipice was so steep, that the soldiers were obliged to scramble up by the aid of the rugged projections of the rocks, and the branches of the trees and shrubs growing on the clifts. By day-break the order of battle was formed. When Montcalm heard that the British were on the Heights of Abraham, he considered it merely as a feint to force him out of his stronghold. But he was soon convinced of the truth, and, comprehending the full force of the advantage gained, he saw that a battle was no longer to be avoided, and that upon the issue depended the fate of Quebec. He accordingly made the necessary preparations with judgment and

promptitude; and quitting the camp at Montmorency, moved forward to attack the English. His right and left wing were equally formed of regular and provincial corps, while his centre consisted of a column of Europeans, with two field-pieces. Some brushwood in his front and flanks he filled with Indians and marksmen, the rest of the Indians and Canadians extending to the right. The British front line was composed of the Grenadiers, 15th, 28th, 35th, Highlanders, and 58th. The left of the line was covered by the Light infantry, and the 47th regiment formed the reserve. The irregular fire of the Canadians and Indians was extremely galling to the English line, and was particularly directed against the officers, whose dress and conspicuous exertions exposed them the more to the enemy. The troops were ordered to reserve their fire till the main body of the enemy were within forty yards. At that distance the whole line poured in a general discharge of musketry. This was repeated, and completely checked the enemy in front. Foiled in this attempt, they immediately directed an attack on the left of the British line, where they were as warmly received, and as effectually checked. Unable any longer to withstand the continued and well-directed fire poured in upon them, they began to give way. At this critical moment General Wolfe was mortally wounded, having before received two wounds, which he had concealed. Nearly at the same time the Marquis de Montcalm, who had placed himself on the left of his line, immediately fronting our right, where General Wolfe stood, experienced the same fate. Soon afterwards the two seconds in command, Generals Monckton and Severergues, were respectively carried wounded from the field. These disasters, instead of discouraging, seemed only to animate the troops, and every separate corps appeared to exert itself for his own peculiar honour. Brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy, " when the Highlanders, taking to their broadswords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove

them back with great slaughter." * General Townshend, on whom the command had now devolved, hastened to the centre, where he found some confusion from the rapid pursuit. Scarcely had he reformed the line, when Monsieur de Bougainville appeared in rear, leading on 2000 fresh men, with whom he had marched from Cape Rouge the moment he heard of the landing at the Heights. Two regiments were immediately ordered against this body, which retired on their approach. The victory was now complete. The enemy retired to Quebec and Point Levi.

On the 12th of September the town surrendered. Of the enemy 1500 men were slain, the greatest part of which loss fell on the European troops, who made a most gallant stand. Their most irreparable loss was that of their brave and able commander. When this gallant officer was informed that his wound was mortal;—"So much the better," said he, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." On the side of the British the loss was also severe, not less from the number, than from the rank and character of those who fell. The death of the young commander was a national loss. Possessing by nature a heroic spirit and an extraordinary capacity, he was eager to acquire every species of military knowledge which study or actual service could bestow. "Brave, above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complaisant, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier. There was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and, had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and actions, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled, in reputation, the most celebrated captains of antiquity." As he lay on the field, he was told, "They fly." He opened his eyes, and asked, "Who are flying?" When answered it was the enemy, "Then," said he, "I die happy!" and he immediately expired.

* General Account.

The loss of the British consisted of 1 major-general, 1 captain, 7 subalterns, 3 serjeants, and 45 rank and file, killed; and 1 brigadier-general, 4 staff-officers, 12 captains, 26 subalterns, 25 serjeants, 4 drummers, and 406 rank and file, wounded. Of these the Highlanders had Captain Thomas Ross of Culrossie, Lieutenant Roderick Macneil of Barra, Alexander Macdonell, son of Barrisdale, 1 serjeant, and 14 rank and file, killed; and Captains John Macdonell of Lochgarry, Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, Lieutenants Macdonell, son of Keppoch, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, John Douglas, Alexander Fraser senior, and Ensigns James Mackenzie, Malcolm Fraser, Alexander Gregorson, 7 serjeants, and 131 rank and file, wounded.

The disproportion in the number of the killed to that of the wounded in this action is remarkable, and must be ascribed to the unsteady and distant fire of the enemy. In the affair of Ticonderoga, when the enemy were covered and sufficiently near to take a proper aim, the number killed of the Royal Highlanders was within a few of the number wounded; whereas, on this occasion, Fraser's Highlanders had more than nine men wounded for every one killed. On the Heights of Abraham, our army seems to have suffered from the want of sharpshooters, a species of force of which the proper use was not then fully understood. Whilst our line stood waiting the advance of the enemy, many were wounded by the straggling and bush-fire of the Canadians and Indians; but when our line opened their fire, and pushed forward, the enemy were soon thrown into confusion, and their fire afterwards had little effect.

The intelligence of this victory was received with great exultation in England; the more so, as the previous accounts transmitted, and the well-known difficulties of the undertaking, had given too much cause to doubt of the success of the enterprize. The official intelligence was followed by many private letters, communicating and explaining circumstances

which did not appear in the public despatches. Several of these private communications contained statements in commendation of the conduct of different corps, and among the rest of Fraser's Highlanders. By these it appears that they well supported the character which they had, the preceding year, gained at Louisburg.* In a letter from a general officer, it is remarked that "the Highlanders seem particularly calculated for this country and species of warfare, requiring great personal exertion: their patience, sober habits, and hardihood,—their bravery, their agility, and their dress, contribute to adapt them to this climate, and render them formidable to the enemy."

To conclude the events of this campaign, which ended in giving Britain the possession of the principal part of the richest, most populous, and most important colony of France, General Townshend entered Quebec, and soon af-

* Various anecdotes of this celebrated expedition, which has indeed afforded themes for many ballads and songs, were detailed in the newspapers of the time. In a publication of the day it is stated, that an old Highland gentleman of seventy years of age, who had accompanied Fraser's regiment as a volunteer, was particularly noticed for the dexterity and force with which he used his broadsword, when his regiment charged the enemy. On two occasions small parties of them were ordered to advance sword in hand, and drive the sharpshooters out of some brushwood on the right, from which they galled the line. This old man's conduct particularly attracted the notice of General Townshend, who sent for him after the engagement, and, praising his gallant behaviour, expressed surprise how he could leave his native country at such an advanced age, and follow the fortune of war. He was so struck with the old man's magnanimity, that he took him to England along with him, and introduced him to Mr Pitt. The minister presented him to the King, who was graciously pleased to give him a commission, with leave to return home on full pay. This gentleman was Malcolm Macpherson of Phoiness, in the county of Inverness. A long and ruinous lawsuit, and, as he himself said, a desire of being revenged on the French for their treacherous promises in 1745, made him take the field as a soldier. A near relation of his, Kenneth Macpherson, when well advanced in years, (for he had also joined the Rebellion in 1745,) acted nearly in a similar manner. In the year 1770 he formed the resolution of going to India, where he was appointed a cadet, and living to a great age, attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and died there in the year 1815, leaving a handsome fortune to his relations in Badenoch.

terwards embarked for England. The Honourable General James Murray, with 5000 men, was left to defend the town and the conquered country, which were then threatened by Monsieur Vandreuil, the Governor-General of Canada, with a force of nearly 14,000 men, stationed in Montreal and the neighbouring territory. General Murray was indefatigable in repairing the fortifications, and putting the town in the best possible state of defence; but, through the severity of the season, and a long subsistence on salt provisions, the troops had been so reduced by disease and scurvy, that in the month of April he had only 3000 effective men. In this state of things, intelligence was received that General de Levi, who succeeded Montcalm, had arrived at Point au Tremble, with 10,000 French and Canadians, and 500 Indians, and that his first object was to cut off the posts which the English had established in the neighbourhood. Upon this information, General Murray ordered the bridges to be broken down, and the landing-places to be secured and strengthened. He then marched out with a strong detachment, and took possession of an advanced position, which he retained till all the outposts were withdrawn, and returned to the town with little loss, although his rear was smartly pressed by the enemy. Sensible of the dangerous posture of his affairs, with a sickly and reduced garrison, amidst an unfriendly people, unprotected by works calculated for defence against an enemy so superior in numbers, and impatient of a protracted siege, the General took a resolution suited to his high spirit and ardent mind, and determined to try the event of a battle. Accordingly, he marched out, on the 28th of April, with his little army, and formed them on those heights which had witnessed their former success. The right wing, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the 15th, 48th, 58th, and second battalion of the 60th; the left, under Colonel Simon Fraser, was formed of the 43d, 47th, Welsh Fusileers, and the Highlanders; the 35th and third battalion 60th composing the reserve. Major Dalling, with a corps

of Light infantry, covered the right, and Captain Donald M'Donald of Fraser's the left. This order had scarce been completed, when the enemy was seen in full march. The General wishing to engage before they formed line from their columns, advanced to meet them, and sent forward the Light infantry, who immediately drove their advance back on their main body; but, having pursued too far, they were fiercely attacked and repulsed in their turn, and fell back with such confusion on the line, as to impede their fire. In passing round by the right flank to the rear, they suffered much by several vollies from a party of the enemy who were attempting to turn that flank. At the same moment a body having advanced on the line in front, made two bold attempts to charge; and, although repulsed, produced such an impression, that it became necessary to call up the 35th from the reserve. In the mean time, the enemy made several desperate attacks on the left wing, their superior numbers enabling them to attempt turning that flank in the same manner as the right. In this they so far succeeded, that they penetrated into two redoubts, but were driven out from both by the Highlanders sword in hand. The enemy, pushing forward fresh numbers, at last succeeded in forcing this flank to retire, the right wing giving way at the same time. Neglecting, or being unable to follow up this advantage, they allowed the English to retire quietly, and to carry away the wounded. These amounted to 82 officers, 679 non-commissioned officers and privates: 6 officers and 251 rank and file were killed. Of this number the Highlanders had Captain Donald Macdonald,* Lieutenant Cos-

* Captain Macdonald was an accomplished high-spirited officer. He was a second son of Clanranald. He entered early in life into the French service, and, following Prince Charles Edward to Scotland in 1745, he was taken prisoner, and, along with O'Neil, afterwards a lieutenant-general in the service of Spain, and commander of the expedition against Algiers in 1775, was confined in the Castle of Edinburgh; but, being liberated without trial, he returned to France, where he remained till 1756, when he came back to Scotland, and was appointed to a company in Fraser's Highlanders. On the expeditions against

mo Gordon, and 55 non-commissioned officers, pipers, and privates, killed; Colonel Fraser, Captains John Campbell of Dunoon, Alexander Fraser, Alexander Macleod, Charles Macdonnell, Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, Charles Stewart,* Hector Macdonald, John Macbean, Alexander Fraser senior, Alexander Campbell, John Nairn, Arthur Rose, Alexander Fraser junior, Simon Fraser senior, Archibald M'Alister, Alexander Fraser, John Chisholm, Simon Fraser junior, Malcolm Fraser, and Donald M'Neil, Ensigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Duncan Cameron (Fassafern), William Robertson, Alexander Gregorson, and Malcolm Fraser, and 129 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded.

General Levi, although he did not attempt an immediate pursuit, moved forward the same evening, and took up a position close to the town, upon which he opened a fire at five o'clock. A regular siege was now formed, and con-

Louisburg and Quebec, he was much in the confidence of Generals Amherst, Wolfe, and Murray, by whom he was employed on all duties where more than usual difficulty and danger was to be encountered, and where more than common talent, address, and spirited example, was required. Of this several instances occurred at Louisburg and Quebec,

* This officer engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, and was in Stewart of Appin's regiment, which had seventeen officers and gentlemen of the name of Stewart killed, and ten wounded, at Culloden. He was severely wounded on that occasion, as he was on this. As he lay in his quarters some days afterwards, speaking to some brother officers on the recent battles, he exclaimed, "From April battles, and Murray generals, good Lord deliver me!" alluding to his wound at Culloden, where the vanquished blamed Lord George Murray, the commander-in-chief of the rebel army, for fighting on the best field in the country for regular troops, artillery, and cavalry; and likewise alluding to his present wound, and to General Murray's conduct in marching out of a garrison to attack an enemy, more than treble his numbers, in an open field, where their whole strength could be brought to act. One of those story-retailers who are sometimes about head-quarters, lost no time in communicating this disrespectful prayer of the rebellious clansman. General Murray, who was a man of humour and of a generous mind, called on the wounded officer the following morning, and heartily wished him better deliverance in the next battle, when he hoped to give him occasion to pray in a different manner.

tinued till the 10th of May, when it was suddenly raised, the enemy decamping and taking the route towards Montreal, and leaving all their guns and stores in the trenches. This event was hastened by two causes: the expected advance of General Amherst on Montreal, and especially the sudden appearance of Commodore Lord Colville with a squadron from Halifax, who instantly attacked and destroyed the enemy's ships above Quebec. The enemy now began to see themselves in danger of being soon between two fires, certain accounts having been received of General Amherst's preparations to descend the St Lawrence from the Lakes.

General Amherst, as I have already stated, being compelled by the inclemency of the weather to relinquish his intention of proceeding down the St Lawrence to co-operate with Wolfe, had placed his troops in winter quarters in the month of October. In May following, he again commenced operations, and made the necessary arrangements for the junction of his army with that of General Murray at Montreal. This was the only place of strength which the enemy now possessed in the country. Colonel Haviland was detached with a body of troops to take possession of the Isle aux Noix, and from thence to penetrate, by the shortest route, to the banks of the St Lawrence. General Murray had orders to proceed up the river with all the forces he could muster. On the 7th of August, Colonel Haldimand was sent with the Grenadiers, Light infantry, and a battalion of the Royal Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the Lake, and assist the armed vessels in passing to La Galette. On the 10th of August, the whole army embarked, and proceeded on the Lake towards the mouth of the St Lawrence; and after a difficult navigation down the river, in which several boats were upset, and about eighty men lost, landed, on the 6th of September, six miles above Montreal. On the evening of the same day, General Murray appeared below the town; and so admirably were all the arrangements executed, that Colonel Haviland came down on the follow-

ing day on the south side of the river; and thus, after traversing a great tract of unknown and intricate country, three armies united, and were ready to attack Monsieur Vandreuil, who saw himself thus surrounded and unable to move. If he attempted to march out of the town to attack either of the opponents who were advancing upon him, the other was ready to march in, and thus he would be exposed in the open fields to the attack of the three divisions. He therefore entered into a correspondence, which ended in a surrender, upon what were considered favourable terms. Thus was completed a conquest the most important that the British arms had achieved in the Western World, whether we consider the extent and fertility of the country acquired, the safety it yielded to the English colonies, or the security it afforded to the Indian trade. Lord Rollo was immediately sent with a body of troops to take possession of the outposts, and to receive the submission of the inhabitants, who came in from all quarters. The judicious arrangements of the Commander-in-chief, and the spirit and enterprise of General Murray, command our admiration. Much praise is likewise due to the justice and humanity of Sir William Johnson, who, by his unbounded influence over the Indians, so controlled them, that, from the time the army entered the enemy's country till the close of the campaign, there was no act of barbarity or plunder committed.

SECTION V.

MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS.

Expedition under Colonel Montgomery against the Cherokees, 1760—*Dominique*, 1761—*Martinique*, 1762—*Submission of all the Windward Islands*, 1762—*Havannah*, 1762.

WHILE Lord John Murray's and Fraser's Highlanders were engaged in these important operations, Montgomery's Highlanders passed the winter of 1758 and 1759 in Fort du Quesne, after it had been occupied by Brigadier-General Forbes. In the month of May 1759, they joined and formed part of the army under General Amherst in his proceedings at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the Lakes. The cruelty with which the Cherokees prosecuted their renewed hostilities in the spring of 1760, alarmed all the southern English colonies, and application was, in consequence, made to the commander-in-chief for assistance. He therefore detached the Honourable Colonel Montgomery, an officer of distinguished zeal and activity, with 400 men of the Royals, 700 Highlanders of his own regiment, and a strong detachment of Provincials, with orders to proceed as expeditiously as possible to the country of the Cherokees, and after chastising them, to march to New York, and embark for the expedition against Montreal. In the middle of June, he reached the neighbourhood of the Indian town Little Keowee, and resolving to rush upon the enemy by surprise, he left his baggage with a proper guard, and marched to Estatoe, detaching on his route the light companies of the Royals and Highlanders to destroy Little Keowee. This they performed with the loss of a few men killed, and Lieutenants Marshal and Hamilton of the Royals wounded; but on their arrival at Estatoe, they found the enemy had fled. Colonel Montgomery then retired to Fort Prince George; but finding that the recent chastisement had had no effect, he paid

a second visit to the middle settlement. On this occasion, however, he met with more resistance, for he had 2 officers and 20 men killed, and 26 officers and 68 men wounded. Of these the Highlanders had 1 serjeant and 6 privates killed; and Captain Sutherland, Lieutenants Macmaster and Mackinnon, and Assistant-Surgeon Monro, and 1 serjeant, 1 piper, and 24 rank and file, wounded. Having completed this service, he again returned to Fort Prince George. Meanwhile, the Indians were not idle. They laid siege to, or rather blockaded, Fort Loudon, a small fort on the confines of Virginia, defended by 200 men under the command of Captain Denure, and possessing only a small stock of provisions and ammunition. The garrison, too weak to encounter the enemy in the field, was at length compelled by famine to surrender, on condition of being permitted to march to the English settlements; but the Indians observing the convention no longer than their interest required, attacked the garrison on their march, and killed all the officers except Captain John Stuart. *

These transactions detained Colonel Montgomery and his regiment in Virginia, and prevented their joining the expedition to Montreal, as was intended.

Every object for which war had been undertaken in America being now accomplished, the attention of Government was called to the West-Indies, where the possession of Martinique gave the enemy great opportunities of annoying our commerce in those seas. The feeble attempt made by General Hopson and Commodore Moore, in 1759, showing the French their danger more clearly, had induced them to make every exertion to strengthen their fortified posts, and to maintain a larger garrison in the island than formerly; so that what might at first have been accomplished with

* This officer, who was of the family of Stewart of Kinchardine in Strathspey, and father of the late General Sir John Stuart, Count of Maida, acted the same part towards the Indians as Sir William Johnson, and, so far as his more confined power and influence extended, with equal success.

comparatively little loss, was now likely to be a work of time, bloodshed, and labour.

Orders were sent to North America to prepare a large body of troops for the West Indies. Among these, the four Highland battalions were particularly specified; "as their sobriety and abstemious habits, great activity, and capability of bearing the vicissitudes of heat and cold, rendered them well qualified for that climate, and for a broken and difficult country. *

Owing to the differences in the cabinet at home, and the change of ministers, these orders were not followed up, and only a few troops reached the West-Indies from North America. Our commanders being thus unable to attempt Martinique, Colonel Lord Rollo, and Commodore Sir James Douglas, with a small land force and four ships of war, undertook an expedition against Dominique.

This force consisted of part of the garrison of Guadaloupe, the Grenadiers and Light infantry of the 4th and 22d regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Melville, and 6 companies of Montgomery's Highlanders and others, who had been sent from New-York. † Arriving off Dominique on the 6th of June 1761, they immediately landed, and marched, with little opposition, to the town of Roseau. From some entrenchments above the town, the enemy kept up a galling fire. These Lord Rollo resolved to attack without delay, particularly as he had learned that a reinforcement from Martinique was shortly expected. This service was performed by his Lordship and Colonel Melville, at the head of the Grenadiers, Light infantry, and Highlanders, with such vigour and success, that the enemy were driven, in succession, from all their works. So rapid was

* General Instructions, dated Whitehall, 1759.

† The transports from New-York, conveying nearly 2000 men, were scattered in a gale of wind. A company of Montgomery's, in a small transport, were attacked by a French privateer, which they beat off, with the loss of Lieutenant M'Lean and 6 men killed, and Captain Robertson and 11 men wounded.

the charge of the Grenadiers and Highlanders, that few of the British suffered. The Governor and his staff being taken prisoners, surrendered the colony without more opposition. This was the only service performed in the American seas during the year 1761.

In the following year, it was resolved to resume active operations, and to attempt Martinique and the Havannah, two of the most important stations in the possession of the French and Spaniards. The plan of operations of the preceding year was now, therefore, resumed, and eleven regiments having embarked in North America, arrived at Barbadoes in December. There they were joined by four regiments who had been at the attack of Belleisle; and, being reinforced by some corps from the islands, the whole force amounted to eighteen regiments, under the command of Major-General Monckton, and Brigadiers Haviland, James Grant of Ballindalloch, Rufane, and Walsh, and Colonel Lord Rollo. The naval armament consisted of 18 sail of the line, with frigates, bomb-vessels, and fireships, under Rear-Admiral Rodney. In this force were included three battalions of Highlanders, viz. Montgomery's regiment, and the 1st and 2d battalions of Lord John Murray's. Fraser's remained in North America.

This powerful armament sailed from Barbadoes on the 5th of January 1762, and on the 8th, the fleet anchored in St Ann's Bay, Martinique. An immediate landing was effected without loss. Brigadiers Grant and Haviland were detached to the Bay of Ance Darlet, where they made a descent without opposition. On the 16th, General Monckton and the whole army landed in the neighbourhood of Cas de Navire, under Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier, two considerable eminences which overlook and completely command the town and citadel of Fort Royal. Till these were carried, the town could not be attacked with any reasonable prospect of success; but if the enterprise should prove successful, the enemy, without being able to return it, would be exposed to the fire of these commanding heights,

from whence every shot would plunge through the roof to the foundation of every house in the town. Suitable precautions had therefore been taken to secure these important stations against attack. Like the other high grounds in this island, they were protected by very deep and rocky ravines, and their natural strength was much improved by art. Morne Tortueson was first attacked. To support this operation, a body of troops and marines, (800 of the latter having been landed from the fleet), were ordered to advance on the right, along the seaside, towards the town, for the purpose of attacking two redoubts near the beach. Flat-bottomed boats, each carrying a gun, and manned with sailors, were ordered close in shore to support this movement. On the left a corps of Light infantry was to get round the enemy's left, whilst the attack on the centre was made by the Grenadiers and Highlanders, supported by the main body of the army; all to be under cover of the fire of the new batteries, which had been hastily erected on the opposite ridges. With their usual spirit and activity, the sailors had dragged the cannon to the summit of these almost perpendicular ridges on which the batteries had been erected. The necessary arrangements were executed with great gallantry and perseveranee. The attack succeeded in every quarter. The works were carried in succession; the enemy driven from post to post; and, after a severe struggle, our troops became masters of the whole Morne. Thus far they had proceeded with success; but nothing decisive could be done without possession of the other eminence of Garnier, which, from its greater height, enabled the enemy to cause much annoyance to our troops. Three days passed ere proper dispositions could be made for driving them from this ground. The preparations for this purpose were still unfinished, when the enemy's whole force descended from the hill, and attacked the British in their advanced posts. They were immediately repulsed; and the troops, carried forward by their ardour, converted defence into assault, and passed the ravines with the fugitives. "The

Highlanders, drawing their swords, rushed forward like furies; and, being supported by the Grenadiers under Colonel Grant (Ballendalloch), and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted and the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy, unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack, were taken." * The French regulars escaped into the town, and the militia fled, and dispersed themselves over the country. This action proved decisive; for the town, being commanded by the heights, surrendered on the 5th of February. This point being gained, the General was preparing to move against St Pierre, the capital of the colony, when his farther proceedings were rendered unnecessary by the arrival of deputies, who came to arrange terms of submission for that town and the rest of the island, together with the islands of Grenada, St Vincent, and St Lucia. This capitulation put the British in possession of all the Windward Islands.

The loss in this campaign amounted to 8 officers, 3 sergeants, and 87 rank and file, killed; and 33 officers, 19 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 350 rank and file, wounded. Of this loss the proportion which fell upon the Royal Highlanders, consisted of Captain William Cockburn, Lieutenant David Barclay, 1 sergeant and 12 rank and file, killed; Major John Reid, Captains James Murray, † and Thomas Stirling, Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, David Milne, Patrick Balneaves, Alexander Turnbull, John Robertson, William Brown, and George Leslie, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 72 rank and file, wounded. Of Montgomery's Highlanders, Lieutenant Hugh Gordon and 4 rank and file were killed; and Captain Alexander Mackenzie, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file, wounded.

Great Britain having declared war against Spain, prepa-

* Westminster Journal.

† See an account of his wound in the article Athole Highlanders. This was one of the many remarkable instances of the rapid cure of the most desperate gun-shot wounds in the climate of those islands, which proves so deleterious to European constitutions in fever and inflammatory complaints.

rations were made to assail her in the tenderest point. For this purpose, it was determined to attack, in spring, the Havannah, the capital of the large island of Cuba, a place of the greatest importance to Spain, being the key of her vast empire in South America, and deemed by the Spanish ministry impregnable.

The capture of this strong town, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West Indies centered, would almost finish the war in that quarter; and, if followed up by farther advantages, would expose to danger the whole of Spanish America. The command of this important enterprise was intrusted to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Albemarle, Admiral Sir George Pocock, and Commodore Keppell, together with Lieutenant-General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield, Major-Generals Keppell and La Fausille, and Brigadier-Generals Haviland, Grant, Lord Rollo, Walsh, and Reid. Lord Rollo, being attacked by fever, was carried on board ship, and proceeded to England. The following year he died at Leicester, on his way to Scotland, and was buried with military honours, respected and lamented as a brave and able officer. Colonel Guy Carleton, succeeded to the command of his brigade upon his departure.

Much valuable time was lost in preparations at home: and, instead of reaching the West Indies in time to sail for their destination immediately after the reduction of Martinique, the commanders did not leave England with the fleet till the month of March. The best period for action in these latitudes was thus lost, and an arduous service was to be undertaken in the most unhealthy season of the year. One part of the arrangements, however, was well executed. The fleet arrived off Cape Nicholas on the 27th of May; and Commodore Sir James Douglas, with a fleet and troops from Martinique, joined them on the evening of the same day. The armament now included nineteen sail of the line, besides eighteen frigates and smaller vessels of war, with the Royals, 4th or King's Own, 9th, 15th, 17th, 22d, 27th

or Inniskilling, 28th, 34th, 35th, 40th, Royal Highlanders, 48th, 56th, 60th, 65th, 72d, 77th or Montgomery's Highlanders, 90th, 98th, two corps of Provincials, and a detachment of Marines under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon; in all, upwards of 11,000 firelocks. A further reinforcement of 4000 men was expected from New York. As the hurricane months were approaching, much of the success of the enterprise depended on expedition. The Admiral resolved, therefore, to run through the Straights of Old Bahama, a long narrow and dangerous passage. This bold attempt was executed with so much judgment and prudence, that the whole fleet, favoured by good weather, and sailing in seven divisions, completed, without loss or interruption, a navigation which is reckoned perilous for a single ship, and on the 5th of June arrived in sight of the Havannah.

The harbour of this city is the best in the West Indies. Its entrance is narrow, and is secured on one side by a fort called the Puntal, surrounded by a strong rampart, flanked with bastions, and covered by a ditch. In the harbour lay nearly twenty sail of the line, which, instead of making any attempt to oppose the operations of the invaders, secured themselves by sinking three ships in the mouth of the harbour, and throwing an iron-boom across it. The preparations being completed on the 7th June, the Admiral made a demonstration to land to the westward, while a body of troops disembarked to the eastward of the harbour without opposition, the squadron under Commodore Keppell having previously silenced a small battery on the beach. The army was divided into two corps, one of which, under Lieutenant-General Elliot, (afterwards Governor of Gibraltar), was to cover the siege, and protect the parties employed in procuring water and provisions,—a service of great importance, for the water was scarce and of a bad quality, and the salt provisions were in such a state that they were more injurious than the climate to the health of the army.*

* In this respect, as well as in the size and quality of the ships employed in

The other division was commanded by General Keppell, and was intended for the reduction of the Moro, which commanded the town and the harbour. A detachment, under Colonel William Howe, was encamped to the westward, to cut off the communication between the town and the country. In this disposition the troops remained, occasionally relieving each other in the hardest duties, during the whole of the siege. The soil was every where so thin and hard, that the greatest difficulty the besiegers encountered was to cover themselves in their approaches, and to raise the necessary batteries. But, in spite of all obstacles, batteries were raised against the Moro, and some others pushed forward to drive the enemy's ships still far-

transporting troops, there is now a great and important improvement, affording much additional security to the health of the troops, greater safety on the voyage, and more chance of success in all enterprises. The provisions of all kinds (with the exception of rum) are now of the best quality; and from the existing regulations, which direct all provisions to be surveyed by boards, composed of officers, it depends on themselves if they allow any bad provisions to be received. In former times, instances have been known, where, in consequence of bad and heavy sailing transports, and provisions improperly cured, voyages have been so tedious, and the troops have become so sickly, that, on reaching the destined point of attack, nothing could be attempted. Of this the expedition to Portobello in 1740, celebrated in so many doleful ballads, is a memorable instance.

Great improvements are still required. While new rum is so notoriously known to be ruinous to health, that even the Negroes call it *kill the devil*, it is matter of regret that the troops should continue to be poisoned by the issue of such deleterious liquor. If good rum is dear, let the supply be discontinued; but when the health of the soldier is at stake, and (considerations of humanity apart) when the value of a soldier's life on foreign stations, and the expense of supplying vacancies, are considered, surely the difference in the value between good and bad spirits, in the daily allowance to the troops, ought not to be regarded. On the other hand, when, by proper encouragement, a full supply of the best fresh beef for all our West India garrisons can be obtained from Trinidad and the Spanish Main, a third cheaper than salt pork and beef can be sent from England, it is to be hoped that so important a subject will not be much longer neglected, and that our troops in tropical climates will not be fed on salt beef and pork, new rum and dry bread, which, in the language of the soldiers, who speak what they feel, must in a hot climate be "*the devil's own diet.*"

ther into the harbour, and prevent them from molesting our troops in their approaches. The Spaniards did not continue entirely on the defensive. On the 29th of June, they made a sally with considerable spirit and resolution, but were forced to retire, leaving nearly 300 men behind them.

In the mean time, the three largest of the British ships stationed themselves alongside the fort, and commenced a furious and unequal contest, which continued for nearly seven hours. But the Moro, from its superior height, and aided by the fire from the opposite fort of the Puntal, had greatly the advantage of the ships, which, after displaying the greatest intrepidity, were obliged to withdraw, after losing Captain Goostrey of the Marlborough, and 150 men killed and wounded.

Sickness had now spread among the besiegers, and, to complete their difficulties, the principal battery opposed to the Moro caught fire on the 3d of July, and blazed with such fury, that the whole was in twenty minutes consumed. Thus the labour of 600 men for sixteen days was destroyed in a few minutes, and all was to be begun anew. This disaster was the more severely felt, as the increasing sickness made the duty more arduous, and the approaching hurricane season threatened additional hardships. But the spirit of the troops supported them against every disadvantage; and, while they had so much cause to complain of their rancid and damaged provisions, and of the want of fresh water, though in the very neighbourhood of a river from which the small transports might have supplied them in abundance, had any attempt been made to provide a supply; yet the shame of defeat, the prospect of the rich prize before them, and the honour that would result from taking a place so strong in itself and so bravely defended, were motives which excited them to unwearied exertions.

A part of the reinforcement from North America having arrived, new batteries were quickly raised, and the Jamaica

fleet touching at Havannah, on the passage home, left such supplies as they could spare of necessaries for the siege. Fresh vigour was thus infused.

After various operations on both sides, the enemy, on the 22d of July, made a sortie, with 1500 men, divided into three parties. Each attacked a separate post, while a fire was kept up in their favour form every point, the Puntal, the west bastion, the lines, and the ships in the harbour. After a short resistance, they were all forced back with the loss of 400 men, besides many who, in the hurry of retreat, precipitated one another into the ditches, and were drowned. The loss of the besiegers in killed and wounded amounted to fifty men.

In the afternoon of the 30th two mines were sprung with such effect, that a practicable breach was made in the bastion, and orders were immediately given for the assault. The troops mounted the breach, entered the fort, and formed themselves with such celerity, that the enemy were confounded, and fled on all sides, leaving 350 men killed or drowned by leaping into the ditches, while 500 threw down their arms. Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor of the fort, and the Marquis Gonzales, the second in command, disdaining to surrender, fell while making the most gallant efforts to rally their men, and bring them back to their posts. Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, * who commanded the assault, had only two lieutenants and 12 men killed, with 4 sergeants and 24 men wounded.

Thus fell the Moro, after a vigorous struggle of forty days from the time when it was invested. Its reduction, however, was not followed by the surrender of the Havannah. On the contrary, the Governor opened a well-supported fire, which was kept up for some hours, but produced little bloodshed on either side. The besiegers continued their exertions, and erected new batteries against the town. After many difficulties and delays, in the course of which the

* This officer served afterwards in India, and commanded against Cuddalore in 1782. He was son to Stuart of Torrance.

enemy exerted themselves to intercept the progress of the batteries, the whole were finished on the morning of the 13th August, when they opened with a general discharge along the whole line. This fire was so well directed and effectual, that at two o'clock in the afternoon the guns of the garrison were silenced, and flags of truce were hung out from every quarter of the town, and from the ships in the harbour. This signal of submission was joyfully received, and on the 14th the British were put in possession of the Havannah nine weeks after having landed in Cuba. It was agreed that the garrison, now reduced to less than 800 men, should, in testimony of esteem for their brave defence, be allowed all the honours of war, and be conveyed to Spain with their private baggage. Nine sail of the line and several frigates, with two seventy-fours on the stocks, were taken; several more had been sunk and destroyed during the siege. The value of the conquest altogether was estimated at three millions. This estimate, however, could not have been correct, as the prize-money divided between the fleet and army in equal proportions, was only 736,185*l*. 2s. 4½d. The distribution to the land forces was,

	Commander-in-Chief,	-				£	122,697	10	0
	Lieut.-Gen. Elliot, second in command,						24,539	10	1
2	Major-Generals,	£	6816	10	6	—	13,633	1	0
7	Brigadier-Generals,		1947	11	7	—	13,633	1	0
51	Field-Officers, -		564	14	1	—	28,629	8	5
185	Captains, - -		124	4	7½	—	34,082	12	10¼
599	Subalterns, -		116	3	0¼	—	69,528	3	0¼
763	Sergeants, -		8	18	8	—	6,816	10	6½
741	Corporals, -		6	16	6	—	5,112	7	10½
12,099	Soldiers, - -		4	1	8½	—	49,415	15	0½
	Fractions on the whole,								4¾
						£	368,088	0	2¾

This important conquest was effected with the loss of 11 officers, 15 sergeants, 4 drummers, 260 rank and file, killed; 4 officers, and 51 rank and file, who died of their wounds;

39 officers, 14 sergeants, 11 drummers, 576 rank and file, wounded; and 27 officers, 19 sergeants, 6 drummers, and 230 rank and file, who died by sickness. The Highland regiments suffered little. The loss sustained by the two battalions of the 42d regiment was 2 drummers, and 6 privates killed, and 4 privates wounded; the loss by sickness consisted of Major Macneil, Captains Robert Menzies, brother of the late Sir John Menzies, and A. Macdonald, Lieutenants Farquharson, Grant, Lapsley, Cunnison, Hill, Blair, 2 drummers, and 71 rank and file. Of Montgomery's, Lieutenant Macvicar and 2 privates were killed, and 6 privates wounded; and Lieutenants Grant and Macnab, and 6 privates, died of the fever. *

Immediate preparations were made for removing the disposable troops from the Island. The 1st battalion of the 42d and Montgomery's were ordered to embark for New-York, where they landed in the end of October. All the men of the 2d battalion, fit for service, were drafted into the 1st; the rest, with the officers, were ordered to Scotland, where they remained till reduced in the following year. All the junior officers of every rank were placed on half pay.

* The King of Spain expressed great displeasure at the conduct of the commanders who surrendered the place. Don Juan de Prado, the governor, and the Marquis del Real Transporte, the admiral, were tried by a council of war at Madrid, and punished with a sequestration of their estates, and banishment to the distance of 48 leagues from the Court; and the Viscount Superinda, late viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavanez, late governor of Carthagena, who were on their passage home, and had called in at the Havannah a short time before the siege, were also tried, on a charge of assisting at a council of war, recommending the surrender of the town, and sentenced to the same punishment. But the conduct of Don Juan de Velasco, who fell in the defence of the Moro when it was stormed, was differently appreciated. His family was ennobled, his son created Viscount Moro, and a standing order made, that ever after there should be a ship in the Spanish navy called the Velasco.

SECTION VI.

FRASER'S, MONTGOMERY'S, AND ROYAL HIGHLANDERS.

St John's, Newfoundland, 1762—*Bushy Run*, 1763—*Fort Pitt*, 1764—*Ireland*, 1767—*Scotland*, 1775.

We must now return to Fraser's Highlanders, who remained in America, and to the two companies of Montgomery's, who did not return to New-York from the expedition sent against the Indians in the autumn of 1761, in time to embark with the rest of the regiment for the West-Indies.

In the summer of 1762, a French armament appeared on the coast of Newfoundland, and, landing some troops, took possession of St John's. Commodore Lord Colville having received intelligence of the event, sailed immediately to blockade the harbour of St John's, and was soon followed by Colonel William Amherst, with a small force collected from New-York, Halifax, and Louisburg. This force consisted of the flank companies of the Royals, a detachment of the 45th, and two companies of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, with a small detachment of Provincials. Colonel Amherst landed on the 13th of September, seven miles to the northward of St John's, having experienced little opposition from the enemy; and, pushing forward, took possession of the strong post of Kitty Villey and two other fortified heights. On the 17th, a mortar battery being completed, and ready to open on the garrison, Count de Hausenville, the commander of the French troops, surrendered by capitulation. The enemy's fleet, taking advantage of a heavy fog, had made their escape two nights before. The prisoners on this occasion were more numerous than

the victors. The loss was 1 lieutenant and 11 rank and file killed; 3 captains, 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 32 rank and file, wounded. Captain Macdonell of Fraser's, and Captain Mackenzie of Montgomery's, died of their wounds.

After this service, the detachments joined their respective regiments in New-York and Louisburg, where they passed the ensuing winter. During the same season the Royal Highlanders were stationed in Albany. In the summer of 1763 they were put under the command of Colonel Bouquet of the 60th regiment, and ordered to the relief of Fort Pitt, along with a detachment of Bouquet's own regiment, and another of the 77th Highlanders; in all, 956 men.

A variety of causes had combined to irritate the Indians, whose passions were already inflamed by the intemperate use of spirituous liquors. But the principal causes of complaint were the encroachments of the colonial settlers, which were greatly exaggerated by French emissaries, who were naturally anxious to recover the territory they had lost, or at least to render the possession of as little advantage as possible to the British, by attempts to instigate and irritate the Indians against them. The consequence of these irritations was soon seen. The revenge of the Indians first broke forth against those settlers and traders who had chiefly provoked it. The warriors of different nations united, and attacked in succession all the small posts between Lake Erie and Pittsburgh, while the terror excited by their approach was increased by exaggerated accounts of their numbers, and of the destruction that attended their progress. So little suspicion of these designs had been entertained by our Government, that some of the posts were dependant on the Indians for their supplies of provisions. In those enterprises they displayed no small degree of sagacity, and a great improvement in their discipline and manner of fighting.

Colonel Bouquet, with his detachment and a convoy of provisions, reached Bushy Run about the end of July. Beyond this place was a narrow pass, having steep hills on

each side, and a woody eminence at the further extremity. It was his intention to penetrate this pass in the night; but, towards the close of day, his advanced guard was suddenly attacked by the Indians. The Light infantry of the 42d regiment, being ordered to the support of the advanced guard, drove the enemy from the ambuscade, pursuing them to a considerable distance. But the Indians soon returned, and took possession of some neighbouring heights. From these they were again driven; but no sooner were they forced from one position than they appeared on another, till, by continual reinforcements, they became so numerous, that they soon surrounded the detachment, when the action became general. The enemy made their attacks on every side with increasing vigour, but were constantly repulsed. Night concluded the combat, which was renewed early the following morning by the enemy, who kept up an incessant fire, invariably retiring as often as any part of the troops advanced upon them. Encumbered by the convoy of provisions, and afraid of leaving their wounded to fall into the hands of the enemy, our troops were prevented from pursuing to any distance. The enemy becoming bolder by every fresh attack, a stratagem was attempted to entice them to come to closer action. Preparations being made for a feigned retreat, two companies, which were in advance, were ordered to retire and fall within the square, while the troops opened their files, as if preparing to cover a retreat. This, with some other dispositions, had the desired effect. The Indians, believing themselves certain of victory, and forgetting their usual precaution of covering themselves with trees or bushes, rushed forward with much impetuosity. Being thus fully exposed, and coming within reach, they were vigorously charged in front, while two companies, making a sudden movement, and running round a hill, which concealed their approach, attacked them in flank. They were thus thrown into great confusion; and, in retreating, they were pursued to such a distance that they did not venture to rally. Colonel Bouquet resumed his

march, and reached Fort Pitt without farther molestation. In this skirmishing warfare the troops suffered much from the want of water and the extreme heat of the weather. The loss by the enemy was 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 44 rank and file, killed; and 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 volunteer, 5 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 49 rank and file, wounded. Of the Royal Highlanders, Lieutenant John Graham, and James Mackintosh, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file, were killed; Captain John Graham of Duchray, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 30 rank and file, wounded. Of Montgomery's Highlanders, 1 drummer and 5 privates were killed; and Lieutenant Donald Campbell and Volunteer John Peebles, 3 sergeants, and 7 privates, wounded.

The Royal Highland Regiment passed the winter in Fort Pitt; and early in the summer of 1764 was again employed under Colonel Bouquet, now appointed Brigadier-General. Continued encroachments on the territories of the Indians increased their irritation to a high degree, and they retaliated with great fury on the back settlers. To repress their attacks two expeditions were ordered; one from Niagara, under Sir William Johnson, and another under Brigadier-General Bouquet. The latter consisted of eight companies of the 42d, the Light infantry of the 60th regiment, and 400 Virginian marksmen, with a detachment from Maryland and Pennsylvania, having their faces painted, and their clothes made in the Indian fashion. In this service the troops traversed many hundred miles, cutting their way through thick forests, and frequently attacked by, and attacking, skirmishing parties of the Indians, who were at length so harassed with this constant state of warfare, that they sued for a cessation of hostilities. This was granted, and was soon followed by a peace, which was not interrupted for many years. If this species of warfare was harassing to the Indians, it must have been no less so to the troops, who were allowed no rest from the month of July 1764 to January 1765, when they returned to Fort Pitt,

two months after the winter had commenced with great severity. Although forced to march through woods of immense extent, where the snow had attained a depth unknown in Europe, it is a remarkable fact, that, in these six months, three of which they were exposed to extreme heat, and two to an equal excess of cold, with very little shelter from either extreme, and frequently disturbed by an active, though not a formidable enemy, the Highlanders did not leave a man behind from fatigue or exhaustion.* Three men died of sickness; and when they returned to Fort Pitt, there were only nineteen men under charge of the surgeon. †

The regiment was now in better quarters than they had been for several years. They were much reduced in numbers, as might have been expected from the extent, nature, and variety of service in which, amidst the torrid heats of the West Indies, and the rigorous winters of North America, they had been for so many years engaged. During the following year they remained in Pennsylvania; and, in the month of July 1767, embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland. Such of the men as chose to remain in America, rather than return home, were permitted to volunteer into other regiments. The second battalion had been reduced in 1763, and 1 captain, 12 lieutenants, and 2 ensigns of the first battalion, were placed on half-pay. Captain Small, ‡ who was reduced to half-pay, but immediate-

* In the month of August 1765, Captain (afterwards General Sir Thomas) Stirling was detached with Lieutenants Macculloch and Eddington and 100 men, and sent first down the Ohio, and then 1500 miles up the Mississippi, to Fort Chartres in the Illinois, of which he took possession in October. He occupied the Fort during the winter and spring: in June he returned to Philadelphia, and joined the regiment. Captain Stirling must have performed this service with great prudence and attention; for, after a journey and voyage of more than 3000 miles, and an absence of ten months, he brought his whole detachment back in perfect health, and without an accident.

† Regimental Reports.

‡ Afterwards well known and highly respected as a general officer and lieutenant-governor of Guernsey.

ly put on the full pay of the Scotch Fusileers, being deservedly popular among the men, drew along with him into that regiment a great proportion of those who volunteered for America. The volunteers were so numerous, that, along with those who had been previously discharged and sent home as disabled, and others who were discharged in America, where they settled, they reduced the number of the regiment to a very small proportion of that which had left Scotland.

By their courage in the field, and their integrity and orderly conduct in quarters, this body of men seem to have made the same impression on the Americans as elsewhere. One of the numerous proofs of this favourable impression will be found in the following extracts from an article published in the virginia Gazette, dated the 30th July 1767. "Last Sunday evening, the Royal Highland Regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an unhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the most northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp and on their marches to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly." The article then proceeds: "And, in a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and insured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for

their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage." *

Having continued the history of the regiment to the termination of hostilities, and its safe arrival in a friendly country, I subjoin a general list of the total loss in killed and wounded during the war.

	KILLED.						WOUNDED.					
	Fd. Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Privates.	Fd. Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Privates.
Ticonderoga, 7th July 1758,	1	1	6	9		297		5	12	10		306
Martinique, January 1759,						8			1	2		22
Guadaloupe, February and March 1759,			1	1		25			4	3		57
General Amherst's expedition to the Lakes, July and Aug. 1759, (2 bats.)						3				1		4
Martinique, January and February 1762,		1	1	1		12	1	1	7	3	1	72
Havannah, June and July 1762, (two battalions present,)					1	3					1	4
Expedition, under Colonel Bouquet, to Fort Pitt, in August 1763,		1	1	1		26		1	1	2	2	30
Second expedition, under Brigadier-General Bouquet, in 1764 and 1765,						7				1		9
Total in the seven year's war,	1	3	9	12	1	381	1	7	25	22	4	504

Comparing the loss sustained by this regiment in the field with that of other corps, it has generally been less than theirs, except in the unfortunate affair of Ticonderoga. I have conversed with several officers who served in the corps at that period, and they uniformly accounted for the moderate loss from the celerity of their attack, and the use of the broadsword, which the enemy could never withstand. This, likewise, was the opinion of an old gentleman, one of the original soldiers of the Black Watch, in the ranks of which, although a gentleman by birth and education, he served till the peace of 1748. He informed me that, although it was believed at home that the regiment had been

* Virginia Gazette, July 1767.

nearly destroyed at Fontenoy, the thing was quite the reverse; and that it was the subject of general observation in the army, that their loss should have been so small, considering how actively they were engaged in different parts of the field. "On one occasion," said the respectable veteran, who was animated with the subject, "a brigade of Dutch were ordered to attack a rising ground, on which were posted the troops called the King of France's own Guards. The Highlanders were to support them. The Dutch conducted their march and attack as if they did not know the road, halting and firing, and halting, every twenty paces. The Highlanders, losing all patience with this kind of fighting, which gave the enemy such time and opportunity to fire at their leisure, dashed forward, passed the Dutch, and the first ranks giving their firelocks to the rear rank, they drew their swords, and soon drove the French from their ground. When the attack was concluded, it was found that of the Highlanders not above a dozen men were killed and wounded, while the Dutch, who had not come up at all, lost more than five times that number."

During the preceding war, the regiment was fortunate in possessing an excellent corps of officers, men of respectable character, education, and family; several of whom were distinguished for superior professional acquirements, and for their accomplishments as gentlemen. The number of officers in the year 1759, including the chaplains and medical staff of both battalions, was 83 Of this number, seven only rose to be general officers, Francis Grant, brother of the chief of the Grants; John Reid of Strathloch, or Baron Reid; Allan Campbell, brother of Barcaldine; James Murray, (son of Lord George Murray); John Campbell of Strachur; Thomas Stirling of Ardoch; and John Small. Those who became field-officers were, Gordon Graham; Duncan Campbell of Inneraw; Thomas Graham of Duchray; John Graham, his brother; William Murray, brother of Lintrose; William Grant, son of Rothiemurchus; James Abercromby of Glassa; James Abercromby, junior; Robert

Grant; James Grant; Alexander Turnbull of Strathcathro; Alexander Donaldson; Thomas Fletcher of Lindertis; Donald Robertson; Duncan Campbell; Alexander Maclean; and James Eddington. Colonels Fletcher and Eddington attained their rank in the East-India Company's service, in which they entered after the peace of 1763; Captains Stewart of Urrard, Campbell of Melford, Stewart of Stenton, and Sir William Cockburn, sold out, and the others retired, and died on half-pay as captains or subalterns. A corps of officers, respectable in their persons, character, and rank in private society, was of itself sufficient to secure the esteem of the world, and to keep their men in an honourable line of conduct, even had they manifested a contrary disposition. While the Colonel was unremitting in his exertions to procure the appointment of good officers, and the men possessed the moral virtues of a pastoral and agricultural life, elevated by love of country, respect for their own character, and a spirit of independence, the corps could not fail to acquire that character for which it was so greatly distinguished. All these remarks apply with equal justice to Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, of whom it was said, "That the officers were gentlemen, and the men were soldiers."

The regiment landed at Cork, where their arrival was thus announced: "General Lord John Murray, who has been here for some weeks, waiting the arrival of his regiment, marched in this morning at their head, himself and his officers dressed in the Highland garb, with broadsword, pistols and dirk." * Recruiting parties were sent to the Highlands, and, on the 28th of May following, when reviewed by General Armiger in Galway, the regiment was complete to the then establishment, and all, except two, born north of the Tay. †

* Dublin Newsman.

† At this time, the words of "The Garb of Old Gaul" were composed by Captain, afterwards Sir Charles Erskine. Major Reid set them to music of his own composition, which has ever since been the regimental march. Peace and country quarters affording leisure to the officers, several of them indulged

At this period, the uniform of the corps had a very dark and sombre appearance. The jackets were of a dull rusty coloured red, and no part of the accoutrements was of a light colour. Economy was strictly observed in the article of clothing. The old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years,

their taste for poetry and music. Major Reid was one of the most accomplished flute-players of the age. He died in 1806, at the age of eighty-five, a General in the army, and Colonel of the 88th, or Connaught Rangers. He left the sum of L.52,000 to the University of Edinburgh, assigning the interest to his only daughter, who has no family, during her life. Then, as the will expressed it, "being the last heir-male of an ancient family in the county of Perth," he bequeathed, after the death of his only daughter, the sum of L.52,000, in the 3 per cents., to the Principal and Professors of the University of Edinburgh, where he was educated, and passed the happiest years of his life, to be under their sole charge and management, on condition of their establishing a Professorship of Music in the College, with a salary of not less than L.300 per annum, and of holding an annual concert in the hall of the Professor of Music, on the anniversary of his birth-day, the 13th of January; the performance to commence with several pieces of his own composition, for the purpose of showing the style of music in his early years, and towards the middle of the last century. Among the first of these pieces is the Garb of Old Gaul. He also directs that a portrait of himself shall be hung up in the hall, one painted in 1745, when he was a Lieutenant in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, one in the uniform of a General Officer, and a third as Colonel of the Connaught Rangers. Mr Maclagan, the chaplain, composed Gaelic words to the same air, as also did a soldier of the regiment. An intelligent officer, who, nearly sixty years ago, commenced a service of thirty years in the 42d regiment, states, "I cannot at this distance of time recollect the name of the man who composed the Gaelic words of the "Garb of Old Gaul;" but he was from Perthshire, as also John Dhu Cameron, who was drum-major when I joined, and who sung and repeated several of this man's poems and songs. Before my time, there were many poets and bards among the soldiers. Their original compositions were generally in praise of their officers and comrades who had fallen in battle, or who had performed some gallant achievement; but they had great stores of ancient poetry. Their love songs were beautiful; and their laments for the fallen brave, and recollections of their absent friends, and distant glens and rocks, have often filled my eyes with tears. There were four serjeants of the names of Mackinnon, Maclean, Macgregor, and Macdonald, who had a peculiar talent for these repetitions and songs. They all died or were discharged before the American war. The soldiers were much attached to Colonel Reid for his poetry, his music, and his bravery as a soldier."

was reduced to the philibeg. The hose supplied were of so bad a quality, that the men advanced an additional sum to the Government price, in order to supply themselves with a better sort. Instead of feathers for their bonnets, they were allowed only a piece of black bearskin; but the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers, in the modern fashion, * and spared no expense in fitting up their bonnets handsomely. The sword-belts were of black leather, two inches and a half in breadth; and a small cartouch-box, fitted only for thirty-two rounds of cartridges, was worn in front, above the purse, and fixed round the loins with a black belt, in which hung the bayonet. In these heavy colours, and dark blue facings, the regiment had a far less splendid appearance at a short distance than English regiments, with white breeches and belts; but on a closer view, the line was imposing and warlike. The men possessed what an ingenious author calls "the attractive beauties of a soldier; sun-burnt complexions, a hardy weather-beaten visage, with a penetrating eye, and firm expressive countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service." * The personal appearance of the men has, no doubt, varied according as attention was paid to a proper selection of recruits. The appointments have also been different. The first alteration in this respect was made in the year 1769, when the regiment removed to Dublin. At this period, the men received white cloth waistcoats, and the Colonel supplied them with white goatskin and buff-leather purses, which were deemed an improvement on the vests of red cloth, and the purses made of badgers' skin.

The officers also improved their dress, by having their jackets embroidered. During the war, however, they wore

* Officers and non-commissioned officers always wore a small plume of feathers, after the fashion of their country; but it was not till the period of which I am now writing, that the soldiers used so many feathers as they do at present.

* Dr Jackson's European Armies.

only a narrow edging of gold-lace round the borders of the facings, and very often no lace at all, epaulets and all glittering ornaments being laid aside, to render them less conspicuous to the Indians, who always aimed particularly at the officers. During their stay in Ireland, the dress of the men underwent very little alteration. The officers had only one suit of embroidery: this fashion being found too expensive, was given up, and gold-lace substituted in its stead. Upon ordinary occasions, they wore light hangers, using the basket-hilted broad-sword only in full dress. They also carried fusils. The serjeants were furnished with carbines, instead of the Lochaber axe or halbert, which they formerly carried. The soldiers were provided with new arms when on Dublin duty in 1774. The serjeants had silver-lace on their coats, which they furnished, however, at their own expense.

At this period, the regiment was held in such respect in the Highlands, and young men so readily enlisted into it, that recruiting parties of other regiments, in order to allure the Highland youth, frequently assumed the dress of the old Highland regiment, for which they affected to be recruiting. When the regiment lay in Dublin, a party of recruits arrived from the Highlands to join the 38th regiment, then in Cork. When the recruits saw their countrymen, they refused to go any farther, saying they had engaged to serve in the Black Watch. The officer who had them in charge ordered several of the men to be confined, and reported the business to Major-General Dilkes, who commanded in Dublin Castle, and likewise to the late Lord Blaney, Colonel of the 38th. The Lord Lieutenant, Lord Townshend, ordered a court of inquiry, and, after a full investigation, it was found that the officer and party had gone to the country in the Highland dress; that it was the general belief that they were recruiting for the 42d regiment; and that, although the 38th was inserted in the attestations, no explanation was made to the recruits, who, ignorant of the English language, considered that their engagement was to

serve in the regiment of their own country, and not among men whose language they did not understand, and whose dress they so much disliked. On a clear proof of the circumstances being led, they were all discharged, when they immediately re-enlisted into the 42d regiment.

This was one of many deceptions practised on these people, who, originally open and unsuspscious, are now said to be frequently distrustful. Were I to judge from my own experience, I should not credit the reality of such a change; for in the course of twenty-one years service in the Highland corps, and in my different transactions with soldiers, of whom I recruited a very considerable number in the North, many of them left their bounty-money and other sums in my hands, till they should have occasion for the money, or till it could be remitted to their relations. In a variety of little pecuniary transactions of this kind, I was never asked for a receipt for money so lodged; and when I offered an acknowledgment, it was declined.

The regiment being removed from Dublin to Donaghadee, Belfast, and other towns, was actively employed in different parts of the country in aid of the civil power. Four companies were afterwards removed to the Isle of Man. On the 21st of September 1771, orders were issued for adding a company to each regiment on the Irish establishment, the officers to be taken from the half-pay. Captain James Macpherson, Lieutenant Campbell, and Ensign John Grant, were, in consequence, appointed to the 42d.

In 1772 the regiment was stationed in Galway. At this period, fresh disturbances had broken out in the county of Antrim, and other quarters, owing to disputes between the Catholics and Protestants, and between landlords and tenants. In this delicate service, the Highlanders were found particularly useful, both from their knowledge of the language and from their conciliating conduct towards the Irish, the descendants of the same parent stock with themselves.

Nothing worthy of notice occurred till the year 1775. The regiment was then embarked at Donaghadee, and land-

ing at Port-Patrick, marched to Glasgow, after an absence from Scotland of thirty-two years, since the march to Finchley in 1748. *

The following notice of the conduct of the regiment, and its mode of discipline, during a residence of eight years in Ireland, is extracted from the communication of a respectable and intelligent freind, who served in it at that period, and for many years both before and afterwards. He describes the regiment as still possessing the character which it had acquired in Germany and America, although there were not more than eighty of the men remaining who had served in America, and only a few individuals of those who had served in Germany, previously to 1748. Their attachment to their native dress, and their peculiarity of language, habits, and manners, contributed to preserve them a race of men separate from others of the same profession, and to give to their system of regimental discipline a distinctive and peculiar character. Their messes were managed by the non-commissioned officers, or old soldiers, who had charge of the barrack-room; and these messes were always so arranged, that, in each room, the men were in friendship or intimacy with each other, or belonged to the same glen or district, or were connected by some similar tie. By these means, every barrack-room was like a family establishment. After the weekly allowances for breakfast, dinner, and small necessaries had been provided, the surplus pay was deposited in a stock-purse, each member of the mess drawing for it in his turn. The stock thus acquired was soon found worth preserving, and instead of hoarding, they lent it out to the inhabitants, who seemed greatly suprised at seeing a soldier save money. †

* Many of the old soldiers on this occasion evinced the force of that attachment to the country of their birth, which is attributed to Scotchmen in general, and particularly to Highlanders. They leaped on shore with enthusiasm, kissing the earth, and holding it up in handfuls.

† In this manner, a species of savings bank was established by these military economists.

Their accounts with their officers were settled once in three months, and, with the exception of a few careless spendthrifts, all the men purchased their own necessaries, with which they were always abundantly provided. At every settlement of accounts they enjoyed themselves very heartily, but with a strict observance of propriety and good humour: and as the members of each mess considered themselves in a manner answerable for one another's conduct, they animadverted on any impropriety with such severity, as to render the interference of farther authority unnecessary.

The standard height was five feet seven inches for full grown men, and five feet six for growing lads. When companies were complete on parade, none under five feet eight inches were allowed to be in the front rank. The grenadiers were always a body of tall men. But although the standard was nominally kept at the above height, there were men of five feet five in the centre rank, and those undersized men were frequently able to undergo greater fatigues than any other in the corps.

Lord John Murray exerted himself to procure for the regiment Scotch and Highland officers, well knowing how much their influence would assist in procuring men from the country, and sensible also of the advantage of possessing officers who understood perfectly the peculiar disposition and character of the men. Soon after the regiment arrived in Glasgow, two companies were added, and the establishment of the whole regiment augmented to 100 rank and file each company, thus making, when complete, a battalion of 1075 men, including sergeants and drummers.

Officers with parties were detached on the recruiting service, to those districts of the Highlands where they had acquaintance and influence. Their object was speedily obtained: young men were proud of belonging to the corps, and old men regarded it as a representative and memorial of the achievements of their forefathers. Hence the establishment was completed in a few weeks. The bounty

offered at this period was, in the first instance, one guinea and a crown; it was afterwards raised to three guineas, but in the North the increase had not the smallest influence on the success of recruiting. The inclinations of the people were chiefly swayed by the expectation of meeting their countrymen in the regiment; and when the bounty was increased, those who took it generally left it, or sent it to their parents or families.

At this time, there was a keen struggle between the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord John Murray, the former wishing to introduce some southern officers into the regiment, which the latter strenuously resisted. The influence of the Lord Lieutenant prevailed, and Lieutenants Littleton and Franklin were appointed, and the commissions of Lieutenants Grant and Mackenzie, whom Lord John had procured to be gazetted, were afterwards cancelled. The officers brought from the half-pay, were Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenants Henry Munro, Alexander Munro, John Macdonald, John Robertson, John Macgregor, Norman Macleod, John Grant, George Mackenzie, William Stewart, Sergeant-Major Hugh Fraser, and Quartermaster-Sergeant Smith, Adjutant and Quartermaster. On the 10th of April 1776, the regiment being reviewed by General Sir Adolphus Oughton, was reported so complete, and unexceptionable, that none were rejected. *

Hostilities having commenced in America, every exertion was made to teach the recruits the use of the firelock, for which purpose they were drilled even by candle-light. New arms and accoutrements were supplied to the men, together with broad-swords and pistols, iron-stocked, the swords and pistols being supplied at the expense of the colonel.

* Of the soldiers 931 were Highlanders, 74 Lowland Scotch, 5 English, (in the band) 1 Welsh, and 2 Irish.

SECTION VII.

AMERICAN WAR.

America, 1776—*Staten Island*—*Brooklyne*—*Battle of White Plains*—*Fort Washington*—*Pisquatua*, 1777—*Brandy Wine*—*Surprise of General Wayne's Detachment*—*German Town*—*Repulsed*—*White Marsh*—*Monmouth*, 1778—*Expedition to the Acushnet River*—*Egg Harbour*—*Chesapeak*—*Expedition to Verplanks*, 1779—*Stony Point*—*Charleston*, 1780—*New York*, 1781–3—*Peace*, 1783—*Nova Scotia*, 1783–6—*England*, 1789 *Scotland*, 1790.

On the 14th of April, the regiment embarked at Greenock along with Fraser's Highlanders. After some delay, both regiments sailed on the 1st of May, under convoy of the Flora, Captain Brisbane, the Royal Highlanders being commanded by Colonel Stirling. Four days after they had sailed, the transports separated in a gale of wind. Some of the scattered transports of both regiments fell in with General Howe's army on their voyage to Halifax; and others, having got information of this movement, followed the main body, and joined the army in Staten Island, where Sir William Howe had returned, and landed on the 5th of August 1776.

Immediately on the landing of the three Highland battalions, a grenadier battalion was formed under the command of the Honourable Major (afterwards General Sir) Charles Stuart. * A light infantry corps was also formed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave appointed to the command.

* As a mark of regard to the 42d, the Commander-in-Chief took all the staff appointments of the grenadier battalion from the Highlanders.

He was wounded some months afterwards, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel (now General Sir Robert) Abercromby, who commanded during the whole war. The flank companies of the 42d were attached to those battalions. The Highland grenadiers were remarkable for strength and height, and considered equal to any company in the army: the light infantry were quite the reverse, in point of personal appearance, as the commanding officer would not allow a choice of men for them. The battalion companies were formed into two temporary battalions, the command of one being given to Major William Murray, (Lintrose,) and that of the other to Major William Grant, (Rothiemurchus,) with an Adjutant and Quarter-Master to each battalion; the whole being under the command of Colonel Thomas Stirling. These small battalions were placed in the reserve with the grenadiers of the army under the command of Earl Cornwallis. To these was added the 33d, his Lordship's own regiment.

From the moment of their landing, Colonel Stirling was indefatigable in drilling the men to the manner of fighting practised in the former war with the Indians and French bushmen, which is so well calculated for a close woody country. Colonel Stirling was well versed in this mode of warfare, and imparted it to the troops, by first training the non-commissioned officers himself, and then superintending their instruction of the soldiers. The Highlanders made rapid progress in this discipline, being, in general, excellent marksmen, and requiring only to have their natural impetuosity restrained, which often led them to disdain the idea of fighting in ambush.

STATE of the BRITISH ARMY in Staten Island, August 1776.

Commander-in-Chief,
General the Honourable Sir William Howe, K.B.

Second in Command,
Lieutenant-General Henry Clinton.

Third in Command,

Right Hon. Lieutenant-General Earl Percy.

1st Brigade.—Major-General Pigot.
4th Regt.—Major Jas. Ogilvie.
15th do. Lieut.-Colonel Bird.
27th do. Lt.-Col. J. Maxwell.
45th do. Major Saxton.

2d Brigade.—Brig.-General Agnew, killed at Germanstown, 1777.
5th Regt.—Lt.-Col. Walcot, died of wounds at Germanstown.
28th do. Lt.-Col. Rob. Prescot.
35th do. Lt.-Col. Robert Carr, killed at White Plains, 1776.
49th do. Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Calder, Bart.

3d Brigade.—Major-General Jones.
10th Regt.—Major Vatass.
37th do. Lt.-Col. Robt. Abercromby.
38th do. Lt.-Col. Wm. Butler.
52d do. Lt.-Col. Mungo Campbell, son af Barcaldine, killed at Fort Montgomerie in 1777.

4th Brigade.—Maj.-Gen. Jas. Grant, Ballindalloch.
17th Regt.—Lt.-Col. Mawhood.
40th do. Lt.-Col. Jas Grant, killed in Long Island, 1776.
46th do. Lieut-Colonel Enoch Markham.
55th do. Captain Luke.

5th Brigade.—Brig.-General Smith.
23d Regt.—Lt.-Col. J. Campbell.
43d do. Lt.-Col. Geo. Clerke.
54 14th do. Lt.-Col. Alured Clarke.
63d do. Major Francis Sill.

6th Brigade.—Brig.-Maj.-Gen. Robertson.
23d Regt.—Lt.-Col. Benj. Bernard.
44th do. Major Henry Hope.
57th do. Lt.-Col. John Campbell of Strachur.
64th do. Maj. Hugh M'Leroch.

7th Brigade.—Brigadier-General Wm. Erskine, Quarter-Master-General.
17th Light Dragoons. Lieutenant-Colonel Birch.
71st Highlanders, 1st Battalion.—Maj. John Macdonell, Lochgary.
2d ditto. Maj. Norman Lamont of Lamont.

Brigade of Guards.—Major-General Mathew.
Light Infantry Brigade. Brig.-Gen. the Hon. Alexander Leslie.
1st Battalion Light Infantry. Maj. — Thos. Musgrave, succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel Robert Abercromby.
2d ditto. ditto. Major Strawbenzie.
3d ditto. ditto. Major the Hon. John Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauderdale.
4th ditto. ditto. Major John Johnson.

RESERVE.

Right Hon. Lientenant-General Earl of Cornwallis.
Brigadier-General the Hon. John Vaughan.
33d Regiment.—Lieut.-Col. Webster, killed at Guildford 1779.
42d ditto. Royal Highland.—Lieut.-Col. Thomas Stirling.
1st Battalion Grenadiers. Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Henry Monckton, killed at Monmouth, 1778.
2d ditto ditto Lieut.-Col. William Meadows.
3d ditto, ditto. Major Thomas Marsh.
4th Highland ditto. Major the Hon. Charles Stuart.
Royal Artillery and Engineers. Brigadier-General Cleveland.

The whole force, including 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers, landed in August, amounted to 30,000 men.

The campaign opened by a landing on Long Island, on

the 22d of August 1776. The reserve was landed first in Gravesend Bay to the right of the Narrows, and being immediately moved forward to Flat Bush, the Highlanders and a corps of Hessians were detached to a little distance, where they encamped. After the disembarkation was completed, the whole army followed, and occupied the ground from Flat Bush in front of the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht. General Putnam with the American army was encamped at Brooklyn, a few miles distant, where his works crossed a small peninsula, having the East river on his left, and a marsh on his right. The two armies were separated by a range of woody hills, which intersected the country from east to west. The direct road to the enemy lay through a pass beyond the village of Flat Bush. The army lay in this position till the morning of the 27th, when it was determined to attack the enemy in three divisions.

At night-fall the right wing of the English army, under the command of General Clinton, supported by the brigade under Lord Percy, moved towards their right, with an intention of occupying a pass on the heights, three miles from Bedford, which the enemy had neglected to guard. This pass being seized without opposition, the main body of the army marched through, and descended to the level country which lay between the hills and General Putnam's lines. Meanwhile the Hessians remained at Flat Bush, and General Grant with his brigade (to the support of which the Royal Highlanders were ordered up from the reserve) was directed to march from the left, along the coast to the Narrows, and attack the enemy in that quarter. At 9 o'clock in the morning, the right of the army having reached Bedford, an attack was made on the left of the enemy, who, after a short resistance, quitted the woody grounds and retired to their lines in great confusion, pursued by the British troops, Colonel Charles Stuart leading with his battalion of Highland grenadiers. The enemy's line had been strengthened with considerable labour, but, as was afterwards proved, could offer no effectual resistance to troops so ardent

and so eager to close with their antagonists. But General Howe formed a different opinion, and would not permit the troops to attack the position,—a resolution the more to be regretted, as he must have seen both the spirit which animated his own men, and the despondency of the Americans. By this cautious proceeding, and, as stated by General Howe, from a desire to save the lives of his soldiers, many thousands were afterwards sacrificed to recover what, on this occasion, was lost.

When the firing at Bedford was heard at Flat Bush, the Hessians under General De Heister attacked the centre of the American army, and, after a smart engagement, drove them through the woods, with the loss of three pieces of cannon. General Grant, with the left of the army, advanced from the Narrows by the edge of the bay, to attack the enemy in that quarter. The attack commenced with a smart cannonade, which was kept up on both sides till the Americans heard the firing at Bedford, when they retreated in great confusion. Unfortunately, the same caution, and the same want of confidence in the bravery of his troops, which characterized Sir William Howe, also influenced General Grant, and, consequently, the same loss of time took place as on the right. Instead of moving rapidly forward in pursuit of the enemy, who, having to retreat through a deep morass, intersected by a narrow path, must have surrendered had they been closely pursued, the General halted, and thus not only lost the opportunity of capturing a numerous body of the enemy, but also of intercepting those who had retreated from Flat Bush. Having thus retired from all points of attack, the Americans took shelter within their lines.

In this affair, the enemy lost 2000 men killed, drowned in the morass, or taken prisoners. Among the latter were Generals the Earl of Stirling, * Sullivan, and Uddell. The

* This was a gentleman of the name of Alexander, born in America, who claimed and assumed the title of Earl of Stirling. The family must now extinct, as no claimant has appeared since this gentleman's death.

British lost 5 officers and 56 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 12 officers and 245 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. A party of marines, mistaking a detachment of the enemy for Hessians, were taken prisoners. The loss of the Highlanders was Lieutenant Crammond and 9 rank and file wounded, of the 42d; and 3 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 9 rank and file wounded, of the 71st regiment.

The same evening (the 27th) the army encamped in front of the enemy's lines, and on the 28th broke ground opposite their left redoubt. But General Washington, who had crossed over from New York during the action, seeing no hope of resisting the force opposed to him, resolved on a retreat, which was conducted so skilfully, that 9000 men, with guns, ammunition, and stores, were, in the course of one night, transported over a broad ferry to New York, and with such silence and secrecy, that our army were not aware of their intention till next morning, when the last of the rear-guard were seen in their boats, and out of danger.

After the escape of the enemy, active operations were resumed on the 15th September; and the reserve, which the Royal Highlanders had rejoined after the action at Brooklyn, crossed over the island to New York, three miles above the town, and, after some opposition, took post on the heights. The landing being completed, the Highlanders and Hessians, who were ordered to advance to Bloomingdale, to intercept the enemy, now retreating from New York, fell in with and captured a corps of New England men and Virginians. That night the regiment lay on their arms, occasionally skirmishing with the enemy.* On the

* This night Major Murray was nearly carried off by the enemy, but saved himself by his strength of arm and presence of mind. As he was crossing to his regiment from the light infantry battalion which he commanded, he was attacked by an American officer and two soldiers, against whom he defended himself for some time with his fusil, keeping them at a respectful distance. At last, however, they closed upon him, when unluckily his dirk slipped behind, and he could not, owing to his corpulence, reach it. Observing that the rebel

16th, the light infantry were sent out to dislodge a party of the enemy, who had taken possession of a wood facing the left of the British. The action becoming warm towards the evening, and the enemy pushing forward reinforcements, the Highlanders were sent to support the light infantry, when the Americans were quickely driven back to ther entrenchments. Perceiving that our force was small, they returned to the attack with 3000 men; but these were likewise repulsed, with considerable loss. In this affair our loss was 14 killed, and 5 officers and 70 men wounded. The 42d lost 1 sergeant and 3 privates killed, and Captains Duncan Macpherson and John Mackintosh, Ensign Alexander Mackenzie (who died of his wounds), and 3 sergeants, 1 piper, 2 drummers, and 47 privates, wounded. †

No farther operations of any importance occurred for some days. The enemy, who at first appeared much disheartened by their late defeats, were now gradually recovering spirit and confidence. To encourage this rising confidence, and for the purpose of forming a chain of detached corps along the heights from Kingsbridge to the White Plains, Washington made a general movement of his army, and established them on strong grounds in the rear of the Plains. General Howe, who had hitherto been occupied in throwing up entrenchments, as if expecting to be attacked, resolved to make a movement, with the view of inducing the enemy to quite their strong position. In consequence of this determination, the army embarked on the 12th of October, in flat-bottomed boats, and, passing through the intricate

officer had a sword in his hand, he snatched it from him, and made so good use of it, that he compelled them retreat, before some men of the regiment, who had heard the noise, could come up to his assistance. He wore the sword as a trophy during the campaign. He was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 27th regiment, and died the following year, much respected and beloved.

† This, although only an affair of outposts, was one of the briskest engagements on a small scale during the war; but no proper detailed account of it was ever published.

passage called Hell Gate, landed the same evening at Frogs-neck, near West Chester. Here it was found that they could not proceed, as a bridge, by which this latter place was connected with the mainland, had been destroyed by the enemy. The troops, therefore, re-embarked on the 18th, and proceeding along the coast, landed on Pell's Point, at the mouth of Hudson's River. Moving forward, they lay that night on their arms, their left being on a creek opposite to East Chester, and their right near Rochelle; and, the following day, reached White Plains, where the enemy had concentrated their whole force. Both armies being now in front of each other, it was determined to begin the attack by forcing a rising ground where the enemy had posted 4000 men. This post was carried with great spirit by the 28th and 35th regiments; but the position was found too distant to allow any impression to be made from it on the enemy's camp. General Howe, after a few ineffectual movements to bring the enemy to action, gave up the attempt, and retired from White Plains. * He then proceeded against Fort Washington and Kingsbridge, the former being very strong by nature, and rendered considerably more so by art. As it cut off the communication between New York and the continent, to the eastward and northward of Hudson's river, and prevented supplies from being sent by the way of Kingsbridge, it was necessary to reduce it, in order to open the communication. The garrison consisted of nearly 3000 men, and the strong grounds round the fort were covered with lines and works. The

* Soon after the accounts of this affair reached England, Lord Bannatyne travelled on horseback through Badenoch, and meeting a respectable looking tacksman, or gentleman farmer, he inquired if he came from the Lowlands, and what were the latest news from America. When informed that the British army had retired from White Plains without fighting, he exclaimed, "What! did they not attack the enemy?—surely the 42d was not there—*they* would not turn their backs on an enemy without fighting." Such being the opinion entertained of the regiment, it forms a ready solution of the alacrity with which young men in those days joined a body of troops they thought so brave and invincible.

principal attack was to be made by General Knyphausen with the Hessians, supported by Major-General Earl Percy, with the whole of the reserve, except the 42d, who were ordered to make a feint on the east side of the fort. On this side, the hill was so steep and rugged, that the enemy, thinking its summit inaccessible, had taken no measures to secure it. Before day-break of the 16th of November, the 42d marched from their encampment, and embarked in boats, to be conveyed to a small creek at the foot of the rock, where they were to land, and to make demonstrations to ascend the hill, for the purpose of diverting the attention of the enemy from the principal attack. The morning was well advanced before the boats with the 42d reached their station. The enemy, seeing their approach, opened a smart fire, which could not be returned, owing to the perpendicular height of the enemy's position. The instant the Highlanders landed, they formed hastily, and forgetting that their duty was intended only as a feint, they resolved to attempt an assault, and scrambled up the precipice, assisted by each other, and by the brushwood and shrubs which grew out of the crevices of the rocks. On gaining the summit, they rushed forward, and attacked the enemy with such rapidity, that upwards of 200, who had no time to make their escape, threw down their arms; while the Highlanders, pursuing their advantage, penetrated across the table of the hill, and met Lord Percy's Brigade as they were mounting on the opposite side: and thus the Highlanders, with their characteristic impetuosity, turned a feint into a real attack, and facilitated the success of the day. The enemy, seeing General Knyphausen approach in another direction, surrendered at discretion. Of the enemy 2700 men were made prisoners. The loss of the British was 1 captain, 2 sergeants, and 17 rank and file, killed; and 4 subalterns, 8 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 88 rank and file, wounded: the proportion of the Royal Highlanders being 1 sergeant and 10 privates killed, and Lieu-

tenants Patrick Græme, (Inchbrackie,) Norman Macleod, * and Alexander Grant, and 4 sergeants and 66 rank and file, wounded.

The next attempt was to get possession of Fort Lee, in order to secure the entire command of the North River, and to open an easy communication into the Jerseys. With the Grenadiers, Light infantry, Royal Highlanders, and 33d regiment, Lord Cornwallis was ordered to attack this post. Landing in the Jerseys, on the 18th November, eight miles above Fort Lee, his Lordship instantly pushed forward, in the hope of surprising the enemy; but they were apprised of his approach (by a deserter), and retreated in great confusion, leaving guns, ammunition, and stores behind them. On the following day, the enemy retired from Newbridge, at the approach of the Grenadiers and Light infantry, under Major-General Vaughan. Lord Cornwallis, reinforced at this place by the two battalions of Fraser's Highlanders, continued the pursuit to Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Brunswick. In the latter town he was ordered to halt, to the great relief of the enemy, who were flying before him, unable to make the least resistance, and having apparently no other object than to keep a day's march a-head of their pursuers. Lord Cornwallis halted for eight days at Brunswick, when the Commander-in-Chief, with the army, moved forward, and reached Prince Town in the afternoon

* This hill was so perpendicular, that the ball which wounded Lieutenant Macleod, entering the posterior part of his neck, ran down on the outside of his ribs, and lodged in the lower part of his back.

One of the pipers, who began to play when he reached the point of a rock on the summit of the hill, was immediately shot, and tumbled from one piece of rock to another till he reached the bottom.

Major Murray being a large corpulent man, could not attempt this steep ascent without assistance. The soldiers, eager to get to the point of their duty, scrambled up, forgetting the situation of Major Murray, when he, in a melancholy supplicating tone, cried, "Oh soldiers, will you leave me?" A party leapt down instantly, and brought him up, supporting him from one ledge of the rock to another till they got him to the top.

of the 17th of November, an hour after it was evacuated by General Washington, who calculated with such exactness, that his rear-guard were retiring from Trenton at one end, while the British troops entered at another.

Winter having now set in, the army went into winter-quarters. Fraser's Highlanders and the 33d regiment were quartered at Amboy. The Royal Highlanders serving independently, were stationed on the advanced posts. These were occupied, from Trenton to Mount-holly, by the Hessians, the Highlanders being the only British regiment in the front. This force was under the command of the Hessian Colonel, Count Donop.

At this time the enemy were greatly dispirited by their late reverses, and were still apprehensive of continued pursuit. The advance of our troops, although hitherto slow, had been successful, and, if continued with spirit, would probably have reduced the Americans to the last extremity. But the British Commander suspended all active operations, and made another fruitless attempt at negotiation. General Washington availed himself of this opportunity for improving the discipline of his army, by partial attacks on the British posts. His occasional success reanimated the drooping spirits of his soldiers, who were rapidly acquiring experience, even from their defeats. The circumstance of the Hessians being in front, greatly favoured Washington's plans. As they were ignorant of the language of the country, and indulged in habits of pillage, which rendered them hateful even to the Loyalists, who avoided all communication with them, it was impossible that their commanders could obtain accurate intelligence of the movements of their opponents. Accordingly, on the 22d of January 1777, General Washington, by a successful stratagem, surprised and completely defeated the detachment of Hessians stationed at Trenton. By this reverse, the situation of the Royal Highlanders, who formed the left of the line of defence at Mount-holly, became extremely critical,

and they were, in consequence, ordered to fall back on the Light infantry at Prince Town.

Lord Cornwallis, who was in New York, and on the eve of embarking for England, returned to the army when he heard of the defeat of the Hessians; and, making immediate preparations to dislodge the Americans from Trenton, moved forward with a force consisting of the Grenadiers, two brigades of the line, and the two Highland regiments. After much skirmishing in the advance, he found General Washington posted on some high ground beyond Trenton. A heavy cannonade commenced on both sides, which continued till night, with occasional skirmishing between the advanced guards. Lord Cornwallis determined to renew the attack next morning, but the Americans had decamped during the night, leaving large fires burning to deceive their adversaries; and, proceeding towards Prince Town, by a road parallel to that by which our army had marched on the preceding day, and divided from it only by a small rivulet, they effected their retreat in safety and good order.

The object of Washington was to decline a general engagement, and, at the same time, to surprise that part of our army which Lord Cornwallis left at Prince Town. His Lordship had ordered the commander of this detachment, Colonel Mawhood, to follow him with the 17th, the 40th, and the 55th regiments. As he was preparing to execute this order, the Americans suddenly appeared on his flank and rear. Such was the secrecy and despatch with which they had marched, that the report of a smart discharge of musketry in his rear was the first notice of their approach. By cutting away a bridge over a brook, which separated the two armies, the detachment might have avoided an engagement, and made good their retreat to Maidenhead. Conceiving, however, that some good might result from delaying the progress of the Americans, Colonel Mawhood resolved to hazard an action. Accordingly, he formed his regiments, and when the enemy advanced, he poured

in a heavy discharge of artillery, which, as they were not yet formed, did great execution. The advanced body of the enemy being observed in some disorder, the 17th regiment charged and drove them across a ravine in their rear. Separated by their ardour from the rest of the detachment, the 17th charged again another body on their right, and cutting their way through the enemy, marched unmolested to Maidenhead. The 40th and 55th being themselves vigorously attacked by the enemy, were not able to support the 17th. These attacks were so sudden and unexpected, that, without any concerted plan, or opportunity of giving orders, each corps fought and defended themselves separately, and, while the 17th made good their retreat to Maidenhead, the other corps retired on Brunswick, with a great loss of men in killed and wounded, the greater part of the latter being taken prisoners.

Lord Cornwallis established his head quarters at Brunswick, where he passed the winter. On the 6th of January 1777, the Royal Highlanders were detached from head quarters to the village of Pisquatua, on the line of communication between New York and Brunswick by Amboy. This was a post of great importance, as it kept open the communication by which provisions were conveyed to the British forces at Brunswick, which communication the enemy were most anxious to interrupt and cut off. The duty here was severe, and the season rigorous. As the houses in the village could not accommodate half the men, officers and soldiers were intermixed in barns and sheds, sleeping always in their body-clothes, as the enemy were constantly sending down nocturnal parties, to fire at the sentinels and picquets. While employed in exciting these nightly alarms, they, however, kept at a respectful distance, never making any regular attack on this post, as they frequently did on that of the Hessians, for whom they began to lose much of their former dread. *

* When the Hessians first landed in America, they were held in great dread

In this manner passed the winter and spring. On the 10th of May, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the American Generals, Maxwell and Stephens, attacked the Royal Highland regiment with 2000 men. Advancing with great secrecy, and being completely covered by the nature of the country, their approach was not perceived till they rushed forward on a small level piece of ground in front of the picquets. These they attacked with such promptitude, that the men had hardly time to seize their arms. Notwithstanding this unexpected and sudden attack, they kept the enemy in check till the picquets in reserve came to their assistance. Pushing forward fresh numbers, the enemy became at length mixed with the picquets, who retired, disputing every foot, to afford more time to the regiment to turn out. The soldiers were less in readiness than the picquets, being all employed in different avocations, or taking the rest they could not enjoy at night. But the resistance made by the picquets allowed them time to assemble, and the enemy were driven back, with great precipitation, leaving upwards of 200 men in killed and wounded. The Highlanders, pursuing with great eagerness, were with difficulty recalled, and were only prevented by the approach of night from pushing on to attack the enemy's camp. The loss of the Highlanders was 3 sergeants and 9 privates killed; and Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenant William Stewart, and 3 sergeants and 30 privates, wounded. *

by the people. To remove this impression, General Washington ordered the prisoners taken at Trenton to be led through several towns, to accustom the people to the sight of these formidable looking soldiers, whose whiskers, beards, and rough caps, inspired such awe. The surprise at Trenton dispelled this childish terror; and whiskers, fierce looks, and fur caps, lost their effect.

* On this occasion, Sergeant Macgregor, whose company was immediately in the rear of the picquet, rushed forward to their support, with a few men who happened to have their arms in their hands, when the enemy commenced the attack. Being severely wounded, he was left insensible on the ground. When the picquet was overpowered, and the few survivors forced to retire, Macgregor, who had that day put on a new jacket with silver lace, having, besides, large silver buckles in his shoes, and a watch, attracted the notice of

The lieutenant and 3 sergeants were disabled for life, as well as many of the men from the severe wounds naturally to be expected in such close fighting. Six sergeants, all men of the best conduct and character, were considered a great loss to the regiment.

Summer being now well advanced, preparations were made for taking the field. Much time had been already lost in waiting for supplies of camp equipage and stores from England. The 42d, along with the 15th, 17th, and 44th regiments, were this campaign put under the command of Major-General Charles Grey.

Sir William Howe, having assumed the command about the middle of June, attempted to draw General Washington from his station at Middle Brooke, a place too strong to be prudently attacked. The American Commander was so sensible of the advantage of his situation, that General Howe could not induce him to abandon it. The British General pushed on detachments, and made movements, as if he meant to march towards the Delaware, and advanced in front of the enemy's lines, where he continued four days, exploring the approaches, in the hope that some unguarded opening for an attack might be discovered. General Washington, though he could not be tempted from his position, detached a part of his troops under the command of Major-

an American soldier, who deemed him a good prize. The retreat of his friends not allowing him time to strip the sergeant on the spot, he thought the shortest way was to take him on his back to a more convenient distance. By this time Macgregor began to recover; and, perceiving whither the man was carrying him, drew his dirk, and, grasping him by the throat, swore that he would run him through the breast, if he did not turn back and carry him to the camp. The American, finding this argument irresistible, complied with the request, and, meeting Lord Cornwallis (who had come up to the support of the regiment when he heard the firing) and Colonel Stirling, was thanked for his care of the sergeant; but he honestly told them, that he only conveyed him thither to save his own life. Lord Cornwallis gave him liberty to go whithersoever he chose. His Lordship procured for the sergeant a situation under Government at Leith, which he enjoyed many years.

General Lord Stirling. These, falling in with the Guards and some battalions of Hessians, were routed with considerable loss.

Seeing no prospect of making any effectual impression on the enemy, General Howe determined to change the seat of the war. Accordingly, he embarked and sailed for the Chesapeak, with 36 battalions of British and Hessians, including the flank battalions of Grenadiers and Light infantry. Before the embarkation, the Royal Highlanders were joined by a detachment of 170 recruits from Scotland, who, as they were all of the best description, more than supplied the loss which the regiment had sustained from different casualties.

After a tedious voyage, the army landed at Elk Ferry on the 24th of August, but it was the 3d of September before they were ready to move from the head of the Elk, and to march to Philadelphia. From this unfortunate delay Washington had time to march across the country, and to take an advantageous position at Red Clay Creek, whence detachments were pushed forward, with the intention of annoying the British troops, by partial skirmishes, on their march. As the country was difficult, woody, and full of defiles, this march was necessarily slow; consequently, it was not till the middle of September that General Howe reached the Brandy Wine River, beyond which the enemy had taken up a strong position, with a seeming determination to make a stand there, and to oppose the further advance of the Royal Army. The different fording places were therefore secured and defended by the enemy; and at Chad's Ford, where it was thought most probable that the British would attempt to cross, batteries were erected, and entrenchments thrown up, to command and defend the passage. While the attention of the enemy was occupied at this place, Lord Cornwallis, with four battalions of British Grenadiers and Light infantry, the Hessian Grenadiers, a party of the 71st Highlanders, and the 3d and 4th brigades, made a circuit of some miles, crossed Jeffrey's Ford without opposition, and turned short down the river, to at-

tack the enemy's right. General Washington, being informed of this movement, detached General Sullivan, with all the force he could spare, to oppose his Lordship's division. The American General having posted his men advantageously, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to consume some time in forming a line of battle. That being done, the troops rushed on the enemy, and drove them from all their posts, through the woods, towards the main army. In the mean time, General Knyphausen, with his division, made demonstrations of passing the river at Chad's Ford, keeping the enemy in suspense till Lord Cornwallis's movement was ascertained. As soon as this was known by the firing of cannon in that quarter, he advanced, and, crossing the river, carried the batteries and entrenchments of the enemy; and, following up his advantage, while Lord Cornwallis was pushing forward on the right, a general rout ensued, and the enemy retreated on all points. General Washington, with the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his cannon and baggage to Chester, whence he proceeded next morning to Philadelphia, for the purpose of collecting the remains of his scattered army.

Such was the issue of the battle of Brandy Wine, in which the troops on both sides gave many proofs of gallantry. The loss of the British was less than might have been expected in a battle fought against an enemy stationed on strong ground of their own choice. The total number was 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, and 63 rank and file, killed; and 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 16 captains, 20 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 35 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 333 rank and file, wounded.

The battalion companies of the 42d regiment being in reserve, sustained no loss, as they were not brought into action; but of the flank companies, which formed part of the light brigade, 4 privates were killed, and 2 sergeants and 15 privates wounded. In this action were present the Marquis de la Fayette, and several other French officers,

who had joined the American cause, and who exerted themselves in a very conspicuous manner.

In this unfortunate war, it was the fate of the British army, that their victories led to no important consequences; on the present occasion, instead of pursuing a broken and defeated army, preventing their reassembling, and capturing their stores and magazines, General Howe made no forward movement, but permitted the American General to recruit his army, and collect new stores at his leisure.

On the 22d September 1777, the British army were to ford the Schuylkill river at Valley Forge. The American General ordered a select brigade of his light troops, under the command of General Wayne, to take post six miles in rear of the British, and to embrace every opportunity of attacking and harassing them while fording the river. Sir William Howe, having received intelligence of Wayne's post and intentions, ordered a detachment to march at 11 o'clock at night, consisting of a party of Light dragoons, the 2d battalion of Light infantry, under the command of the honourable Major Maitland, and the 42d and 44th regiments, the whole commanded by Major-General Charles Grey, to attack General Wayne's Camp. General Grey directed the soldiers to make use of their bayonets only. The detachment marched with great secrecy and despatch, and came on the enemy at midnight, when the picquets and out-guards were overpowered in an instant, without causing any alarm. The troops then rushed forward, and before the Americans had time to seize their arms, bayoneted more than 300, and took 100 prisoners; the rest owed their escape to the darkness of the night. The loss of the British, as might have been expected, in such a complete surprise, was trifling, being 1 officer, 1 sergeant, and 1 private killed, and a few wounded.

On the 25th, the army moved forward to German Town, and the following morning the Grenadiers advanced to Philadelphia, of which they took peaceable possession, as the enemy had previously retired.

General Washington, having received considerable reinforcements, and wishing to show how little he had suffered, and how soon he had recovered from the effects of his defeat at Brandy Wine, determined on an enterprise equally bold in itself, and unexpected on the part of the British general. He marched from his ground, on the evening, with an intention of surprising and attacking the British at German Town, where he arrived about three in the following morning. The 40th, and a battalion of Light infantry, flew to their arms, and, forming hastily, made a vigorous resistance. They were, however, forced to give way to the number of the enemy, and the vivacity of their attack, but the judgment and foresight of Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave saved the army from a surprise, which might have led to serious consequences, With six companies of the 40th, he threw himself into a large stone house, from which he annoyed the assailants with such effect as to arrest their farther progress, till Major-General Grey arrived with his brigade, and, supported by Brigadier-General Agnew, with the 4th brigade, forced the Americans to retreat. In this short, but brisk engagement, the loss on both sides was greater than in the action of Brandy Wine, and although the enemy were repulsed, the attack itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, proved how little they had been intimidated by their late defeat, and how much they had improved both in courage and discipline.

The Highlanders were not present in this action, having been sent on a detachment with the 10th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling, to drive the enemy from a post at Billingspoint. On the 8th of October, however, they returned to the 3d Brigade under General Grey, and bore a part in all the future operations of the campaign. The most important of these was an attempt of Sir William Howe to bring General Washington to a general action at White Marsh, a strong position about fourteen miles from Philadelphia. Finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he

returned to Philadelphia on the 8th, and ordered the army into winter quarters.

The winter passed without any remarkable occurrence, * and, in the month of May 1778, Sir William Howe was recalled, and General Clinton appointed Commander-in-Chief. The new commander opened the summer campaign with the evacuation of Philadelphia, crossed the Delaware, and reached Monmouth on the 28th of June. In the neighbourhood of this place the American general had posted his army in considerable force. The extreme heat of the weather and an immense convoy of provisions, retarded General Clinton's movements, and afforded a favourable opportunity to the Marquis de la Fayette, who was eager to distinguish himself in the cause of his new friends, and who, accordingly, being supported by General Lee, made several attacks on the rear of the British column. †

* Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling, with the Queen's Rangers and 42d regiment, was ordered on a foraging party into the Jerseys. In an excursion through the woods, a Highland soldier came unexpectedly in sight of an American, when their pieces happened to be unloaded. Each flew behind a tree to cover himself while loading; but fearing that the first who ventured out of cover would be brought down by the other, both kept possession of their trees, till at last the Highlander, losing patience, pushed his bonnet beyond the tree on the point of his bayonet. The American shot his ball through its centre, when his opponent starting forward, made him surrender instantly.

† When the Grenadier Brigade lay on their arms, before the commencement of the action, the Marquis de la Fayette, accompanied by a number of officers, rode up, and halting at the distance of 300 yards, asked, "What troops are these," when Captain Graham, of the 42d, answered, "The British Grenadiers;" "Very well," said La Fayette, "be prepared and we will soon be up with you." Accordingly, in less than an hour, he made his attack with great briskness, but was driven back with such precipitation, that General Lee, with a strong body of men in support, could not save him, and both were compelled to retreat in great disorder. Lee was sharply questioned by General Washington, why he allowed himself to be beaten. "Sir," answered Lee, "you know not the troops I opposed, they were the English Grenadiers." General Lee knew them well, having served many years as Lieutenant and Captain in the Grenadiers of the 44th regiment. He was tried by a Court-martial for his conduct on this occasion, and suspended for six months from rank and pay.

They were uniformly repulsed, but, as they occasioned considerable delay, General Clinton resolved to attack the main body of the enemy, who were drawn up in line, behind Monmouth Court-house. The ground being favourable, the cavalry made several successful charges, when the Grenadiers and Guards advanced rapidly on the enemy's front line, which made a vigorous resistance, but was, at length, forced to give way. A reinforcement being ordered up in support of the Guards, they again advanced, and attacked the enemy in a second position which they had taken. This attack was also resisted for some time; but unable to maintain their ground, the enemy at length retreated, and again formed on a third position, but in such good order, and on ground so strong, that General Clinton did not think it advisable to push the attack, and withdrew the troops who had suffered extremely from the heat of the weather, (numbers dropping down in the ranks, and expiring in a few minutes,) to the advantageous position whence the first attack had been made. Here they halted till ten in the evening, when they resumed their march, and passed over to Staten and Long Islands, and from thence to New York. The loss on this occasion, as well as on all others where the enemy were opposed on open ground, was moderate, being only 3 officers and 56 soldiers killed, and 16 officers, 7 sergeants, and 137 rank and file, wounded.

A short time after the army had reached New York, a new enemy appeared in a French fleet of twelve sail of the line, and six frigates, under the command of the Count D'Estaing. The fleet under Lord Howe, though inferior to that of the enemy, was nevertheless formidable, from the state of the crews and equipments, and the character of the officers. It consisted of six ships of the line, and four of fifty guns, with several frigates and smaller vessels. D'Estaing anchored off New York, with an apparent intention of entering the harbour and attacking the British admiral; but, after remaining eleven days at anchor, he proceeded to co-operate with the American general Sullivan, at the head

of a force of 10,000 men, in an attack upon Rhode Island. On the 8th of August, D'Estaing's fleet anchored above the town of Newport, in Rhode Island, whither he was followed by Lord Howe. On the 11th, the French admiral put to sea, when Lord Howe offered him battle; but, after some days manœuvring, both fleets were dispersed by a heavy gale of wind.

The land forces were now left to themselves. General Pigot, who commanded in Rhode Island, was reinforced by General Prescot, with five battalions. Either from being disappointed in the expected co-operation of the French fleet, or from some other cause, the enemy deserted in such numbers, that General Sullivan found it necessary to make a precipitate retreat, which he effected with little loss, and, crossing to the main land at Holylands Ferry, avoided the intended attack of Sir Henry Clinton, who had arrived from New York with a body of troops for the relief of Rhode Island.

The next enterprise was under the direction of Major-General Charles Grey, who embarked with the Grenadiers, the Light Infantry brigade, and the 42d regiment, for the purpose of proceeding to the Acushnet river, to attempt to destroy a great assemblage of privateers, which, with their prizes, lay at New Plymouth. This expedition was completely successful. The troops landed on the banks of the Acushnet on the 5th of September, and, by noon the following day, the whole were reimbarked, having destroyed seventy vessels, with all the stores, cargoes, wharfs, and buildings, along the whole extent of the river. After this exploit they returned to New York.

Another expedition of the same nature was soon afterwards undertaken against Egg Harbour, and some parts of the Jerseys, where a number of vessels and store-houses were destroyed. In the mean time, the corps of cavalry known by the name of Lady Washington's dragoons, commanded by Colonel Bellairs, was surprised and nearly annihilated by the second light infantry, commanded by Ma-

jor Ferguson. In this manner the war was carried on by petty expeditions, unpleasant and fatiguing in themselves, and productive of little honour or satisfaction either to the officer or soldier.

At that period the winter was more a season of rest than has been the case in the course of later campaigns. It was not till the 25th of February that Colonel Stirling, with the Light infantry of the Guards, and the 42d regiment, was ordered to attack a post at Elizabeth Town, commanded by the American General Maxwell. The detachment met with no resistance, the enemy retreating as they approached. In April the Highland regiment was employed on an expedition to the Chesapeak, to destroy the stores and merchandise at Portsmouth in Virginia. On the 30th General Mathews, with the Guards, the 42d regiment, and a corps of Hessians, sailed under the convoy of Commodore Sir George Collier, in the Reasonable, and several ships of war, and reached their destination on the 10th of May, when the troops landed on the Glebe, on the western bank of Elizabeth. Having completed the object of the expedition, the whole were re-embarked, (having met with no casualties, except four wounded), and returned to New York in good time for the opening of the campaign, which commenced by an expedition to Verplanks and Stony Point; the former a regular work, which commanded the communication, by King's Ferry, on the Hudson river, between the eastern and western States. This service being likewise accomplished without opposition or loss, the army fell back on the 4th of June to Kingsbridge, and there encamped. Another expedition was projected against New London; but while preparations were going forward for that purpose, an account was received, which evinced the increasing enterprise of the enemy, in the surprise and capture of Stony Point, a strong post garrisoned by 600 men, (among whom were two companies of Fraser's Highlanders,) the commander of which fell a sacrifice to too great confidence, and an unfortunate habit of despising his enemy,—a prejudice

which has frequently brought discomfiture and disgrace on military men. On this occasion, success was followed by its natural consequences; the hopes and enterprise of the enemy were animated and emboldened. A proof of this was an immediate attack by General Wayne on the post of Verplanks, which was garrisoned by the 33d regiment under Colonel Webster. The garrison held out, till General Wayne, receiving accounts of the approach of Colonel Stirling, with the Light infantry, and the 42d, retreated from Verplanks, and having also evacuated Stony Point, Colonel Stirling took possession, and assumed the command of the whole.

This officer being now appointed aide-de-camp to the King, and a brigadier-general, the command of the 42d devolved on Major Charles Graham, to whom also was intrusted the command of the posts of Stony Point and Verplanks, together with his own regiment, and a detachment of Fraser's Highlanders under Major Ferguson, and the Light infantry of the 82d regiment under the command of Lieutenant Robert Hamilton, now an advocate and a Principal Clerk of the Court of Session. This duty was the more important, as the enemy surrounded the posts in great numbers, and desertion had become so frequent among a corps of Provincials, sent as a reinforcement, that they could not be trusted on any military duty, particularly on those duties which are most harassing—the outposts fronting the enemy. In the month of October these posts were withdrawn, and the regiment fell back on Greenwich, in the neighbourhood of New York. During these various movements and transactions, General Washington remained in a strong position beyond Stony Point and Verplanks, and showed no disposition to quit a situation where he could not be attacked without great disadvantage to his assailants.

The winter of 1779 was the coldest that had been known in that climate for forty years; and the troops, although

now in quarters, suffered more from that circumstance than in the preceding winter when in huts. But the Highlanders met with a misfortune of a more grievous kind,—a misfortune from which it took several years to enable them to recover. In the autumn of this year a draft of 150 men, recruits raised principally from the refuse of the streets of London and Dublin, was embarked for the regiment by orders of the Inspector-General at Chatham. These men, as might have been expected, were of the most depraved characters, and of such dissolute habits, that one-half of them were unfit for service; 16 died in the passage, and 75 were sent to the hospital from the transports as soon as they disembarked. * By men so temperate and regular in their habits as the Highlanders, both officers and men, the contamination of the dregs of large cities could not fail to be regarded as a great calamity. On this subject General Stirling made strong representations to the Commander-in-Chief; and in consequence, these men were removed to the 26th regiment, in exchange for the same number of Scotchmen. When it is considered that the ranks of the 42d regiment might easily have been filled from the country where it was originally raised, chiefly because the young Highlanders believed that they would meet with countrymen only, it is not easy to account for this arrangement of the Inspector-General, which, if persevered in, would have been productive of much evil, without any apparent good to counterbalance it. The feelings of an honourable old soldier were outraged, when he saw himself associated with men collected from the police offices and streets of London. By such society the moral principles of the young soldiers were not only endangered, but it dissolved that charm and expectation of companionship, which had hitherto so greatly favoured recruiting, and it destroyed that national feeling

* In the year 1776 the three battalions of the 42d and of Fraser's Highlanders embarked 3248 soldiers: after a stormy passage of more than three months, none died: they had only a few sick, and these not dangerously.

which influenced the men, who believed, that, while they were all Scotsmen, they were bound to support the honour of Scotland. In the honour of their new comrades of St Giles's and Tothil Fields, Westminster, they could hardly be expected to take the same lively interest. This measure will appear the more remarkable when it is recollected, that a desperate mutiny, by which many lives were lost, occurred this year at Leith, in consequence of two detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and Fraser's Highlanders being ordered to join other corps, instead of those for which they were originally enlisted. * Thus while, on the one hand, the good name of the regiment was in danger of being tarnished by the depravity of those men who were forced upon them, the lives of several spirited youths fell a sacrifice to their desire to join this regiment; and the whole became amenable to the laws for the mutinous manner in which, in their ignorance and despair, they endeavoured to prevent their original engagements from being violated. †

I have noticed, that, at the conclusion of the Seven-years' War, the officers of the regiment were highly respectable, and many of them both accomplished gentlemen and able

* See article on the Mutiny of Highland Regiments.

† A more mischievous and unnecessary measure than this could not well have been devised: it exposed the corps to almost certain degradation, besides the danger of the young and virtuous soldier becoming familiar with the view of vice, which he might at first abhor, but would in the end, perhaps, learn to imitate. Every delinquency of their new comrades would necessarily lower the whole regiment in the estimation of the public, who could not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. Of this we have many instances in Highland corps, where the guilt and depravity of a few (and these few aliens and strangers to the country whose name is borne, and whose character is represented by the regiment), have brought discredit upon an honourable body of men. It is said, that, in some Highland corps, who have a considerable mixture of strangers, the same firmness in the field, and the same urbanity and regular habits in quarters, are evinced. If this statement is correct, it would be desirable to ascertain the share of praise due to the strangers.

officers. At the present period also the regiment was fortunate in this respect. How much the authority and example of such officers will influence the conduct of the soldiers is evident. The regiment was now in its fifth campaign; but the men preserved so completely their original habits of temperance and moderation, that, while rum and all spiritous liquors were served out daily to the other troops, the Highlanders received their allowance every third or fourth day, in the same manner as the officers. This was continued till it was found inconvenient for the soldiers to carry more than one day's allowance on long marches. At that period all the soldiers were natives of the country from which the regiment took its denomination; and, consequently, they carried with them to the military ranks those habits of temperance and sobriety which, as I have noticed in the preliminary sketch of the manners and customs of the Highlanders, formed a marked trait in their character. That they did not abuse this honourable confidence, is evident from the circumstance of its never having been withdrawn, except for the convenience of the soldiers. These five campaigns embraced many movements, and from affinity of language, and from the promises and allurements which the Americans held out, there were, of course, many inducements to desertion. Desertions from other corps were, indeed, very frequent; but in this regiment it was otherwise; not a man deserted; and of more than 1000 men of whom the corps consisted, there was only one punished during the whole of these five years. This man had asked leave of absence, stating that he had business of consequence to transact; but, as there was a general order against granting leave, Colonel Stirling was obliged to refuse him. However, the man was determined, and went away without leave, and having, as he said, settled his business, returned to his regiment. This defiance of orders could not be passed over. He was tried and punished. But the unfortunate man endured a double punishment. The soldiers consider-

ed the honour and character of the corps implicated and tarnished, when they saw one of their number thus publicly brought to shame; and such was their horror of the castigation, and of the disgrace attached to it, that not a soldier in the regiment would mess with him. The second punishment was, in some respects, more severe than the first, and in every way, more efficient in preserving correct principles and conduct.

Such was the Royal Highland regiment, while it was preserved as a national and unmixed body. The Inspector-General dissolved the charm. Punishments being found indispensable for the men newly introduced, and others becoming more habituated to the sight, much of the sense of disgrace was necessarily lost. While Captain Peebles * commanded his company, there was not a complaint made to the commanding officer. His successor was constantly preferring complaints, and calling for punishment. The reason is plain. He misunderstood the character of his men, and knew not how to manage them. When he saw them looking sour and discontented at the suspicion and reproach thrown on their conduct by his harshness, his threatenings, and complaints, he called them mutinous; and, if he had not been checked, he would have made them so. Had this officer looked back to the five years previous to his joining the regiment, and reflected that 1000 men had continued to live together with so little cause for suspicion or reflection on their general behaviour, that no severity was necessary, it might have occurred to him, as it did to his commanding officer, that many faults which he saw in the men proceeded from some uncommon cause, or perhaps from his igno-

* Captain Peebles served as a volunteer with Montgomery's Highlanders, and was promoted to the 42d for his gallant conduct at Bushy Run, in 1763. He retired from the service at the conclusion of the war in 1783, and when the former editions were printed, was the last surviving officer of those who served with Montgomery's and with the Royal Highlanders in the Seven Years' War. He died in 1824, in his eighty-seventh year.

rance of their character, and from the harsh measures and intemperate language which he used towards them, and against which their spirit revolted; while, had he pursued a contrary line of conduct, they would probably have been as quiet and obedient to his orders as they had formerly been to his predecessors.

To return to the army at New York. Sir Henry Clinton, wishing to prosecute the war with vigour, and undertake some enterprise of importance, determined to make an attack on Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. Having made his arrangements for this purpose, he left General Knyphausen in the command, and, embarking the troops intended for Charlestown, sailed from New York on the 26th of December. Such was the severity of the weather, however, that, although the voyage might have been accomplished in ten days, it was the 11th of February 1780 before the troops disembarked on John's Island, thirty miles from Charlestown. Several of the transports were driven out of their course; others were taken; and a great proportion of the horses, both of cavalry and artillery, died on the voyage. So great were the impediments to be overcome, and so cautious was the advance of the General, that it was the 29th of March before the besieging army crossed Ashley River. The following day they encamped opposite the American lines.

On the 1st of April they broke ground in front of Charlestown. The American General Lincoln commanded in the town, and had strengthened the place in all its defences, both by land and water, in such a manner as threatened to render the siege both a tedious and difficult undertaking. Being probably aware of this, the Commander-in-Chief ordered the Royal Highlanders and Queen's Rangers to join him before Charlestown, which they did on the 18th of April, having sailed from New York on the 31st of March. After this the siege proceeded in the usual manner, till the 12th of May, when the garrison surrendered prisoners of

war. The loss of the British and Hessians, on this occasion, was 76 killed, and 189 wounded; and that of the 42d, Lieutenant Macleod and 9 privates killed, and Lieutenant Alexander Grant * and 14 privates wounded.

After the troops had taken possession of Charlestown, the 42d and Light infantry were ordered to Monck's Corner on a foraging party, and, returning on the 2d, they embarked on the 4th of June for New York, along with the Grenadiers and Hessians. After being encamped for some time on Staten Island, Valentine's Hill, and other stations in the province of New York, they went into winter quarters in the capital of the province. From this period, as the regiment was not engaged in any active service during the war, the changes of encampments and cantonments are too trifling to be noticed. About this time 100 recruits arrived from Scotland, all young men in the full vigour of health, and ready for immediate service.

Having, on the 15th of October 1781, received information that Lord Cornwallis was surrounded by a superior force at York Town, Sir Henry Clinton immediately embarked with 7000 men for his relief; but on reaching the capes of the Chesapeak, and receiving accounts that his Lordship had surrendered, he returned, and disembarked the troops at New York and Staten Island.

* The wound of Lieutenant Grant was remarkable for its apparent severity, but having a good constitution, and a healthy habit of body, he soon recovered. A six pound ball struck Mr Grant on the back in a slanting direction, near the right shoulder, carrying away the entire scapula, with several other bones, and leaving the whole surrounding parts in such a state, that he was allowed to remain on the ground, the only care of the surgeons being to make him as easy as possible for the short time they believed he had to live. He was afterwards removed to his quarters, and, to the surprise of the surgeons, they found him alive the following morning, and free of fever and all bad symptoms. In a short time he recovered completely, and served many years in perfect health. He died in 1807, major on half pay of the 78th regiment. He was son to Colonel Grant of Moy, who died in April 1822, and who is noticed in the Appendix as having been taken up on suspicion of having shot Munro of Culcairn in 1746.

On the 28th of April 1782, Major Graham succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Royal Highland regiment in the room of Colonel Stirling, promoted to the 71st, *vice* General Fraser deceased; Captain Walter Home of the Fusileers succeeded Major Graham.

While the regiment was quartered at Paulus Hook, the advanced post from New York leading to the Jerseys, some occurrences took place equally new and disgraceful. Several of the men deserted to the enemy. This unexpected and unprecedented dereliction of duty occasioned much surprise, and various causes were assigned for it: the prevailing opinion was, that the men who had been received from the 26th regiment, and who had been made prisoners at Saratoga, had been seduced while in the hands of the Americans, by promises of grants of lands, and other indulgences. Such was their infatuation, that when this happened it was quite well known that they would soon have their discharge, with a government grant of land to each man. One of the deserters, a man of the name of Anderson, was soon afterwards taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot.

The regiment remained in Paulus Hook till the conclusion of the war, when the establishment was reduced to eight companies, of fifty men each, the officers of the ninth and tenth companies being kept as supernumeraries in the regiment, to succeed as vacancies occurred. A number of the men were discharged at their own request, and their place was supplied by those who wished to remain in the country, instead of going home with their regiments. These were taken from Fraser's and Macdonald's Highlanders, and from the Edinburgh and the Duke of Hamilton's regiments. From these corps a sufficiency of good men, for so small an establishment, was easily obtained.

Subjoined is a list of casualties from the year 1776 to the peace. The nature of the service during the latter period of the war was more fatiguing than dangerous, and consequently the loss was moderate.

Return of Killed and Wounded during the American Revolutionary War, from 1776 *to* 1783.

	KILLED.			WOUNDED.		
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers, and rank and file.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers, and rank and file.
1776, August 22d and 27th. Long Island, including the battle of Brooklyn			5	1	1	19
September 16th. York Island supporting Light Infantry	1*	1	3	3	3	47
November 16th. Attack on Fort Washington		1	10	3	4	66
December 22d. At Black Horse on the Delaware			1		1	6
1777, February 13th. At Amboy, Grenadier company			3		3	17
May 10th. Pisquatua, Jerseys		3	9	2	3	30
September 11th. Battle of Brandy Wine			4		2	14
October 5th. Battle of German-Town, the light company		1				4
1778, March 22d. Foraging parties Jerseys						4
June 28th. Battle of Monmouth, Jerseys		2	20	1	1	17
1779, February 26th. Elisabeth Town, Jerseys						9
1780. April and May to 12th. Siege of Charlestown	1		12	1		14
March 16th. Detachment sent to forage from New York to the Jerseys				2		3
1781, September and October. York Town, in Virginia, light company		1	5			6
Total,	2	9	72	13	18	256

It has been already mentioned, that, before the regiment left Glasgow, in the year 1776, the men had been furnished with broadswords and pistols. The latter were of the old Highland fashion, with iron stocks. These being considered unnecessary except in the field, were

* Ensign Mackenzie, killed on this occasion, although an officer of approved merit, had been fourteen years an ensign: so slow was promotion in those days.

not intended, like the swords, to be worn by the men in quarters. When the regiment took the field on Staten and Long Island, it was said that the broadswords retarded the men by getting entangled in the brushwood, and they were, therefore, taken from them, and sent on board the transports. Admitting that the objection was well founded, so far as regarded the swords, it certainly could not apply to the pistols. In a close woody country, where troops are liable to sudden attacks and surprises by a hidden enemy, such a weapon is peculiarly useful. It is, therefore, difficult to discover a good reason for laying them aside. Neither does there appear to have been any objection to the resumption of the broadsword, when the service alluded to terminated. The marches through the woods of Long Island were only a few miles; whereas we have seen that the two battalions of the 42d, and Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders in the Seven Years' War, carried the broadsword on all their marches, through woods and forests of many hundred miles in extent. In the same manner, the swords were carried in Martinique and Guadaloupe, islands intersected with deep ravines, and covered with woods no less impervious than the thickest and closest woods of America. But, on that service, the broadsword, far from being complained of as an incumbrance, was, on many occasions, of the greatest efficacy when a decisive blow was to be struck, and the enemy were to be overpowered by an attack hand to hand. I have been told by several old officers and soldiers who bore a part in these attacks, that an enemy who stood for many hours the fire of musketry, invariably gave way when an advance was made sword in hand. It is to be regretted that a weapon which the Highlanders could use so well, should, together with the pistol, which is peculiarly serviceable in close woody countries, have been taken from the soldiers, and after the expense of purchase had been incurred, sent to rust and spoil in a store. They were never restored, and the regiment has had neither swords nor pistols since. It has been said that the broad-

sword is not a weapon to contend with the bayonet. Certainly, to all appearance, it is not; yet facts do not warrant the superiority of the latter weapon. From the battle of Culloden, where a body of undisciplined Highlanders, shepherds and herdsmen, with their broadswords, cut their way through some of the best disciplined and most approved regiments in the British army, (drawn up, too, on a field extremely favourable for regular troops,) down till the time when the swords were taken from the Highlanders, the bayonet was in every instance overcome by the sword.

On the 22d of October 1783, the regiment removed to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where they enjoyed the best health, and where they remained till the year 1786, when the battalion embarked, and sailed for the island of Cape Breton, two companies being detached to the island of St John.

Some difficulties occurred this year with regard to the promotion of officers in both battalions. As the second was serving in India, it was thought that the vacancies in each battalion should be filled up as in a distinct regiment. This question being referred to a Board of General Officers it was determined that the promotions should go on in both battalions as in one regiment; and that on a reduction, the juniors of each rank should first be reduced, without regard to which battalion they belonged. This was thought to bear hard on the officers of the first battalion, all the juniors of which except the younger ensigns had served longer than those of the second. Lieutentants James and Alexander Stewart, the two senior lieutenants, declined purchasing two companies that became vacant, from a dread of the reduction, as these companies would be the juniors. So slow was promotion, that it was not till the year 1791 that another opportunity offered for those gentlemen to purchase. No reduction, however, took place; for in the year 1786, the second battalion was formed into a distinct regiment,

and numbered the 73d, with the facings green instead of blue.

In consequence of preparations for war with Holland in 1787, two companies were added to the regiment. Captains William Johnstone and Robert Christie, who had purchased the companies refused by the Licutenants Stewarts, and had hitherto remained in second, succeeded to the additional companies. Ensign James Rose, and Lieutenant Robert Macdonald, brother of Sanda, from the half pay of Fraser's regiment, were appointed lieutenants, and Ensign David Stewart, Garth, from the half pay of the Athole Highlanders, and James Stuart, nephew of the Earl of Moray, ensigns on the augmentation. *

* On the 1st of June this year, Lord John Murray died, in the forty-second year of his command of the regiment, and was succeeded by Major-General Sir Hector Monro. It is said that Lord Eglinton was much disappointed on that occasion. He had formed an attachment to the Highland soldiers, when he commanded his Highland regiment in the Seven-years' War; and, owing to Lord J. Murray's great age, had long looked to the command of the Royal Highlanders. In Lord North's administration, and likewise in Mr Pitt's, he had, in some measure, secured the succession; but the King had previously, and without the knowledge of his ministers, assented to an application from Sir H. Munro. Lord Eglinton was appointed to the Scots Greys on the first vacancy. Till Lord John Murray was disabled by age, he was the friend and supporter of every deserying officer and soldier in the regiment. The public journals during the German or Seven-years' War give many instances. I shall notice one. When the disabled soldiers came home from Ticonderoga in 1758, to pass the Board at Chelsea, it is stated, "That the morning they were to appear before the Board, he was in London, and dressed himself in the full Highland uniform, and, putting himself at the head of all those who could walk, he marched to Chelsea, and explained their case in such a manner to the Commissioners, that all obtained the pension. He gave them five guineas to drink the King's health, and their friends with the regiment, and two guineas to each of those who had wives, and he got the whole a free passage to Perth, with an offer to such as chose to settle on his estate, to give them a house and garden." † This, it is added, was soon known in the North, and greatly encouraged recruiting. At that time, indeed, the regiment got more men than they required. Lord John was attentive to the interest of the offi-

† Westminster Journal.

In the month of August 1789, the regiment embarked for England, and landed at Portsmouth in October, after an absence of fourteen years. Immediately on landing, they marched to Guildford, and thence continued their route to the North, passing over Finchley Common, where numbers flocked to see them, no Highland corps having been in that neighbourhood since the year 1745, when the same regiment, then the 43d, or Sempill's Highlanders, was stationed there for a few weeks on its return from Flanders. In November they reached Tynemouth barracks, where they passed the winter. While there they were reinforced by 245 young recruits, raised by the officers who had been left at home for that purpose. *

In the month of May 1790, they marched to Glasgow, through Berwick and Edinburgh. In Scotland, as well as in England, their reception was warm and cordial, but not so enthusiastic as that expressed on the return of the regiment at the conclusion of the wars of 1802 and 1815. In America the service was far less brilliant, and the interval that had elapsed between the war and their arrival rendered the recollection of their services less vivid.

Fortunately their stay in Glasgow was short; for the hospitality with which the men were treated, and the facility of procuring ardent spirits, led to an evident relaxation

cers, and vigilant that their promotion should not be interrupted by ministerial or other influence. On several occasions, he got officers removed who had been put over his own. Once he came express from Ireland, and had an audience of the King, in consequence, as has been already mentioned, of two lieutenants having been appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, while the ensigns of his regiment were passed over. In the first instance he failed, but the two were afterwards removed.

In those days the value of such a friend to support his officers was of more importance than now, when equal justice is done to all.

* At this time there took place a small alteration in the military appointments of the men. The black leather belts for the bayonet were laid aside, and white buff belts supplied. Officers' epaulettes, which had formerly been very small, and only cost eighteen shillings, were then enlarged to the present size.

of discipline. This evil, however, was only transient, and of no considerable extent. But the circumstance attracted more notice, both on account of the estimation in which the regiment was held, and the hostile spirit of the Glasgow populace against the military, the source of many broils and disputes. The kindred feelings of cordiality and kindness which then existed, was therefore the more remarkable. *

* Such was the hospitality of the inhabitants, that it was difficult to prevent them from going about with bottles of whisky, forcing drams on the sentinels on duty.

SECTION VIII.

Edinburgh Castle, 1791—*Ross-shire*, 1792—*War*, 1793—*Embark*—*Join the army under the Duke of York at Menin*, 1793—*Ostend*—*Nieuport*—*England*, 1794—*Ostend*—*Join the Duke of York*—*Nimeguen*—*Inclement season*—*Bremen*—*England.*

In consequence of preparations for an expected rupture with Spain in the year 1790, the establishment was augmented; but, as recent circumstances in the Highlands had excited a strong sensation among the people, the regiment was not successful in recruiting.

Several independent companies were this summer raised. One of these, a fine band of young Highlanders, recruited by the Marquis of Huntly, joined the 42d, along with his Lordship, who had exchanged with Captain Alexander Grant.

In November, the regiment marched to Edinburgh Castle, and was a year stationed in that garrison. In this interval, it was remarked, that more fires occurred in the town than during any known period of the same extent; and an opportunity was thus afforded for the display of that alacrity with which the men turned out on any alarm. After being reviewed, in June 1791, by Lord Adam Gordon, the Commander in Chief, they marched to the North in October. Their head-quarters were at Fort George: one company was stationed at Dundee, one at Montrose, two at Aberdeen, and one in Banff.

In the spring of 1792, they assembled at Fort George, from thence marched to Stirling in July, and were reviewed there by the Honourable Lieutenant-General Leslie. They afterwards marched northward, and were cantoned along

the coast towns in the same manner as in the preceding year.

In autumn, the whole were ordered into Ross-shire, on account of some disturbances among the inhabitants, great numbers of whom had been dispossessed of their farms, in consequence of the new system of converting large tracts of country into pasture. The manner in which the people gave vent to their grief and rage, when driven from their ancient homes, showed that they did not merit this treatment, and that an improper estimate had been formed of their character. A few months after these cold-hearted wholesale ejectments, those who were permitted to remain as cottagers rose in a body, and, collecting all the sheep which had been placed by the great stock farmers on the possessions which they themselves had formerly held, they drove the whole before them, with an intention of sending them beyond the boundaries of the country; thinking, in their simplicity and despair, that, if they got quit of the sheep, they would be again reinstated in their farms. In this state of insurrection they continued for some time, but no act of violence or outrage occurred; nor did the sheep suffer in the smallest degree beyond what resulted from the fatigues of the journey, and the temporary loss of their pasture. Though pressed with hunger, these conscientious peasants did not take a single animal for their own use, contenting themselves with the occasional supplies of meal or victuals which they obtained in the course of their journey. To quell these tumults, which occasioned little less alarm among some of the gentlemen of Ross than the Rebellion of 1745, the 42d regiment were ordered to proceed, by forced marches and by the shortest routes, to Ross-shire.

When they reached the expected scene of action, there was, fortunately, no enemy; for the people had separated and disappeared of their own accord. Fortunate, indeed, it was that the affair was concluded in this manner, as the necessity of turning their arms against their fathers, their bro-

thers, and their friends, must have been in the last degree painful to the feelings of the soldiers, and dangerous to their discipline,—setting their duty to their King and country in opposition to filial affection and brotherly love and friendship. *

After passing the summer and autumn in marching and countermarching, in consequence of the riots and insurrections of their countrymen against their landlords, a circumstance somewhat novel in these regions, and one of the first *symptoms of the effects of that kind of civilization which is practised in the Highlands*, the Royal Highlanders were, in the course of the following winter, as actively employed against the Lowlanders, who were rioting, and hanging, drowning, and burning the effigies of those whom they called their political oppressors;—a species of refinement in the expression of their sentiments towards their superiors, to which the ignorant Highlanders have not yet attained; but they are in full progress to this state of civilized and enlightened improvement, which must afford high gratification to those philanthropists and patriots who have so materially contributed to forward, and bring into practice, "*those blessed results of our labours in the vineyard,*" as is reported

* I was a very young soldier at the time, but on no subsequent occasion were my feelings so powerfully excited as on this. To a military man it could not but be gratifying to see the men, in so delicate and trying a situation, manifesting a full determination to do their duty against whomsoever their efforts should be directed; while, to their feelings of humanity, the necessity of turning their arms against their friends and relations, presented a severe alternative. Eighteen of the rioters were sent to Inverness for trial. They were eloquently defended by Mr Charles Ross, advocate, one of their own countrymen; but, as their conduct was illegal, and the offence clearly proved, they were found guilty, and condemned to be transported to Botany Bay. It would appear, however, that, though the legality of the verdict and sentence could not be questioned, these did not carry along with them the public opinion, which was probably the cause that the escape of the prisoners was in a manner connived at; for they disappeared out of prison, no one knew how, and were never inquired after or molested.

by some societies established for the religious and moral improvement of the Highlanders. The inhabitants of Perth, Dundee, and some other towns, amused themselves with planting the tree of liberty, dancing round it, and threatening vengeance on all who should oppose them. The regiment was hurried South as rapidly as it went North; and, during the winter and spring, garrisoned the town of Dundee, and all the coast as far as Fort George.

Hostilities having been declared against France, the whole regiment was assembled at Montrose in April 1793, preparatory to a march southward. The establishment was ordered to be augmented to 750 men, but the regimental recruiting parties were not successful. The late transactions in Ross-shire began to show their baneful influence. It was not now, as in 1756 and 1776, when the regiment was completed to more than 1100 men in a few weeks;—as quickly, indeed, as they could be collected from their distant districts. Nor was it, as in 1755, when the Laird of Mackintosh completed a company in one day. * The same corps, in 1793, must have gone on service with little more than 400 men, had not orders been issued for raising independent companies; so opposite were the feelings and dispositions of the people at different periods,—affording a striking example of the difference when people are harshly or kindly

* In the year 1755, when the establishment of the regiment was augmented preparatory to the war, the Laird of Mackintosh, then a captain in the regiment, had the charge of all the recruiting parties sent from Ireland to the Highlands, and quickly collected 500 men, the number he was desired to recruit. Of these he enlisted 87 men in one forenoon.

One morning, as he was sitting at breakfast in Inverness, 38 young men of the name of Macpherson, from Badenoch, appeared in front of the window, with an offer of their service to Mackintosh; their own immediate chief, the Laird of Cluny, being then in exile, in consequence of his attainder after the Rebellion. The late General Skinner of the engineers was at breakfast with Mackintosh that morning; and being newly arrived in that part of the country, the whole scene, with all its circumstances, made an impression on his mind which he never forgot.

treated. Two of the companies raised by Captains David Hunter of Burnside and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan, were ordered to join the 42d regiment. On the whole, these were good men, but not of the same description with those who, in former times, were so ready to join the standard of the Black Watch.

In May, the regiment marched from Montrose to Musselburgh, and embarked there on the 8th for Hull. In that town the appearance of the Highlanders occasioned much interest and surprise, as no plaids or bonnets had as yet been seen in that part of Yorkshire. The people showed them great hospitality, and were so well satisfied with their conduct, that, after they embarked for Flanders, the town of Hull sent each man a present of a pair of shoes, a flannel shirt, and worsted socks; a very seasonable supply for a November encampment.

In August they reached Gosport, and remained there till the middle of September, when they sailed for Ostend, where they landed on the 1st of October, and two days after, joined the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Menin. This camp was soon broken up; and his Royal Highness marched, with the combined armies, to join the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, then before Maubeuge.

The 19th 27th, 42d, and 57th regiments were ordered back to England, to join an expedition then preparing under their old commander in America, Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Grey, against the French colonies in the West Indies. While those regiments lay on board in the harbour of Ostend, the enemy, who were then before Nieuport, pressed that town so vigorously, that it was necessary to send immediate relief. For this purpose, Sir Charles Grey and Major-General Thomas Dundas had come from England; and the 42d regiment, with the Light companies of the 19th, 27th, and 57th regiments, were disembarked and marched to Nieuport. The place was then garrisoned by the 53d regiment, and a small battalion of

Hessians under Colonel de Wurmb, who defended the place, with great courage and firmness, against a very superior force. The reinforcement now sent was very seasonable; for the works were so extensive, that the men were obliged to be on duty without intermission. The enemy kept up so constant and well-directed a fire, that upwards of 400 houses were destroyed or damaged. However, on the appearance of this reinforcement, they seemed to have lost all hopes of success. After keeping up a brisk fire of shot and shells during the whole night, they were seen at day-break, moving off with great expedition, leaving several pieces of cannon, mortars, and ammunition. This sudden retreat occasioned great disappointment to many young soldiers of the Light infantry, and the Highlanders, who, having but very lately arrived in the seat of war, were thus disappointed of an opportunity of facing the enemy, when eager to make their debût under such men as Generals Sir Charles Grey and Thomas Dundas. Had the enemy waited another day, this opportunity would have been afforded, as it was resolved that General Dundas should attack the trenches; and with the ardour of this gallant leader, and the spirit which animated the troops, there would have been little doubt of success. The loss of the garrison was inconsiderable; Lieutenant Latham, * 1 sergeant, and 2 privates, were killed; and Captain (now General Sir) Ronald C. Ferguson, 1 sergeant, and 33 privates, wounded. Of this number the Highlanders had 1 sergeant and and 1 private killed, and two privates wounded.

After the retreat of the enemy, the detachment marched

* The fate of Lieutenant Latham of the 53d deserves to be noticed as a warning to young officers. He was on the advanced picquet, which was protected by a small entrenchment, three feet in height. He was strictly enjoined not to show his men, as the enemy's sharpshooters were all around, picking off every man who appeared. But in his eagerness to observe the motions of the enemy, he looked over the low parapet, forgetting a cocked hat half a foot higher than his head. An enemy took such a correct aim at the hat, that he sent his ball through Mr Latham's forehead, and killed him on the spot.

back to Ostend, reimbarked for England, and arrived at Portsmouth, where the destination of the regiment was changed from an expedition to the west Indies, to another then forming against the coast of France, under command of the Earl of Moira.

At this time the command of the regiment devolved on Major George Dalrymple, Colonel Graham, who had held the command since the year 1781, being appointed to the command of a brigade. On the 30th of November, the expedition sailed in three brigades; the Highlanders being in the first, commanded by Brigadier-General Lord Cathcart. On the 1st of December, they reached the Coast of France, to the eastward of Cape la Hogue, and after cruising about for two days, put into Guernsey, where part of the troops landed, and remained till the 4th of January 1794, when the whole returned to Portsmouth. On the 21st the Highlanders were marched to Lymington, being still under the command of Lord Cathcart.

In this situation they remained till the 5th of June, when an encampment was formed at Netly, in Hampshire, under the Earl of Moira. On the 18th, the camp broke up, and the troops embarked on board the transports for Flanders.

During the preceding spring, France had made prodigious preparations, having raised a force of more than 200,000 men, provided with every necessary accompaniment of artillery and stores; the whole to be employed in Flanders. This, with the partial defection of Prussia after having accepted the British subsidies, placed the allied armies in a very critical situation, particularly that small part under the command of the Duke of York. The French Convention sent into Flanders their ablest generals, Pichegru, Moreau, and Jourdan, who, exasperated by their defeats at Cambray, Landrecy, Cateau, and Tournay, determined to bring forward the utmost extent of force that they could command. In consequence of these preparations, the original destination of the force under the

Earl of Moira was changed to this great theatre of the war, and again sailed, on the 22d, for Ostend, where it landed on the 26th of June. The amount of this reinforcement was 7000 men, and consisted of the following corps; the 19th, 27th, 28th, 40th, Royal Highlanders, 54th, 57th, 59th, 87th, and 88th regiments.

Lord Moira had now to decide on his future movements, whether he should remain in Ostend, and sustain a siege from an enemy who had already occupied Ypres and Thoureut, and were ready to advance upon him; or whether he should force a march through the enemy, and join the Duke of York. To sustain a siege in Ostend, would have occupied a considerable portion of the enemy's troops, but it would have deprived his Royal Highness of a very necessary reinforcement, when opposed to so numerous a host as was now ready to attack him. It was, therefore, determined to march forward, and to embark all the stores from Ostend, along with the troops left to garrison the place. Both services were conducted with address and precision. The evacuation and embarkation were intrusted to Colonel Vyse, who had just embarked the last division, as the first of the enemy entered the town. The troops were stationed on the sand hills in the neighbourhood, and were ordered under arms in light marching order, the officers leaving all baggage behind, except what they carried on their backs. They moved off the ground on the evening of the 28th, and halting ten miles beyond the town, proceeded at midnight towards Ostaker, and reached Alost on the 3d of July. While in this place, about 400 of the enemy's cavalry dashed into the town, and, being mistaken for Hessians, were allowed to push forward unmolested to the market place. Colonel Doyle, who rode up to them, was wounded by a cut of a sabre, before the mistake was discovered. However, they were soon driven back by the 8th light dragoons and the picquets. *

* A Highlander passing through the market-place with a basket on his head as the enemy rushed in, one of them made a cut at the hand which held the

On the 9th the troops marched by Warloo's camp, and joined the Duke of York's army at Malines. This was a fatiguing march, but it had been so well conducted, that the enemy, although in very superior numbers, under General Vandamme, did not venture upon any attack except this dash into Alost. A succession of petty skirmishes occurred until the 20th, when Lord Moira resigned his command, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Ralph Abercromby. The brigades of the army were changed on the 31st of August, and the third brigade, in which were the Highlanders, with the Guards, formed the reserve under the command of Lieutenant-General Abercromby. The enemy having obtained possession of Boxtel on the 14th of September, General Abercromby, with the reserve, was ordered to force them from this position. The third brigade, now under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Wellesley of the 33d regiment, marched at four in the morning of the 15th, and joined the brigade of Guards. When they approached Boxtel, the enemy were discovered to be in too great force to be attacked with any prospect of success. Various movements took place till the 6th of October, when the army crossed the Waal at Nimeguen. In this position, there were several smart engagements till the morning of the 20th, when the enemy made a general attack on all the advanced posts of the army. The whole were defended, and the enemy repulsed with great gallantry; but the 37th regiment, mistaking a party of the enemy for Rhoan's hussars, allowed them to advance too close. In consequence of this mistake, that gallant regiment sustained a severe loss in officers and men. *

basket, and wounded him severely. However, he drew his bayonet with the other hand, and attacked the horseman, who made off. Macdonald carried home his basket, murmuring, as he went along, that he had not a broadsword.

* The enemy, on many occasions, took advantage of the variety of uniforms in the British army, and frequently dressed parties in a similar manner for the purpose of deceiving our troops,—an artifice which sometimes succeeded.

On the 27th and 28th, the enemy renewed their attacks on the outposts. In that on Fort St Andre, Lieutenant-General Abercromby was wounded. By a continuation of this system of incessant attack, the outposts were all driven in, and the enemy, having established themselves in front of Nimeguen, began to erect batteries, preparatory to a siege of the place. It was therefore resolved to attempt the destruction of these works, and on the 4th of November, the Hon. Lieutenant-General De Burgh, with the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th Highland regiment, supported by two battalions of Swiss in the Dutch service, and some regiments of dragoons, was ordered on this duty. The works were carried with all the gallantry to be expected from such troops. The enemy made a brave defence. The loss of the British was 1 sergeant, and 31 rank and file, killed, and 1 field officer, 5 captains, 5 subalterns, 10 sergeants, and 149 rank and file, wounded. As the enemy quickly repaired their batteries, and continued their approaches with fresh vigour, it was found necessary to evacuate the town.

After this evacuation, which took place on the 7th, the army was cantoned along the banks of the river, where they began to suffer much from the severity of the weather, and the want of necessaries, as the clothing for the year had not been received. So intense was the frost, that the enemy were enabled to cross the Waal on the ice, and, by availing themselves of their superior numbers, to commence active operations. As they threatened the towns of Culenberg and Gorcum, it was determined to compel them to repass the Waal. About 8000 British, among whom was the third brigade, marched against them on the 13th of December. The French were posted at Thuyl, the road to which was flanked by batteries planted in the Isle of Bommell, the place itself being surrounded with entrenchments. These obstacles were surmounted, and, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, the French were forced from all their posts, and obliged to re-cross the Waal, with the loss of a considerable number of men, and several

pieces of cannon. The loss of the British was comparatively trifling, being only 1 field officer, and 5 rank and file, killed, and 1 drummer, and 18 rank and file, wounded.

The enemy having again crossed the Waal on the 4th of January 1795, and taken Thuyl, General Walmoden sent orders to Generals David Dundas and Dulwich, to collect their forces and drive them back. They were found, however, to be too strong; and, having advanced a considerable force, they attacked General Dundas at Gildermalsen, but were received with great firmness, and repulsed with the loss of 200 men. The British lost 3 privates killed, and 1 general officer (Sir Robert Lawrie), 2 captains, 1 subaltern, and 54 privates, wounded; the loss of the 42d being 1 private killed, and Lieutenant Coll Lamont, and 7 privates, wounded. The severity of the weather, and the duties which pressed upon the troops, in consequence of the accumulated numbers, and successive reinforcements of the enemy, were such as few constitutions could withstand for any length of time. It was, therefore, determined to withdraw, and take up a more defensive position behind the Leck. During the preliminary movements in execution of this determination, the enemy advanced in considerable force, and on the 8th attacked the troops under Lord Cathcart. The attack was made, and received with such energy, that each party was alternately attacked and repulsed four times successively, till at length the enemy were forced to give up the contest, and retreated with considerable loss.

On this occasion, the 14th and Enniskillen regiments particularly distinguished themselves, as did the 28th, which came up towards the close of the action, and decided the day. The loss was 4 subalterns, and 13 privates, killed, and 5 field officers, 2 captains, 1 subaltern, and 52 privates, wounded.

Having crossed the Waal on the 10th in great force, the enemy pressed forward on the British, now much reduced

by disease and accumulated hardships; * and, on the 14th, Pichegru made a general attack along the whole line from Arnheim to Amerougen, when the British, after a resistance which continued till night, retired at all points. But they had now to contend with a worse foe than the French, in the inclemency of a season the most rigorous ever remembered. In this dreadful winter, they had to traverse barren and extensive wastes, and to encounter the hostility of the country people, who could not be softened to the least kindness by the sight of any degree of misery, however extreme. Whether a British soldier was starving with hunger, or freezing to death, the doors of the Dutch boors were equally shut against him.

The misery of the succeeding retreat to Deventer was such as had not then been experienced by any modern army, and has only been exceeded by the sufferings of the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow. There have been few situations where the courage, constancy, and temper of the British army have been more severely tried, than in the continuation of this eventful campaign, and when pursued by an enemy of more than thrice their numbers, through a country so hostile, that every house contained an inveterate and concealed adversary, ready to refuse the slightest shelter to the harassed soldiers. Exhausted by an accumulation of difficulties, the army, in the beginning of April, reached Bremen in two divisions. There the hospitality of the inhabitants formed a noble contrast to the conduct of those through whose country they had marched, and whose inveterate hatred little merited the forbearance with which they had been treated by the British.

* The most distressing of these was the state of the hospitals, of which it was observed, that whoever entered them never came out till carried to the grave; and when a man was sent to the hospital, his return was never expected. The consequent impression on the minds of the sick, and the fatal effects thereof, must be evident.

On the 14th of April, the whole were embarked, and soon after sailed for England. The Highlanders, having landed at Harwich, proceeded to Chelmsford, and, in the month of June, were encamped in the neighbourhood at Danbury, under the command of General Sir William Meadows.

Throughout the course of the last campaign, the 42d were remarkably healthy; for, from the landing at Ostend in June, till the embarkation in April, the deaths in battle and by sickness had been only twenty-five,—a small number, considering the length of the service, the fatigue they underwent, and the severity of the weather to which they had been exposed. Of the soldiers, 300 were young men recently recruited. They had, indeed, a great advantage in forming themselves on the habits and example of the more experienced soldiers; for many still remained who had served in America. Without taking into account this advantage over a young corps, where all are inexperienced and unprepared for emergencies and hardships, it would not be easy, notwithstanding the acknowledged hardihood and capability of the Highlanders, to account for this small loss, in a service in which some of the newly raised regiments had lost more than 300 men by disease, and many who, left behind from exhaustion, fell into the hands of the enemy.

In September 1795, the regiment was augmented to 1000 men, from several Highland regiments which had been raised the preceding year, and were now to be broken up and drafted into different regiments. The Royal Highlanders received drafts from the 97th, or Strathspey Highlanders, the 116th, or Perthshire Highlanders, 132d, or Colonel Duncan Cameron's, and 133d, or Colonel Simon Fraser's regiment: 5 captains, 10 lieutenants, and 2 ensigns from the 116th, were also appointed to the 42d; the captains to be in second, or supernumeraries, and to succeed to companies as they became vacant. This was considered a serious injury, and a great check to the promotion of the

subalterns, when on the eve of embarking on an unpleasant and dangerous service, as no step was to be expected till the five supernumerary captains had got companies. A representation was therefore made, and one of the captains was removed.

Although these drafts furnished many good and serviceable men, they were, in many respects, very inferior to former recruits. This difference of character was more particularly marked in their habits and manners in quarters, than in their conduct in the field, which was always unexceptionable. Having been embodied for upwards of eighteen months, and having been subject to a greater mixture of character than was usual in Highland battalions, these corps had lost much of their original manners, and of that strict attention to religious and moral duties, which distinguished the Highland youths on quitting their native glens, and which, when in corps unmixed with men of different characters, they always retained. This intermixture produced a sensible change in the moral conduct and character of the regiment.

SECTION IX.

Expedition to the West Indies, 1795—*Tempestuous Weather*—*Barbadoes*—*St Lucia*, 1796—*St Vincent*—*Trinidad*, 1797—*Porto Rico*—*England*—*Gibraltar*—*Minorca*, 1798—*Sir Ralph Abercromby assumes the Command*, 1800—*Cadiz*—*Malta*.

At this period Sir Ralph Abercromby assumed the command of a numerous armament, preparing for an expedition to the West Indies. The evils sustained in the late unfortunate expedition to the Continent made Government sensible of the necessity of providing the soldiers with a proper equipment, and with articles adapted to the climate and the service in which they were to be engaged. In fitting out the present armament, therefore, a most laudable attention was paid to the comfort of the troops, and the preservation of their health. In the medical department, the zeal and exertions of Dr Thomas Young, the Physician-General, were indefatigable. He was ably supported by Dr William Wright, whose "diversified knowledge, extensive skill in medicine, and long experience in those diseases which attack Europeans in the West Indies," peculiarly fitted him for that duty; and indeed the whole of this department,—so essential an accompaniment in all military enterprises, more especially in tropical climates,—consisted of men of talent, zeal, and experience. Ships of war were appropriated as transports. Sixteen East Indiamen, and a great number of West India ships, all excellent and well appointed, were employed for the same purpose. The troops were furnished with flannel to protect them from the damps and chills of midnight, more destructive to soldiers than heat, in a West India campaign. Abundant supplies of potatoes and other vegetables were assigned for the use

of the troops; likewise filtering stones for purifying the water; and nothing, in short, was wanting which could contribute to their comfort while on board the transports. If, therefore, we consider the talents of the commanders, the courage and discipline of the troops, their health and efficiency, the excellent state of the ships, and the skill of those by whom they were navigated, few expeditions have ever sailed from this country more completely appointed. *

* The yellow-fever having been very destructive in the West Indies, during the two preceding years, many precautions were taken to guard the soldiers against its effects by a change of clothing, and other measures. Among those changes, the plaid, kilt, and bonnet of the Highlanders were laid aside, and their place supplied by Russia duck pantaloons, and a round hat. On the subject of this alteration their were various opinions. While some argued that no species of dress was worse calculated for service in a tropical climate than that of the Highlanders; others again reprobated the linen pantaloons, which they said were so far improper, that, in the frequent torrents of rain to which the men would necessarily be exposed, the pantaloons, when wet, would stick to their legs and thighs, and before they were dried, after the falling of one shower, would be wet by the next; so that, by keeping the lower parts of the body constantly damp, agues, rheumatisms, and various other diseases, would be generated. And the hat being of a coarse felt, of the value of half-a-crown, the first shower of rain would destroy its shape; it would stick close to the men's heads, and form no protection against the sun. As the felt retained the damp like a sponge, the head would be subject to the diseases incident to the other parts, by the chill of the linen pantaloons; whereas the bonnet, being of thick woollen cloth stuffed with materials of the same substance, and covered with feathers, formed a complete protection against the effects of a vertical sun, and when the ribbon which tightened it behind was loosened, it fell down over the ears, and made a warm and convenient night-cap, without at all injuring its form. Any superabundant moisture might be wrung out, and the thickness of the woollen substance would preserve a heat calculated to prevent any bad effects from the damp. When the kilt and hose got wet, if they were taken off (a very easy operation) and wrung in the same manner, they might be immediately worn with perfect safety. The musquitoes were the most troublesome annoyance to be guarded against by those wearing the kilt; but as these insects seldom attacked people in day-light, and only in particular places at night, this objection might be overcome. Such were the arguments and reasons advanced at the time. The Highlanders made a very unseemly and unmilitary appearance in their felt hats, which hung down on each side of their heads like the ears of a sleuth-hound. Experience has now proved that neither these hats, nor the linen pantaloons, were suited to a campaign in the West Indies during the

In this expedition the Commander-in-Chief was assisted by the following officers: Major-Generals Charles Graham, late of the 42d regiment, second in command, Alexander Campbell of Monzie, and William Morshead; Brigadier-Generals Perryn, John Moore, Colin Mackenzie, the Hon. John Hope, afterwards Earl of Hopetoun, (Adjutant-General), the Hon. John Knox, (Quarter-Master-General); and Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald of the 55th regiment, commanding the Reserve, which consisted of eighteen companies of Grenadiers, and the Royal Highland regiment. The other corps were the 26th Light Dragoons, 2d or Queen's, 3d or Buffs, 8th or King's, 14th, 19th, 27th or Enniskillen; 28th, 29th, 31st or Young Buffs, 33d, 37th, 38th, 40th, Royal Highlanders, 44th, 48th, 53d, 55th, 57th, 63d, 88th or Connaught Rangers; in all, 460 cavalry, and 16,479 infantry. During this embarkation, another, intended also for the West Indies, took place at Cork, and consisted of Brigadier-Generals Keppel, Wilford, Churchill, Howe, and Whitelocke, with the 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 21st, and 29th Light Dragoons, amounting to 2600 men; and 17th, 32d, 39th, 56th, 67th, 93d, and 99th regiments of foot, amounting to 5680 rank and file, and making the whole force destined for the West Indies, 3060 cavalry,* and 22,159 infantry.

rainy season. It has been found also, that, as the Russians wear a bonnet similar to the Scotch, which the French imitate, this covering for the head, which was considered so improper, is now discovered to be the most appropriate military head dress, and the bonnet is accordingly worn by half the army as a most convenient undress, serving as a night-cap, and a neat military cap by day: thus almost every article of the garb of the Gael, which has been long despised as the savage dress of a savage people, is coming into fashion. The cavalry have adopted the Highland lance or Lochaber axe. Cavalry and infantry have assumed the bonnet and jacket. The ancient belt is worn by gentlemen; the Highland purse is the modern reticule of the ladies, who have also taken up the fashion of the Highlander's belt, and many young gentlemen make a splendid appearance in the belted plaid, with all its accompaniments.

* No part of the Highlands of Scotland is more rugged and broken than the proposed scene of action in Guadaloupe, St Lucia, St Vincent, and Grena-

The embarkation was completed by the 27th October, when the weather, which, for some weeks had been tempestuous beyond all precedent at this season, and to a degree, indeed, unusual at any season of the year, continued to rage with unabated violence. On the 29th, it blew a perfect hurricane, more like what is experienced among the West India Islands than in our climate. Fortunately, it was of short duration; but many ships were driven from their anchors, some dismasted, and others cast away on the beach.

Instead of dispatching the transports in detachments, as the troops embarked, it was unfortunately determined to detain the whole till the embarkation was complete. To this desire of making one great display, the subsequent misfortunes of the expedition may be chiefly attributed; for not only were the colonies thus endangered by the prolonged delay of reinforcements, but several intervals of fine weather and fair wind were lost. All being at length fully prepared, the first attempt to sail was made on the 11th of November, when the fleet, amounting nearly to 300 sail, got under weigh with a favourable breeze. Its progress, however, was unfortunately arrested by an accident which befel the flag-ship. Whilst this vessel (the Impregnable) was turning down from the Motherbank, she struck by the stern on a sand bank; and, before she could get off, her rudder had received so much injury, that she could not proceed. The signal for sailing was then recalled, and the fleet was ordered to come to anchor. One of the transports, the Lord Stanley, having got too far out to sea, did not observe the signal; and, proceeding alone, reached Barbadoes on Christmas day, after a favourable voyage. Hence

da, in all of which there are woods and ravines almost impassable to any four-footed animal, except to such as can scale rocks, or creep beneath the thick underwood. The cavalry were, therefore, found to be totally useless; and the horses died so fast, that, in a few months, the 26th dragoons could not furnish a sufficient number for the duties of carrying the general's dispatches and orders.

it may be presumed, that the subsequent disasters would not have befallen this great fleet, if the ships had been able to pursue their voyage in the first instance. Such are the trifling casualties which sometimes defeat the most important and the best-laid plans. The fleet again weighed anchor on the 15th; and the day being uncommonly fine, and the wind favourable, the whole were clear of the Isle of Wight before sunset, except the Middlesex East Indiaman, with 500 men of the 42d on board. The Undaunted frigate being ordered round to hasten the sailing of the convoy, came across the Middlesex, and carried away her bowsprit. The repairs rendered necessary by this accident detained her for some time, and perhaps saved her from a more serious misfortune. For scarcely had this great armament cleared the Channel, when it was dispersed and driven back by a furious gale from the south-west, with the loss of several ships and many hundred lives. *

The winds continued so adverse, that the next attempt to put to sea could not be made till the 9th of December. A serene sky and favourable breeze promised a prosperous passage, and the hopes of those on board were elevated, but were soon to be cast down by a second and more grevious disappointment. On the 13th, as the fleet was clearing the Channel, a violent storm commenced, and continued with unabated violence for many weeks. The intermissions of the gale were so few, and of such short duration, that the scattered ships could never be collected in any numbers. In

* To repair the damage sustained by this disaster was a work of time and labour. Many of the ships were completely disabled. Among these was the Commerce de Marseilles, of 120 guns, having on board the 57th regiment complete, and a company of artillery, which, added to the ship's complement, amounted to 1785 persons. By some error in the loading of this fine ship, and by the extraordinary quantity of stores which had been heaped on board, she was so much sunk below the proper gage, that she did not rise on the waves, which broke over her at every surge; and, had it not been for the able seamanship of the commander and crew, it is thought she would have foundered. She never went to sea afterwards.

these adverse circumstances, however, Admiral Christian persevered until the end of January, when the disabled state of such of the ships as kept with him rendered it impossible to remain longer at sea. He therefore made signal for Portsmouth, where he arrived on the 29th of January, 1796, with about 50 sail, all that remained with him of 328 that sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th December. Many of the fleet were scattered about in different ports in England; and 78 ships, which had successfully persevered in their voyage, reached Barbadoes in a straggling manner.

Thus the object of this great armament was for some time entirely frustrated. It is remarkable that these disasters produced no injurious effects on the health of the troops. This, doubtless, is to be attributed to the excellent state of the ships, the quality of the provisions, the comforts with which they were supplied, and the care employed to prevent the embarkation of any diseased or improper subjects.

Government, dissapointed for a time in the object of this expedition, changed the destination of several regiments which had returned to port. Five companies of the Highlanders, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, were landed at Portsmouth, and in a few weeks embarked and sailed for Gibraltar. Other destinations were also given to the 19th, 29th, 33d, 37th, 56th, and 70th regiments,—no longer considered as forming part of the West India armament.

The landing of these regiments having left many ships at liberty, the troops were removed from the disabled transports, and, along with the other transports which had been forced back, were ready to follow the Commander-in Chief, who again sailed, in the Arethusa frigate, on the 14th of February. More fortunate on this occasion, he arrived at Barbadoes on the 14th of March; but, owing to various circumstances, it was not until the morning of the same day

that Admiral Christian sailed from Portsmouth, on board the Thunderer.

It has been already mentioned, that the Stanley West Indiaman, with troops on board, reached Barbadoes on the 25th of December. On the 2d of February, the first of the straggling ships that sailed on the 9th of December arrived; and for several days following, ships continued to come in. On the 9th of February, the Middlesex arrived, with five companies of the Highlanders, in such a state of health, that only two men, with slight bruises, were on the surgeon's list. So well navigated and appointed was this ship, that in all those gales, in which so many had suffered, the slipping of one block was the only accident sustained from Portsmouth to Barbadoes.

This ship and some others avoided much distress by steering to the west, instead of persevering in the direct course, as the body of the fleet had done. They thus got beyond the course of the gale as early as the 13th of January, when the weather became moderate, and, in a short time, the ships fell in with the trade-winds. *

* After so boisterous a passage, nothing could be more delightful than the bright serene atmosphere of Barbadoes, or more agreeable than the seemingly inexhaustible abundance of fruits, vegetables, and all sorts of provisions, perfectly sufficient for the supply of a fleet and army exceeding 30,000 men. Three months' consumption made scarcely any perceptible diminution in quantity, or advance in price. Every article was as plentiful in the market on the last day as on the first; and all this was in an island of only 106,640 acres, containing a population of 85,834 souls, and with a soil barren and unproductive, in comparison with that of some of the neighbouring islands, where, notwithstanding, provisions, and indeed every necessary of life, are scarce and dear. In Barbadoes there are numerous small occupiers of land, who cultivate every spot, and raise every necessary, not only for their own support, but for market. The same abundance was seen in 1809, when Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane and Lieutenant-General Beckwith had collected a numerous fleet and large army for an attack on Martinique. Though assembled there for many weeks, there was no diminution of quantity or increase of price, but the same abundance throughout. In Tobago, St Vincent's, &c. with a soil extremely fertile and highly cultivated, provisions are scarce and high priced. In these islands agriculture is on the great scale; none

Part of the newly arrived troops were ordered to reinforce the garrisons of St Vincent's and Grenada, which had suffered much from the active hostilities of the enemy, as well as from the insalubrity of the climate. The 63d regiment was ordered to St Vincent's, and detachments of the 8th and 88th regiments to Grenada.

The first care of Sir Ralph Abercromby, after his arrival, was directed to the preservation of the health of the troops, now confined in transports, and exposed to the heat of a vertical sun in a West India harbour. His success in this respect affords a strong proof of the efficacy of ventilation, exercise, cleanliness, and mental occupation, in averting the pernicious effects which might result from too close confinement in such climates. Of the five companies of the 42d regiment embarked in the Middlesex East Indiaman in October, none died, and only four men, with trifling complaints, were left on board when the troops were disembarked at St Lucia in April. The troops from Cork were not so fortunate in point of health, although they had a good passage and favourable weather. Several officers, and a great number of men, died; and when they reached Barbadoes, the sick were so numerous as to fill the hospitals.

The arrival of the Commander-in-Chief was the signal for general animation and exertion. All looked forward to a successful campaign. The disasters and dangers of the voyage were forgotten; although, by the delay, much of the best of the season for action was lost. Farther delay was occasioned by the absence of the Admiral, who had not yet arrived. On the 15th of April, Major-General

but men of great capital or credit attempt it; but as in the great agricultural establishments in England, there is more poverty and higher poor's-rates than in any other part of the country, so it is the case with the West Indies, where one half of the large establishments are under mortgage, or in possession of English creditors; yet so different is it among the small resident settlers in Barbadoes, that there is more independence among them than in any of the islands; and thus, whether in the west or in the east, it seems that a division of the produce of the soil leads to comfort, abundance, and independence.

Whyte, with part of the division from Cork, consisting of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments were ordered to sail, and attack the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Berbice, which surrendered on the 22d, on the first summons.

As it was deemed imprudent, in consequence of the diminished number of the troops, and the disasters sustained by the fleet, to attempt Guadaloupe, particularly at this advanced season, preparations were made for landing on the Island of St Lucia. Admiral Christian having arrived on the 22d of April, the expedition immediately sailed, and on the 26th appeared off St Lucia. A change of brigades now took place. Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald * retained in the reserve all the companies of grenadiers which had arrived, but the Highlanders were put under the command of Brigadier-General John Moore.

The landing was to be effected in four divisions, at Longueville Bay, Pigeon Island, Chock Bay, and Ance la Raze. Major-General Alexander Campbell (of Monzie) commanded the disembarkation at Longueville Bay, directing Brigadier-General Moore, with the Highlanders, to land in a small bay, close under Pigeon Island. This service was easily accomplished; and, on the 27th, the different divisions moved forward from their landing-places, to close in upon Morne Fortunée, the principal post on the island. Before this place could be fully invested, it was necessary to take possession of Morne Chabot, a strong and commanding position, overlooking the principal approach. An attack was accordingly made on two different points, by detachments under the command of Brigadier-Generals Moore and the Honourable John Hope. General Moore's detachment commenced its march at midnight; and, an hour after, General Hope followed by a less circuitous route,

* Colonel Macdonald had distinguished himself while commanding the 55th regiment under the Duke of York in Flanders in the year 1794, and now received a high mark of approbation, in being, when only a field-officer, appointed to command the reserve of the army, consisting of 18 Grenadier companies, and the Royal Highland regiment.

Through the mistake of the guides, General Moore's division fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy nearly two hours sooner than was expected. Finding himself discovered, he resolved to make an immediate attack; and, being well seconded by his troops, (the 53d regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Abercromby, son of the Commander-in-Chief,) he pushed forward, and, after a short but smart resistance, carried the post; the enemy flying with such precipitation, that they could not be intercepted by General Hope, who arrived exactly at the appointed time.

On the following day General Moore occupied Morne Duchassaux; and Major-General Morshead moving forward from Ance la Raze, Morne Fortunée was thus completely invested, but not without resistance on the part of the enemy, who attacked the advanced post of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald's Grenadiers, with such vivacity, that several officers, and nearly fifty of the Grenadiers, were killed and wounded before the assailants were repulsed.

In order to dispossess the enemy of the batteries which they had erected on the Cul de Sac, Major-General Morshead's division was ordered to advance against two batteries on the left, while Brigadier-General Hope, with the five companies of the Highlanders, the Light infantry of the 57th regiment, and a detachment of Malcolm's Rangers, supported by the 55th regiment, was to attack the battery of Secke, close to the works of Morne Fortunée. The 57th Light infantry, under Captain West, and the Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, quickly drove the enemy from the battery; but the other divisions, under Brigadier-General Perryn and Colonel Riddle, meeting with some unexpected obstruction, the intended service was not accomplished, and the Light infantry and Rangers retired under the cover of the Highlanders from the battery, which they had with much gallantry carried. General Hope's detachment lost the brave Colonel Malcolm * killed, and Lieu-

* This brave young man was one of the most promising officers of that army. His zeal for his profession was enthusiastic. When a lieutenant in the 45th

tenant J. J. Fraser, of the 42d, and a few men, wounded. The loss of the other divisions was severe both in officers and men.

Those who have not seen the steep and rugged surface of several of the West India islands, cannot easily form an idea of the difficulty of moving an army over such unfavourable ground. Notwithstanding the zeal and strenuous exertions of the seamen in dragging the guns across the ravines, and up the acclivities of mountains and rocks, it was not till the 14th of May that the first battery was ready to open. In the night of the 17th, the 31st regiment was ordered to take possession of the Vizie, a fortified ridge under the principal fortress. The attempt failed, and the regiment was forced to retire with great loss; but the Grenadiers, who had pushed forward to their support, compelled the enemy to retreat in their turn. A continued fire was now kept up for six days, between the battery and the fort. At length the 27th regiment pushed forward, and, after a brisk engagement, formed a lodgment at two different points, within five hundred yards of the garrison. The enemy sallied out with all their disposable force, to drive back the 27th; but they were repulsed, and retreated within the fort. This was their last attempt: they demanded a suspension of hostilities, which was granted. A capitulation and surrender

regiment, he was appointed by Sir Charles Grey, in the year 1794, to discipline a small corps of coloured and black troops, who had entered into our service in Guadaloupe and Martinique. On every occasion they conducted themselves with great spirit, and proved how much discipline judiciously administered can accomplish, even with such materials; for, while Colonel Malcolm commanded, he so secured their attachment to his person, that when he fell, they crowded around him, loudly lamenting their loss, which had indeed greater effect upon them than was at first apprehended, for their spirit seemed to die with their leader, and they never afterwards distinguished themselves. This officer, with all his intrepidity and spirit, could not conquer a presentiment which seized him on the night of the attack, that he was then to fall. While marching forward, he frequently mentioned to General Hope his firm belief in his fate, which no argument could shake. The moment he reached the battery, he was struck by a grape-shot. He was son of Sir James Malcolm of Lochore, in the county of Kinross.

of the whole island followed, in consequence of which the enemy marched out on the 26th, and became prisoners of war.

The loss of the British was 2 field officers, 3 captains, 5 subalterns, and 184 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, killed; and 4 field-officers, 12 captains, 15 subalterns, and 523 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, wounded and missing.

Thus was accomplished the second conquest of this colony within the space of two years;* a conquest of little value in itself, in comparison with the money and blood expended in its acquisition, but, from its position relative to our colonies, of so much importance as to make its capture necessary for their future security.

This expedition afforded a striking instance of the influence of the mind on bodily health, and of the effect of mental activity in preventing disease. During the operations which, from the nature of the country, were extremely harassing, the troops continued remarkably healthy; but, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, they began to droop. The five companies of Highlanders who landed 508 men, sent few to the hospital until the third day subsequent to the surrender; but, after this event, so sudden was the change in their health, that upwards of sixty men were laid up within the space of seven days. This change may be, in part, ascribed to the sudden transition from incessant activity to repose; but its principal cause must have been the relaxation of the mental and physical energies, after the motives which stimulated them had subsided.

The Commander in Chief lost no time in completing his arrangements for the ultimate objects of the campaign. The 27th and 57th regiments were destined to reinforce the garrison of Grenada, and the Buffs, 14th, 42d, and 53d regiments were ordered to St Vincent's, then under the command of Major-General Hunter, with the 63d regiment,

* Sir Charles Grey had taken it in 1794, but it again fell into the hands of the French in 1795.

lately arrived from Europe, together with the 34th, 54th, 59th, and 2d West Indian regiment. All these corps, except the 63d, were weak in point of numbers, being reduced by climate, and various other causes.

Considerable bodies of the enemy having continued in the woods of St Lucia, and having refused to surrender, conformably to the capitulation, Brigadier-General Moore, with the 31st, 44th, 48th, and 55th regiments, and the corps of Rangers and German Yagers, was appointed to garrison the island. This officer, with that zeal which so eminently distinguished him, having penetrated into the most difficult recesses of the woods, compelled the enemy to surrender at discretion; but so destructive was the climate, and so unwholesome the constant subsistence on salt provisions, that three-fourths of the troops were carried off before the end of the first year. The General himself, persevering to the last extremity, was at length removed on board ship, where, after a severe struggle, he recovered. *

The 31st regiment was almost annihilated. After losing twenty-two officers, the remainder was ordered to Barbadoes. On their arrival in December 1796, Lieut.-Col. Adam Hay died as the ship dropped anchor, and a blank return of men fit for duty was sent to Major-General Morshead, who commanded in that island. There were now only 74 men alive, although, on the 14th of May preceding, the regiment had landed in St Lucia 915 strong.

* During the whole of these operations, the exertions of Brigadier-General Moore were unremitting. He visited in person, at least once in fourteen days, every post, of which there were a great many established in different parts of the island. He was, in fact, almost always in the woods, so careless of any comfort, and so anxious to show an example of privation to his men, that he fared as they did, on salt pork and biscuit, and slept on a cloak, under a bush. Several officers had obtained leave to go to other islands for change of air, and so many were dead or disabled, that there was not a sufficient number for the duty. He therefore issued orders, that none, except in the last necessity, should quit the island. At length he was himself attacked, and when informed that if he did not go on board ship, he could not survive four days, he referred his advisers to his orders, saying, that he was determined to remain at any hazard; and it was not till he was insensible that he was carried on board.

At that period a practice prevailed destructive of all hope to the soldiers of returning to their native country,—that of drafting men from one regiment into another; so that when a soldier, by a good constitution, and regularity of conduct, had survived his comrades, instead of being rewarded by a removal to a better climate, or of being sent to his native country, he was turned over from one regiment to another, while life or the power of motion remained. The hospital and the grave were thus the only termination of his hopeless career of service. In this manner, the remains of the fine flank battalion which had accompanied Sir C. Grey to the West Indies in the year 1794, were drafted into the 45th regiment, which continued sixteen years on the West India station. In the garrison of St Lucia, the men fit for duty of the 44th and 48th were drafted into the 55th, which, along with the 87th regiment lately arrived from England, were to remain in St Lucia. This practice is happily abolished, and a good soldier has now a chance of returning to his native country. Amongst the numberless improvements effected by the present Commander in Chief, and for which the army has so much reason to be grateful, not the least beneficial is the regulation established by his Royal Highness, that no soldier be removed from his corps without his own consent. Nor is there reason to believe that his Majesty's service has sustained any loss by this attention to the feelings of the soldiers. On the contrary, experience has shown, that soldiers, when their feelings are consulted, and the proper means adopted, are quite ready to remain in any climate or country where their services may be required. *

* At this period the 79th, then in Martinique, was allowed to volunteer into the 42d regiment, ready to embark for England, with permission to such as wished to remain in the West Indies to volunteer into any corps on that station. A considerable number chose to remain, although they had the immediate prospect of returning to their native country. In 1802, the 14th regiment, then stationed in Barbadoes, was ordered home, with directions that none should be drafted, but liberty given to such as chose to remain to volunteer into any corps stationed in that country. General Greenfield, who then commanded the troops in the West Indies, ordered the regiment to parade, and

The troops destined for St Vincent's, landed there on the 8th of June. On the 10th, the necessary arrangements for an attack were completed. The enemy were posted on a high ridge or mountain called the Vizie, on which they had erected four redoubts, stronger by the natural difficulties of the approach, than by the art displayed in their construction. The troops, when within a short distance of this fortified ridge, were drawn up in two divisions, under Major-Generals Peter Hunter and William Morshead. At the same time, Lieutenant-Colonel Dickens, with detachments of the 34th, 40th, and 2d West India regiment, formed on the opposite side of the hill. Some field-pieces having been brought forward, a fire was opened on the redoubts, which continued for some hours with apparently little effect. In the mean time, the Highlanders, with some Rangers, were pushed forward as a feint to the bottom of a woody steep, which terminated the ridge, on the top of which stood one of the redoubts, the first in the range. The 42d pushed up the steep, and, as the regiment had frequently done on other occasions, turned the feint into a real and brisk assault, and, being supported by the Buffs, the whole attacked, and, in less than half an hour, the enemy were driven successively from the first three redoubts. * Some of the Highlanders

told them that they were to have their choice, whether they would remain in the country, or embark for England. Standing in front with his watch in his hand, he gave them half an hour for their determination. Twenty-five minutes passed without a man moving, when the General repeated that the King required their service, but that all were at liberty either to remain or return home. Upwards of 500 men stepped out of the ranks to serve in the West Indies. Now, had these men been ordered to leave their original corps as drafts to reinforce another regiment, or to garrison the West Indies, they would have considered the measure as a harsh and unjust banishment;—so easy a thing it is to conciliate a good soldier, that no persuasion is required beyond an explanation of the occasion which his King and country have for his service.

* This day occurred an instance of the power of example and habit in exciting ferocity. In the month of August 1795, I enlisted a lad of seventeen years of age. A few days afterwards one of the soldiers was cut in the head and face in some horse-play with his companions, in consequence of which his face and the front of his body were covered with blood. When the recruit saw

had pushed close under the last and principal redoubt, and were ready to storm it, when supported by more force; but the General, finding that he had the enemy completely in his power, and wishing to spare the lives of the troops, recalled them, and offered the enemy terms of capitulation. † The offer was accepted; the conditions being, that the enemy should march on board as prisoners of war. The following night, however, several hundreds of them broke the capitulation, and making their escape into the woods, joined their friends in the farther end of the island. The loss on this occasion was 2 captains, 1 ensign, 1 volunteer, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 31 rank and file, killed; 2 majors, 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 volunteer, 15 sergeants, 6 drummers, and 111 rank and file, wounded: the Highlanders had 1 sergeant, and 12 rank and file, killed; Lieu-

him in this state, he turned pale and trembled, saying he was much frightened, as he had never seen a man's blood before. In the assault of these redoubts, as I leaped out of the second to proceed to the third, I found this lad, with his foot on the body of a French soldier, and his bayonet thrust through from ear to ear, attempting to twist off his head. I touched him on the shoulder, and desired him to let the body alone. "Oh, the Brigand," says he, "I must take off his head." When I told him the man was already dead, and that he had better go and take the head of a living Frenchman, he answered, "You are very right, Sir, I did not think of that," and immediately ran forward to the front of the attack.

† This recal was marked by a circumstance rather singular, two brothers and an uncle's son being killed by the same volley. In an eager pursuit of the enemy, about 30 soldiers of the 42d had pushed on to the bottom of the last and principal redoubt, which stood in a steep eminence considerably elevated above the rest. In this spot the soldiers were not exposed, as the enemy could not bring their guns to bear upon them. I happened to be with this party, and kept the men under cover from the enemy's shot, waiting for a reinforcement, as nothing could be attempted with such a handful. A narrow ridge of four hundred yards, smooth and level on the top, connected the two redoubts. After some delay, Colonel Abercromby came forward to the front of the third redoubt, and made signals to retire. I then directed the soldiers to run at full speed along the ridge (two-thirds of which was exposed to the enemy's fire), and join their comrades in the third redoubt. The instant the party were seen by the enemy, they poured down a heavy fire, which killed six of the men, and wounded seven. The two brothers and their relation were killed. One of them

tenant Simon Fraser, 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 29 rank and file, wounded. *

The enemy, who had retreated to the woods, were immediately followed. Lieutenant-Colonel Brent Spencer of the 40th, with 600 men, was detached to Mount Young; Lieutenant-Colonel Gower of the 63d, with 200 men, to Owia; Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, with the 42d, to Colonarie; and Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Graham to Rabaca,—Major-General Peter Hunter commanding the whole. The enemy, though despicable as soldiers, were numerous, and naturally inveterate against those whom they considered as usurpers of their country, particularly the Indians or Caribbs, who saw their possessions gradually encroached upon, and themselves in danger of extirpation. It was therefore necessary to force them to submit. For this purpose, military posts were established in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Caribbs and Brigands; and parties were sent out to the woods, to discover their

had enlisted with me at Perth, and was followed by the other two. The name of the brothers was Farquharson.

* Among the wounded was a lieutenant of the 40th. A musket-ball had passed through his body, entering below his left breast, and coming out at his back. He fell at the top of a steep hill, which he had mounted with a small party, but from which they were forced back. A sergeant, who was much attached to the officer, wishing to take the body away, and being unable to carry it, took hold of one leg, and dragged it after him more than a mile down the declivity, and left it there with an intention of returning at night to inter it. When he returned it was quite dark, and being somewhat superstitious, was in great consternation when he heard the voice of the person whom he believed to be dead. However, being accompanied by a soldier, they ventured to approach, and finding their officer really alive and able to move, they carried him to the camp, where he was dressed, and was so well recovered in six weeks that he embarked for England.

It has been observed, that, after a severe action, when numbers have fallen on both sides, perhaps many wounded men are left a whole night on the field, and cannot be dressed by the surgeons till the following day; yet those who are thus neglected recover as quickly as those who are immediately dressed, and carried to the quarters. If this be owing to the coolness of the night air checking a fever, it may serve as a hint to surgeons.

fastnesses, and compel them to capitulate. But such was the natural strength of the country, indented with deep and rocky ravines, impassable precipices, tall forests, and almost impenetrable underwood, that this service occupied a longer space of time than had been calculated upon.

On one occasion, two parties of the 42d, and one of the 2d West India regiment, were ordered out, each taking a different direction. The parties of the 42d attacked two stations, and drove the enemy farther into the woods. The party of the 2d West India regiment, marching up the bed of a river, encountered a strong detachment of the enemy, drawn up behind large trees and a kind of redoubt which they had thrown up. Perceiving nothing through the thick foliage, the party advanced close to the trees. In an instant a fire was opened upon them, which, on the first discharge, laid Lieutenant-Colonel Graham senseless, and killed and wounded several of his party; the rest immediately retired. A few men afterwards returned in search of Colonel Graham, * and carried him back.

* His recovery from his wound was attended by some uncommon circumstances. The people believing him dead, rather dragged than carried him over the rough channel of the river, till they reached the sea-beach. Observing here that he was still alive, they put him in a blanket, and proceeded in search of a surgeon. After travelling in this manner four miles, I met them, and directed the soldiers to carry him to a military post, occupied by a party of the 42d under my command. All the surgeons were out in the woods with the wounded soldiers, and none could be found. Colonel Graham was still insensible. A ball had entered his side, and, passing through, had come out under his breast; another, or perhaps the same ball, had shattered two of his fingers. No assistance could be got but that of a soldier's wife, who had been long in the service, and was in the habit of attending sick and wounded soldiers. She washed his wounds, and bound them up in such a manner, that when a surgeon came and saw the way in which the operation had been performed, he said he could not have done it better, and would not unbind the dressing. The Colonel soon afterwards opened his eyes, and, though unable to speak for many hours, seemed sensible of what was passing around him. In this state he lay nearly three weeks, when he was carried to Kingston, and thence conveyed to England. He was still in a most exhausted state, the wound in his side discharging matter from both orifices. He went to Edinburgh with little hopes of reco-

The nature of the service and the difficulty of the country, may be conceived from the following notice of one short expedition. In one quarter of the cantonment, the troops were more than usually annoyed by the enemy, who came down in the night, and, by firing at the out-sentinels, gave frequent alarm, and disturbed the rest of the soldiers. These alarms, trifling in themselves, but hurtful to the troops, in depriving them of rest, were repeated almost every night. Anxious to put a stop to this teazing kind of annoyance, and to discover the post or camp whence those

very; but on the evening of the illumination for the victory of Camperdown, the smoke of so many candles and flambeaux having affected his breathing, he coughed with great violence, and, in the exertion, threw up a piece of cloth carried in and left by the ball in its passage through his body. From that day he recovered as by a charm. Being afterwards removed to the 27th regiment, he went to Holland in 1799, where he was severely wounded in the left eye, of which he lost the sight; but a good constitution again triumphed, and he accompanied his regiment to Egypt in 1801, regardless of what the consequences would be to his only remaining eye, had he been attacked by the ophthalmia. He is now in vigorous health, a Lieutenant-General, and Lieutenant-Governor of Stirling Castle.

The soldier's wife, who was so useful to him in his extremity, was of a character rather uncommon. She had been long a follower of the camp, and had acquired some of its manners. While she was so good and useful a nurse in quarters, she was bold and fearless in the field. When the arrangements were made previously to the attack on the Vizie, on the 10th of June, I directed that her husband, who was in my company, should remain behind to take charge of the men's knapsacks, which they had thrown off to be light for the advance up the hill, as I did not wish to expose him to danger on account of his wife and family. He obeyed his orders, and remained with his charge; but his wife believing perhaps, that she was not included in these injunctions, pushed forward to the assault. When the enemy had been driven from the third redoubt, I was standing giving some directions to the men, and preparing to push on to the fourth and last redoubt, when I found myself tapped on the shoulder, and turning round, I saw my Amazonian friend standing with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and seizing my hand, "Well done, my Highland lads," she exclaimed, "see how the Brigands scamper like so many deer!"—"Come," added she, "let us drive them from yonder hill." On inquiry, I found that she had been in the hottest fire cheering and animating the men; and, when the action was over, she was as active as any of the surgeons in assisting the wounded.

nightly parties came, I obtained leave from the general to select a party, consisting of a sergeant and twelve men, and entered the woods at nine o'clock at night, guiding myself by the compass, and the natural formation of the country, which consisted principally of parallel ridges, divided by deep ravines formed by the mountain torrents. The men were provided with strong short cutlasses, to cut their way through the underwood, without which it would have been impossible to penetrate, unless we should accidentally have fallen in with a foot-path frequented by the Caribbs. In this slow progress, nothing occurred till soon after sun-rise, when traces were discovered of people having lately passed through the woods; and the undergrowth being thinner, the men could move on with less noise in clearing an opening. More evident indications appearing that this place had been frequented, I directed the sergeant to follow me, leaving the men to rest, and crept to a little distance, in the hope of finding some opening in the woods. We had not gone five hundred paces, when on a sudden we came to an open spot, on which stood a man with a musquet, apparently as a sentinel. The instant he saw us he presented his piece, when a small spaniel, which followed me, sprung forward and seized him by the foot. In the agitation of alarm or pain, the man discharged his musquet at the dog, and, plunging into the woods, was out of sight in an instant, and before the sergeant, who attempted to cut him down with his sword, could get near him. We were now on an elevated spot, with a few feet of clear ground, and on the edge of a perpendicular precipice of great depth, at the bottom of which was seen a small valley, with a crowd of huts, from which swarms of people sprung out when they heard the report of the musquet.

Satisfied that this was the place which we were in search of, I immediately retraced my steps; but we had not marched half way, when we were attacked on both flanks and rear by the enemy, who followed the party. Being excellent climbers, they seemed in an instant to have manned the

trees. The wood was in a blaze, but not a man was to be seen, all being perfectly covered by the luxuriant foliage. I directed the men to keep themselves as much as possible under cover, and to retreat from tree to tree, firing at the spot where they perceived the fire of the enemy, who followed with as much rapidity as if they had sprung like monkeys from tree to tree. In this manner we continued retiring till we got clear of the woods. This was considerably delayed by the difficulty of assisting the wounded. Six men were killed, and Lieutenant Towes of the 2d West Indian regiment, (who, with a party, was ordered up to the woods by General Hunter, when he heard the firing,) and eight men wounded, though not one enemy had been seen, so completely were they concealed by the thickness of the woods. *

This kind of petty warfare, equally irksome and inglorious, affording none of those incentives, which, in an active campaign, against a powerful enemy, encourage brave soldiers to despise all privations and difficulties, continued for four months. But such was the force of the example shown by Sir Ralph Abercromby, and by his officers, that this unpleasant service was performed with the utmost alacrity. Although the duty was nearly of the same nature in St Lucia and St Vincent, the climate in

* In the preceding year an attack was made on the enemy in the strong position of the Vizie; but, from some cause, it was not followed up with vigour. The troops suffered considerably. The Grenadiers of the 59th were advanced in a wood, on the side of a steep hill, from which they kept up a fire on the enemy, who returned it, and, to the great surprise of the troops, with a great and unexpected loss on their part, considering that the enemy from whom, as they imagined, the fire proceeded, was at a considerable distance. In this manner the men continued to drop, till at length it was discovered that the fire came from the tops of the trees immediately above them. A small party of the Caribbs, who were in the habit of climbing, had run up the trees, and, covering themselves with the thick foliage, commenced a fire, which, for a time, was unperceived amidst the noise and constant firing kept up by our troops. As soon as it was discovered, a volley fired at the tops of the trees brought down seven men. The rest soon followed.

the latter was so much more favourable, that the deaths among the troops did not exceed one-third of their number; while, of the four regiments in St Lucia, which consisted of 3890 men, there were only 470 fit for duty at the end of thirteen months. This service was rendered more destructive by the total want of every comfort. A pound of salt-pork or beef, a pound of flour, (till after some time that bread could be procured,) and a glass of rum, formed the daily allowance. There was no tents or covering, except such huts as the soldiers erected to screen themselves from the rain.

Although the enemy were, as I have noticed, weak in every thing but the natural strength of their country, their desperation at the thought of being driven from their native homes made them hold out till the month of September, when they surrendered. The French, including the Brigands, under Marin Pedre, a negro of St Lucia, were sent prisoners to England. The Caribbs, upwards of 5000 in number, were transported to Ratan, an island in the Gulf of Mexico, where they were landed, with six months' provisions, besides seeds, plants, and all sorts of implements for building houses and cultivating the land. They were afterwards removed to South America by the Spaniards, who would not allow a permanent settlement to this wretched people, who it is said were sent to the mines, where they soon perished.

Here I must again remark, in regard to the West India climate, that the health of the troops is always best while in front of an enemy, however constant and harassing the service; whereas, in the less active duties of a common nature, such as a change of stations, either from one island to another, or from one quarter to another in the same island, they seldom failed to be attacked by the diseases incident to the climate. Hence, when the troops remain healthy, the prudence of a change of quarters, without necessity, may be questioned. It sometimes happens, that injurious effects ensue even although the movement has been from an un-

healthy to a healthy station, as from St Lucia to Barbadoes. * Troops became so accustomed to the unhealthy climate of the former island, that, in twelve months, the deaths did not exceed 50 out of 600 men. Of the same number of men, when removed to Barbadoes, 12 officers and upwards of 200 men have died in a few months, without any apparent alteration in the climate, or any material change in the health of those who were previously in that island. But when troops become unhealthy, no time should be lost in removing them to another station.

The mortality this year among the troops in the West Indies was lamentably great. From May 1796 to June 1797, the deaths amounted to 264 officers and 12,387 soldiers. But of those whose strength of constitution, or mode of life, enabled them to resist the evil effects of the climate, no one enjoyed a more vigorous state of health than the venerable commander, who, although in the sixty-fifth year of his age, generally slept in his body-clothes; indeed, always when in the field. He was on horseback every day an hour before day-light, and was ever found where his presence was necessary. He returned to England in September, when the temporary command of the army devolved upon Major-General Charles Graham, † who was this year promoted

* Examples of this have been seen even in the same island. The Highlanders were removed from the woods in St Vincent, to the barracks near Kingston, a situation considered remarkably healthy. Before a week passed 59 men were in hospital, who left the woods in perfect health, and in ten days 21 men died. The distance they marched was only twenty two miles; they were two days on the march, consequently the fatigue was moderate. With numerous similar instances of great sickness after a change of quarters, of which I have witnessed many striking cases, and where, previous to the removal, the troops had been healthy, the subject appears well worthy of the attention of medical men.

† General Graham was son of Colonel Graham of Drainie, one of the original officers of the Black Watch, and was for many years the commanding officer. General Graham had the benefit of a good example from his father. Born in the regiment in which he had all his life served, he intimately understood the character and peculiar dispositions of the men. An excellent disciplinarian, strict, but judicious, just and humane, with a fine voice, and a clear distinct manner of communicating his orders, and explaining his directions, he

from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 42d to be colonel of the 5th West India regiment. Major James Stewart succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy, and Captain James Stirling as major. Some time previously, Captain Alexander Stewart succeeded Major Christie, who died of the fever, and Lieutenant David Stewart was promoted to be captain-lieutenant.

The Commander in Chief returned from England early in February 1797, and immediately collected a force for an attack on Trinidad, which surrendered without opposition. Encouraged by this success, and having received intelligence of the favourable disposition of the inhabitants of Porto Rico, he determined to make an attempt on that island. Accordingly, he ordered the 26th Light dragoons, dismounted, the 14th, 42d, 53d, a battalion of the 60th regiment, a detachment of Lowenstein's corps, and the Tobago Rangers, to be assembled at St Christopher's, whence they sailed on the 15th of April, and anchored off Congregus's Point on the 17th. A landing was effected, with slight opposition from the enemy, who retreated when the men disembarked.

The town and Moro or castle of Porto Rico stand on a point, separated from the main-land by a narrow arm of the sea, over which was thrown a bridge of eleven arches, forming the only communication with the island. The Moro is strongly fortified with the best materials, and almost inaccessible. The bridge being destroyed, the lagoon could not be crossed in boats, in the face of three tiers of batteries, which the Moro presented. From the outside of the lagoon the distance was too great for the batteries of the invaders to produce any effect, either on the town or castle; and, whatever the disposition of the people had been, no symptom was now shown of any inclination to surrender.

was admirably fitted for his situation as commander of the Highland regiment. The promotion to the rank of general officer, which removed him from the command, was a severe loss to the corps. He went out second in command to Sir Ralph Abercromby to the West Indies in 1795, and died at Cork, where he commanded, in 1800.

A number of French privateers had taken shelter in the harbour, when they heard of the approach of the fleet. The crews landed, and manned the batteries, determined to hold out to the last in defence of their vessels and prizes. In these circumstances, and as our force was insufficient to blockade more than one side of the garrison, or prevent a free communication with the country, the Commander in Chief determined to give up the attempt and reimbark. This was accomplished on the 30th of April, the enemy still keeping within their defences. The loss sustained on this occasion was 1 captain killed, 1 lieutenant-colonel and 1 captain wounded, and 98 rank and file killed and wounded; and a lieutenant and 121 rank and file missing, supposed to have deserted to the enemy. * The troops returned to their different stations, and the Highlanders to Martinique. This was the last attempt against the enemy in that country during the continuance of the war.

The 79th Highlanders having been now two years in Martinique, orders were sent out, as I have already noticed, to allow them to volunteer into the Royal Highlanders, then ready to embark for England, with permission to all who chose to remain to join other corps in the country. The number thus received by the 42d exceeded the casualties of the two preceding years, making the detachment stronger than when they embarked at Portsmouth in October 1795. The order to send the 42d home complete was the first interruption of the system of drafting, which, as I have already mentioned, has since been abolished. The regiment embarked free of sickness, and landing at Portsmouth on the 30th July, in equally good health, marched to Hillsea Barracks. A body of 500 men landing from the West Indies, and marching, without leaving a man behind, was no common spectacle. †

* This officer, and the 121 soldiers, were foreigners in our service.

† A state of the troops on board was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor of

After remaining a few weeks in Hillsea, the five companies were again embarked for Gibraltar, where they joined the five companies which had been ordered thither when driven back by the gales of 1795 and 1796.

The regiment was now 1100 strong; but the moral feelings of the troops were sensibly deteriorated. In addition to the number of indifferent characters introduced into the regiment in 1795, the cheap and free indulgence in wine permitted in the garrison affected the conduct of a considerable proportion of the men. However, it had no influence on their health; for, during a stay of one year in Gibraltar, from October 1797 to October 1798, only 11 died out of 1187 men, including all ranks. But, as I have observed, the moral habits of many evinced a melancholy change. An instance of murder occurred. One of the soldiers, in a fit of rage and intoxication, quarrelled with an inhabitant, and stabbed him to the heart with his bayonet. He was tried and executed. Two men deserted to the Spaniards. One of them had for some years possessed a good character, but latterly had contracted habits of drinking; the only reason that could be assigned for his conduct. He was soon cured of those habits which had led to his defection, and heartily repented his breach of allegiance. He entered the Spanish service, in which the soldier's pay affords nothing to expend on liquor,—nay, sometimes not a sufficiency to procure necessaries, and in which, even if the pay had been more liberal, the example of sobriety which the Spanish soldiers always exhibit would have discountenanced any excess. To his former comrades within the garrison he found means to send communications, in which he deplored his folly, and called upon them to be faithful to their King, and not to make themselves miserable, like him, by joining the enemies

Portsmouth, after the ships came to anchor. When it was received, directions were given to correct the *mistake of omitting the number of sick arrived from the West Indies!*

of their country. Fortunately, however, for the regiment, they were soon removed to Minorca, where their old habits and conduct were in a great measure restored by the excellent discipline of Brigadier-General Oakes, under whose immediate command they were for several months placed.

Government having determined to attack the Island of Minorca, a small armament was prepared and placed under the command of Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Charles Stuart, under whom was Major-General Sir James St Clair Erskine, now Earl of Rosslyne, and Brigadier-Generals John Stuart and Oakes, together with the 28th, 42d, 58th, and 90th regiments; the naval part of the expedition being under the command of Commodore Duckworth. These regiments, which had been quartered in Gibraltar, sailed from thence on the 24th of October 1798, and reached the Island of Minorca on the 6th of November. A landing in the Bay of Addaya was next morning effected without opposition. The first division, consisting of 800 men, disembarked, and repulsed 2000 of the enemy, who, after a feeble resistance, retired. The state of the roads, and the multitude of high and strong stone inclosures, rendered the progress of the army as slow as in a mountainous country. It was therefore the 14th of November before they could invest Cittadella, the principal garrison, where the Spanish Commander had concentrated his forces. Here the judicious arrangements of the General supplied the deficiency of troops, and of the artillery necessary for a siege: he formed his small army on the little eminences which surrounded the garrison, leaving only a few Light infantry, who lay concealed in the intermediate hollows. By this disposition of force, large fires being kept burning at night, and the fires in the hollow spaces being more numerous, and larger than on the ground occupied by the troops, the Spaniards were led to believe that the space of four miles had been completely covered by an army of at least 10,000 men. So strong was their conviction that resistance would be unavailing against such a force, that the

island surrendered on the following day, the prisoners considerably outnumbering the invaders. *

In 1800, a large force reassembled in Minorca, to be employed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in support of our allies. It was understood that Sir Charles Stuart was to command this army; but these expectations were disappointed, by the arrival of intelligence that he had declined accepting the command. The disappointment, however, of the troops on this occasion was considerably lessened by the happy choice, as successor to their late Commander in Chief, † of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived on the 22d of June, accompanied by Major-Generals Hutchinson and John Moore.

Orders were immediately issued for the embarkation of troops for the relief of Genoa, then closely besieged by the French; and reinforcements were also sent to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, who blockaded the garrison of La Vallette in the Island of Malta.

The reinforcement for Genoa being too late to prevent the surrender of that place to the enemy, the troops return-

* The prize-money for this capture, though not great, deserves notice, from its prompt payment, and the attention of the General to the interest of his troops. He directed every thing to be sold and converted into money as soon as possible, and the shares to be paid on the spot where the money was conquered. One of the agents, indeed, wished to send the money to England, to lodge it, as he said, in security; but General Stuart believed that it could not be in better security than in the pockets of those to whom it belonged; and, with his characteristic generosity, he gave his own share to the wives and families of the soldiers, although his private fortune was very circumscribed.

† Sir Charles Stuart died on the 28th March 1801, the very day on which his successor in the command of the army in the Mediterranean died of his wounds in Egypt. Thus Great Britain lost, in one day, two men whose great talents, chivalrous honour, and high character, were qualified to raise the fame of any country, and to add lustre to any period. Indeed, few men of modern times have exhibited a more perfect picture of what may be imagined of a chivalrous knight than General Stuart; and with his high and generous mind was united a person and countenance of the finest proportions and expression, with a most elegant address and polished manners. He was, indeed, a true soldier, a perfect gentleman, and an able, intrepid, accomplished commander of an army.

ed to Minorca, and General Pigot was ordered to command the blockading army in Malta.

The season was now far advanced, and, to the great disappointment of the troops, it was understood that no active operations would commence till the arrival of farther instructions from home. This interval the Commander-in-Chief devoted to a strict examination of the internal economy and discipline of the different corps.* It was not till the month of August that dispatches were received from England, in consequence of which the army immediately embarked and sailed for Gibraltar, where it arrived on the 14th of September, when accounts were received of the surrender of Malta, after a blockade of nearly two years. It was generally regretted that Colonel Graham, who had conducted the siege and blockade with unwearied zeal and perseverance, had not the satisfaction of receiving the surrender of an enemy whom he had forced to submit. The capitulation was drawn up in the name of General Pigot, who had only commanded for a few weeks.

Different arrangements occupied the time till the 2d of October, when the fleet sailed for Cadiz, for the purpose of landing there, and taking possession of the city and fleet

* During this interval, the system was first suggested to General Moore of marching, firing, and general discipline, which he afterwards carried to such perfection in the 43d and 52d regiments, and which has since been adopted by all the light infantry corps. Major Kenneth Mackenzie, of the 90th regiment (now Lieutenant-General), had practised this mode of discipline for several years, and while he commanded his regiment in Minorca, had brought the men to great perfection in it. One morning as he was at exercise on the Glacis of Fort St Phillips, General Moore, who was present, was so struck with its excellence and simplicity, that, with his usual oppenness and candour, he expressed great surprise that a thing so simple, and so admirably adapted to its purpose, had not before suggested itself to his mind. He was not a man upon whom any useful suggestion was thrown away. Major Mackenzie was next year promoted to the 44th regiment, from which he was removed, by General Moore's recommendation, to his own regiment, the 52d. The new mode of discipline was then commenced, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, being supported by the influence, assiduity, and zeal of General Moore, it was speedily brought to a high state of perfection. While it greatly lessens the fatigue of the soldier, it is highly conducive to his success against an enemy.

in the harbour of Carraccas. The army under Sir James Pulteney, from Ferrol, formed a junction with Sir Ralph Abercromby; and the following morning a signal was made for landing to the westward of Cadiz. The Reserve under General Moore, the Guards under General Ludlow, and General Craddock's brigade, were ordered for the first disembarkation. For this purpose, the Royal Highlanders, with part of the Reserve, were put into the boats, and ordered to assemble round the Ajax, the Honourable Captain Alexander Cochrane, who was to conduct the debarkation. A body of 2500 men were already on board the boats, waiting with eager expectation for the signal to proceed to the shore, when, about two o'clock, a gun from Cadiz announced the approach of a flag of truce. The object of this communication was to deprecate any attack upon a town and people already suffering under the ravages of a pestilence, which had carried off thousands, and threatened destruction to the whole population. This was a powerful appeal. The Commanders-in-Chief resolved to suspend the attack, and signals were made to re-embark the troops. However judicious and proper this decision might be in such peculiar circumstances, the disappointment of the troops was extreme. They saw themselves doomed to remain on board the transports, without any apparent object, and without knowing when or in what manner they were to be employed.

On the following morning, the fleet got under weigh for the Bay of Tetuan, on the coast of Barbary. But it had lain there only for a few days, when a violent gale came on to blow with great fury into the bay, and compelled it to run to sea with the utmost precipitation, and to take shelter under the lee of Cape Spartell. When the weather moderated, the fleet returned to Gibraltar.

On the 29th of October, Sir James Pulteney, with those regiments whose service was limited to Europe, received orders for Portugal, while the Commander-in-Chief, with the other troops, proceeded to Malta. This was the first intimation of an extended field of service.

SECTION X.

Expedition to Egypt—Land on the 8th—Battle of the 13th—The 90th and 92d Regiments lead the Attack—Battle of the 21st—Death of Abercromby—Surrender of Cairo—Surrender of Alexandria—Indian Army.

In Malta, it was ascertained that Egypt was the object of attack. This intelligence was joyfully received. All were elevated, both by the prospect of relief from the monotony of a soldier's life on board a transport, and by a debarkation in an interesting country, for the purpose of meeting a brave and hitherto invincible enemy; at least so far invincible, that their repeated victories on the continent of Europe seemed to entitle them to that honourable designation.

On the 20th and 21st of December 1800, the fleet sailed in two divisions for Marmorice, a beautiful bay on the coast of Greece. The first division arrived on the 28th of December, and the second on the 1st of January 1801, to wait for a reinforcement of men and horses to be furnished by our allies, the Turks. The port of Marmorice was not less remarkable for its security and convenience, than for the magnificent scenery of the surrounding mountains, covered to the top with majestic forests, and the most luxuriant verdure. †

* In all cases where the running title at the top of the page is "Highland Regiments," the services of the 79th and 92d are included with the Royal Highlanders.

† Amongst the numbers that came to see the British armament, was an unexpected visitor in the dress of a Turk. This was a gentleman of the name of Campbell, a native of the district of Kintyre, in Argyleshire. Early in life, he had been so affected by the death of a school-fellow, who had been killed by

The Turkish supplies, deficient in every respect, having at length arrived, the fleet again put to sea on the 23d of February, and on Sunday morning, being the 1st of March, the coast of Egypt was descried, presenting in its white sandy banks, and tame uninteresting back-ground, a remarkable contrast to the noble elevations and luxuriant landscapes on the coast of Greece.

While so much time had been lost in waiting for the Turkish reinforcements, a gale of wind, encountered on the passage, scattered the light and ill-managed vessels which conveyed their horses and stores. These took shelter in the nearest ports, and, while the fleet lay at Marmorice, waiting for the junction of so inefficient an aid, the enemy were more fortunate in the safe arrival from Toulon of two frigates, having on board troops, guns, ammunition, and all sorts of military stores,—a supply which they could not have received, had not the British been detained so long waiting for the Turks. One part of the reinforcement, which the enemy so opportunely received, consisted of nearly 700 artillerymen, a number more than equal to the whole artillery of the invading army.

The British force consisted of the following regiments:

Regiments.	*Commanding Officers of Regiments.*	*General Officers of Brigades.*
Guards, -	Colonel, now General Samuel Dalrymple, Colonel Arthur Bryce, killed in Egypt,	Hon. Major-General Ludlow.

accident as they were at play together, that he fled from the country, and joined the Turkish army. He had served forty years under the standard of Islam, and had risen to the rank of General of Artillery. He went on board the ship where the 42d were embarked, to inquire about his family. When he saw the men in the dress to which he had been accustomed in his youth, the remembrance of former years, and of his native country, so affected him, that he burst into tears. The astonishment of the soldiers may be easily imagined when they were addressed in their own language, (which he had not forgotten,) by a Turk in his full costume, and with a white beard flowing down to his girdle.

Regiments.	*Commanding Officers of Regiments.*	*General Officers of Brigades.*
1st, or Royals, -	Lieut.-Colonel Peter Garden, died in Egypt,	Major-General Coote.
54th, 2 battalions,	Colonel Darby, Lieut.-Colonel Layard,	
92d, or Gordon Highlanders, -	Lieut.-Colonel Charles Erskine, killed in Egypt,	
8th, - -	Colonel, now General Sir Gordon Drummond,	Major-General Craddock.
13th, - -	Hon. Colonel, now Lieut.-General Sir Charles Colville,	
90th, - -	Colonel, now Lord Hill,	
2d, or Queen's	Colonel the Earl of Dalhousie,	Major-General the Earl of Cavan.
50th, - -	Major Rowe,	
19th, or Cameron Highlanders,	Lieut.-Colonel, now Major-General Sir Allan Cameron,	
18th or Royal Irish,	Colonel Montressor,	Brigadier-General Doyle.
30th, - -	Major Lockhart,	
44th, - -	Lieut.-Colonel David Ogilvie, killed in Egypt,	
89th, - -	Colonel William Stewart,	
Minorca, -	Lieut.-Colonel Dutons, killed in Egypt,	Major-General John Stuart.
De Roll's, -	Lieut.-Colonel Baron de Sonnenberg,	
Dillon's, -	Lieut.-Colonel Baron Perponcher,	

RESERVE.

40th, flank companies, -	Colonel, now Lieut.-General Sir Brent Spencer,	Major-General Moore and Brigadier-General Oakes.
23d, or Welsh Fusileers, -	Major Mackenzie, died in Egypt,	
28th, - -	Colonel, now Lieut.-General the Hon. Edward Paget,	
42d, or Royal Highlanders, -	Lieut.-Colonel William Dickson,	
58th, - -	Lieut.-Colonel, now Lieut.-General Sir William Houston,	
Corsican Rangers,	Major, now Major-General Sir Hud Lowe,	
Detachment 11th light dragoons,	Captain Money,	
Do. of Homspech's regiment, -	Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Wilson,	
12th light dragoons,	Colonel, now General Archdall,	Brig.-Gen. the Hon. Edward Finch.
26th do. -	Lieut.-Colonel Gordon,	
Artillery and Engineers, - -	Lieut.-Colonel Thompson, Major Mackerras, killed.	Brig.-General Lawson.

In all 13,234 men, and 630 artillery. Deducting about 300 sick, the efficient force was 12,334, while that of the enemy was now ascertained to be more than 32,000 men, independently of several thousand native auxiliaries.

The fleet first came to anchor in Aboukir bay, on the spot where the battle of the Nile had been fought nearly three years before. Scarcely had the General arrived at his destination, when he received intelligence of two unfortunate occurrences, neither of them unimportant to his future operations, and one of them particularly vexatious. The first was the death of Major Mackerras, * and the capture of Major Fletcher of the engineers, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre the coast. The second was the entrance of a French frigate into the harbour of Alexandria, by a very adroit stratagem. The ship had got some British signals from an English vessel she had taken, and coming in sight of the fleet in the evening without any suspicion, had answered all signals with accuracy, till getting close to Alexandria, she hoisted French colours, and darted into the harbour. In the course of the night the French sloop of war Lodi, from Marseilles, also got into the harbour of Alexandria. In addition to these untoward and unlooked for incidents, the General received information that the enemy's force was at least 15,000 men more than was expected.

At the commencement of such an arduous campaign, these events, together with the reinforcements recently landed by the frigates from Toulon, were in no small degree calamitous. The French had received additional supplies of able officers, of men, and of military stores; and, as if fortune and the elements had conspired against the British, while the enemy were securely making preparations to repel all attacks, after the fleet came to an anchor, on the night of the 1st of March, a gale sprung up so violent and so unremitting, that a disembarkation could not be attempted till the evening of the 7th, when the weather became more moderate.

The General's well-known strength of mind was now to

* The eminent professional abilities and excellent personal qualities of Major Mackerras caused his death to be an object of particular regret to the whole army.

be put to a severe test. He had to force a landing in an unknown country, in the face of an enemy more than double his numbers, and nearly three times as numerous as they were previously believed to be,—an enemy, moreover, in full possession of the country, occupying all its fortified positions, having a numerous and well appointed cavalry enured to the climate, and a powerful artillery,—an enemy who knew every point where a landing could, with any prospect of success, be attempted, and who had taken advantage of the unavoidable delay, already mentioned, to erect batteries, and bring guns and ammunition, to the point where they expected the attempt would be made. In short, the General had to encounter embarrassments, and bear up under difficulties, which would have paralyzed the mind of a man less firm and less confident of the devotion and bravery of his troops. These disadvantages, however, served only to strengthen his resolution. He knew that his army was determined to conquer or to perish with him; and aware of the high hopes which the country had placed in both, he resolved to proceed in the face of obstacles which some would have deemed insurmountable.

While the enemy were preparing for an effective resistance, in full view of those who were so soon to attack them, no circumstance occurred to amuse the minds, or divert the attention of the British during the continuance of the gales. However, on the evening of the 7th, the wind moderated, and the General, accompanied by Sir Sidney Smith, with three armed launches, went close in shore. Lieutenant Brown of the Foudroyant landed from one of the launches, drove in a picquet which lay on the beach, boarded a guard-boat, and returned to the fleet, carrying with them as prisoners an officer, an ass and his driver. The capture of the two latter formed an incident which afforded great amusement to the whole fleet; and trifling and ludicrous as it may appear, it was not without its beneficial effects. As this was the first adventure the troops had witnessed after so many months of confinement in transports, (the regiments from England and Gibraltar having been on board from

the month of May and June of the preceding year,) they drew from it an omen of a successful debarkation.

The weather continuing moderate, at two o'clock in the morning of the 8th of March the troops destined to effect a landing got into the boats. This division consisted of the 40th flank companies, and Welsh fusileers on the right, the 28th, 42d, and 58th, in the centre, the brigade of Guards, Corsican Rangers, and a part of the 1st brigade, consisting of the Royals and 54th on the left; the whole amounting to 5230 men. This force did not land in the first instance, as there were not boats sufficient for that purpose, and one company of the Highlanders also did not land till the boats returned for a second load. Detachments of other regiments were subjected to a similar delay. * The whole were to rendezvous, and form in rear of the Mondovi, Captain John Stewart, anchored out of reach of shot from the shore. So well conceived and executed was this arrangement, that each boat was placed in such a manner, that, when the landing was effected, every brigade, every regiment, and every company, found itself, with undivided numbers, in its proper station. In this manner, every man saw that, although he had changed his element from the sea to the shore, he was surrounded by his comrades and friends: this ensured confidence, and confidence made success more certain. Such a combination as this could not be formed without time; it was, therefore, eight o'clock before the whole arrangement was complete, and the troops ready to move forward at the signal. All was now eager expectation. At nine o'clock the signal was given, and the boats sprung forward, under the orders of the Honourable Captain Alexander Cochrane, the seamen straining every nerve, but, at the same time, acting with such regularity, that no boat got a-head of the others. Nothing interrupted the silence of the scene, or diverted the impatience and suspense of the invading force, except the dashing of the oars in the water, till the enemy,

* The number actually landed in the first attack was 5626 soldiers. Owing to the distance of the anchorage, the enemy had been overcome and completely driven before the boats could land the reinforcement.

judging that the line had got within their range, opened a heavy fire from their batteries in front, and from the castle of Aboukir in flank. Till that moment they did not believe that the attempt was serious, or that any troops could be so fool-hardy as to hazard an attack on such lines and defences as they maintained. As the boats approached the shore, a fire of musquetry from 2500 men was added to showers of grape and shells. The four regiments on the right, the 23d, 28th, 42d, and 58th, with the flank companies of the 40th, soon got under the elevated positions of the batteries, so as to be sheltered from their fire. The enemy could not sufficiently depress their guns, and, maintaining their elevated station, instead of descending to the beach to receive the invaders on the point of the bayonet, they allowed them to disembark, and form in line. As an irregular fire would not only have proved ineffective against the enemy, but created confusion in the ranks, the men were ordered not to load, but to rush up the face of the hill, and charge the enemy on the summit.

The ascent was steep, and so deeply covered with loose dry sand, blown about by every gust, that the soldiers, every step they advanced, sunk back half a pace.* Delay was thus added to danger, and the men reached, with exhausted strength, the point where the greatest effort was required. As hesitation in such circumstances would have proved ruinous, they instantly rushed up the ascent, and reaching the top before their antagonists could again load, drove them from their position, at the point of the bayonet. A

* The beach consisted of a smooth sand, rendered firm by the constant beating of the surf, and affording sufficient space to form a line two deep. When the soldiers got the word to advance, they sprung up the ascent, and about half-way came in sight of the enemy, who were prepared with their pieces levelled. Their fire being so close, was of course very effective: eleven men of my company fell by this volley: but the soldiers redoubled their exertions, and reached the top of the precipice before those drawn up there had reloaded. Instead of making use of the bayonet, against men exhausted and breathless, the enemy turned their backs and fled in the utmost confusion.

squadron of cavalry, which advanced to attack the Highlanders after they had driven back the infantry immediately opposed to them, was instantly repulsed with the loss of their commander. The party of the enemy who had deserted their guns, having partially formed in rear of a second line of small sand-hills, kept up a scattered fire for some time; but on the advance of the troops, they again fled in confusion. The ground on the left being nearly on a level with the water, the Guards and first brigade were attacked immediately on their landing; the Guards by the cavalry, who, when driven back, rallied again in the rear of the sand-hills; and the 54th by a body of infantry, who advanced with fixed bayonets. Both attempts were repulsed.

Thus the intrepid commander, with his gallant troops, had forced a footing in Egypt, compelling an enemy to fly in confusion, who, a few minutes before, had expected to annihilate their invaders, or to drive them back into the sea. There are few instances in our national history which more fully prove the power of firm resolution, and strict discipline, than this. It has been said that a bold invading army will always succeed. The nature of our national warfare has been such, that in no case have the British troops had to resist an enemy attempting to land by force; and, therefore, experience has not yet proved what success would, in such circumstances, attend their resistance to a resolute enemy.

The loss of the British was 4 officers, 4 sergeants, and 94 rank and file, killed; 26 officers, 34 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 450 rank and file, wounded. Of these the Highlanders had 31 killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, Captain Charles Macquarrie, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, John Dick, Frederick Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, Ensign Wilson, 7 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 140 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the French did not exceed one-half of that of the British, and, considering the relative situations of both, the difference might have

been even more in their favour. The principal loss of the British was incurred while in the boats, and when mounting the hill. In both cases, they were exposed to the fire of the enemy without being able to make any defence. When they had gained a position where their courage and firmness were available, the loss sustained was trifling. Four-fifths of the loss of the Highlanders were incurred before they reached the top of the hill. *

The General was early on shore. It is said that the admiral, Lord Keith, knowing his ardour, had given a hint to the officer who commanded his boat to keep in reserve, but his anxiety to be at the head of his troops was not to be restrained. He ordered the officer to push to the shore, and, counteracting the well-meant delay which was intended to preserve a life so precious to the future success of the expedition, he leaped from the boat with the ardour of youth. It may be conceived that the joy and exultation of all present were at their height, when, after the retreat of the enemy, he stood on a little sand-hill receiving the congratulations of the officers, accompanied with mutual expressions of admiration and gratitude; they for the ability and firmness

* The great waste of ammunition and the comparatively little execution of musketry, unless directed by a steady hand, was exemplified on this occasion. Although the sea was as smooth as glass, with nothing to interrupt the aim of those who fired; although the line of musketry was so numerous, that the soldiers compared the fall of the bullets on the water to boys throwing handfuls of pebbles into a mill-pond; and although the spray raised by the cannon-shot and shells, when they struck the water, wet the soldiers in the boats, yet of the whole landing force, very few were hurt, and of the 42d one man only was killed, and Colonel James Stewart and a few soldiers wounded. The noise and foam raised by the shells and large and small shot, compared with the little effect thereby produced, afford evidence of the saving of lives by the invention of gunpowder; while the fire, noise, and force with which the bullets flew, gave a greater sense of danger, than in reality had any existence. That 850 men (one company of the Highlanders did not land in the first boats,) should force a passage through such a shower of balls and bombshells, and only one man killed and five wounded, is certainly a striking fact.

which had conducted them to a situation which gave them such an opportunity of distinguishing themselves,—and he for the gallantry which had surmounted all obstructions, "with an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled." *† By the

* While the army lay in Marmorice Bay, the Minotaur, Captain Louis, the Northumberland, Captain George Martin, and the Penelope, Captain Henry Blackwood, were ordered to cruize off Alexandria, to prevent the entrance of any ships or supplies from France. Soon after the arrival of this blockading squadron on the coast, several vessels sent out from Alexandria were taken. On board of these were a number of officers, of all ranks, returning to France on leave of absence. All these were taken on board the commodore's ship, the Minotaur. Captain Louis treated them with the greatest hospitality and politeness, taking the general officers, and as many others as he could accommodate, to his own table, while the rest were entertained in the ward-room with the officers. I was also a guest at Captain Louis's hospitable table, having been sent on board at Malta with 200 men of the Highlanders, in consequence of the disabled state of the ship in which they had embarked from Minorca. For some time the French officers were in bad humour at their capture, assumed a distant air, and did not appear disposed to be communicative; but the manner in which they were received and entertained, together with the good cheer, had a wonderful effect in softening their disappointment, and in opening their minds. In the course of conversation, and without any intention on their part, nay, perhaps unconscious of what they were doing, they communicated much important information on the state of their army, and of the country in general. Their estimate of the numbers of the army was not at first credited, but the correctness of their statements was soon confirmed. As intimacy increased, they expressed much regret that so many brave men should be sacrificed in a desperate attempt, which, they were sure, could not be successful. On the morning of the 8th, two young French field-officers went up the rigging as the boats made the final push for landing, to witness, as they said, the last sight of their English friends. But when they saw the troops land, ascend the hill, and force the defenders at the top to fly, the love of their country, and the honour of their arms, overcame their new friendship; they burst into tears, and, with a passionate exclamation of grief and surprise, ran down below, and did not again appear on deck during the day.

When the fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay, I went on board the flag-ship, to communicate to the General the intelligence I had received. He heard me with great attention, and after I had finished asked many questions. He then ordered a boat, and rowed towards the beach to reconnoitre, but returned very soon. I waited on board till he came back, and accompanied Colonel Aber-

† Gazette.

great exertions of the navy, the whole army were landed the same evening. *

During three days the army were engaged in landing provisions and stores. This necessary delay enabled the enemy to collect more troops, so that the British, on moving forward in the evening of the 12th, found them strongly fortified among sand-hills and a thicket of palm and date trees, to the number of more than 5000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 30 pieces of artillery, well appointed.

On the morning of the 13th, the troops moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments, the 90th or Perthshire regiment forming the advance of the first column; and the 92d, or Gordon Highlanders, that of the second; the reserve marching in column, covering the movements of the first line, and running parallel with it. When the army had cleared the date-trees, the enemy quitted the heights, and, with great boldness, moved down on the 92d, which by this time had formed in line. The French opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which the 92d quickly returned, firmly resisting the repeated attacks of the French line,

cromby, who followed his father, into the cabin, when he asked his opinion of the landing place. The answer was short.: "*We must be in possession of yonder sand hills to-morrow morning:*" but, as I have stated, it was not till that day se'ennight that an attempt could be made.

* When the men had laid down to rest after the action, I walked to the rear to inquire after some soldiers of my company who had fallen behind, being either killed or wounded. Observing some men digging a hole, and a number of dead bodies lying around, I stept up to one of them, and touching his temple, felt that it retained some warmth. I then told the soldiers not to bury him, but to carry him to the surgeon, as he did not appear to be quite dead. "Poh! poh!" said one of them, "he is as dead as my grandfather, who was killed at Culloden;" and, taking the man by the heels, proceeded to drag him to the pit. But I caused him to desist. The wounded man was so horribly disfigured as to justify his companion in the judgment he had formed. A ball had passed through his head, which was in consequence greatly swelled, and covered with clotted blood. He was carried to the hospital, where he revived from his swoon, and recovered so rapidly, that in six weeks he was able to do his duty. He lived many years afterwards, and was most grateful for my interference.

(supported as it was by a powerful artillery), and singly maintaining their ground till the line came up. At the same time, the French cavalry, with the greatest impetuosity, charged down a declivity on the 90th regiment. This corps, standing with the coolest intrepidity, allowed them to approach within fifty yards, when, by a well-directed fire, they so completely broke the charge, that only a few reached the regiment, and most of them were instantly bayoneted; the rest fled off to their left, and retreated in the greatest confusion. The 90th regiment being dressed in helmets, * as a corps of Light infantry, were mistaken for dismounted cavalry, and the enemy believing them out of their proper element, attacked with the more boldness, as they expected less resistance. †

The two divisions now formed line, the reserve remaining in column to cover the right flank. The whole moved forward in this order, suffering from the enemy's flying artillery, which, having six horses to each gun, executed their movements with the greatest celerity; while the British, with only a few badly appointed cavalry, and no artillery horses, had their guns dragged by sailors, occasionally assisted by the soldiers, through sands so loose and so deep, that the wheels sunk sometimes to the axle. Yet, slow as the movements were, the enemy could offer no effectual resistance, as our troops advanced, and retreated to their lines in front of Alexandria. These lines Sir Ralph Abercromby determined to force. To accomplish this important object, General Moore, with the reserve, was ordered to the right, and General Hutchinson with the second line to the left, while the first line remained in the centre. From the for-

* Colonel (now Lord) Hill's life was saved by his helmet. A musket ball struck it on the brass rim with such force, that he was thrown from his horse to the ground, and the brass completely indented. Without this safeguard, the ball would have passed through his head.

† At this time, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was always in front, had his horse shot under him, and was nearly surrounded by the enemy's cavalry,—a situation from which he was rescued by the 90th regiment.

midable and imposing appearance of the enemy's defences, this seemed a bold attempt. Not knowing their relative positions, or whether, after being successively gained, they could be maintained without proper artillery, if the one commanded the other, our commander found it necessary to reconnoitre with care. In this state of doubt and delay the troops suffered exceedingly from a galling fire, without having it in their power to return a shot, while the French had leisure to take cool aim. On this trying occasion the intrepidity and discipline of the British remained unshaken. Eager to advance, but restrained till it could be done with success, and with the least loss of lives, they remained for hours exposed to a fire that might have shaken the firmness of the best troops. At length the difficulties of the attack appearing insurmountable, they were ordered to retire, and occupy that position which was afterwards so well maintained on the 21st of March, and in which they avenged themselves for their present disappointment.

The loss was severe, 6 officers, 6 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 143 rank and file, being killed; and 66 officers, 61 sergeants, 7 drummers, and 946 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the Royal Highlanders, who were not engaged, but only exposed to distant shot, was 3 rank and file killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, Captain Archibald Argyle Campbell, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 23 rank and file, wounded. *

* The loss of the 42d on this day was the more to be regretted, as, except the wound of Colonel Dickson and one or two more, the whole might have been avoided, had it not been for the idle curiosity of some young men. While the General was in consultation whether he should pursue the enemy to the walls of Alexandria, General Moore, who was never absent when his presence was required, had ordered the 42d up to the right, to form in the closest possible order, immediately under a steep hill, which would effectually conceal them, while they would be ready, on the first signal, to dash up the hill upon the enemy. The battalion, accordingly, lay close under the hill, without being perceived by the enemy; and the most positive orders were given, that every man should sit down, with his firelock between his knees, ready to start up at a moment's warning; and on no account was any person to quit the column, lest the position should be discovered by the enemy, who had covered with

Thus ended the battle of the 19th of March, which exemplified in the strongest manner the difficulties under which

guns the top of the hill immediately above. In this situation, the regiment lay in perfect silence, till three young men, seized with an irresistible curiosity to see what the rest of the army were doing, crept out unperceived by Colonel Alexander Stewart, the commanding officer. They were descried by the enemy, who quickly brought their guns to bear on the regiment, and in an instant three shots were plunged into the centre of the column. This being repeated before the men could be removed to the right, under cover of a projecting hill, thirteen men were left on the ground, either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Simon Fraser lost his left hand, and Captain Archibald Campbell was severely wounded in the arm and side. Thus a foolish, and, on such an occasion, an unpardonable curiosity, caused death or irreparable injury to several officers and soldiers.

One of the young men killed was of my company, A six-pound shot struck through both hips as he lay on the ground, and made a horrible opening as if he had been cut in two. He cried out, "God bless you, Captain Stewart; come and give me your hand before I die, and be sure to tell my father and mother that I die like a brave and good soldier, and have saved money for them, which you will send home." He said something else, which I could not understand, and dropping his head he expired.

A strong instance of fear was at this time exhibited by a half-witted creature,—one of those who, for the sake of filling up the ranks, although incapable of performing the best duties of a soldier, could not be discharged. When the regiment was again placed under cover, I returned back to the position they had left, with a few men, to assist in carrying away the wounded. After this was done, and the wounded carried off, I observed in a small hollow, at a little distance, a soldier lying close on his face, with his legs and arms stretched out as if he had been glued to the ground. I turned his face upwards, and asked him if he was much hurt: He started up, but fell back again, seemingly without the power of his limbs, and trembling violently. However, I got him on his legs, and being anxious to get away, as the enemy's shot were flying about, I was walking off, when I perceived the surgeon's case of instruments, which had been somehow left in the hurry of the last movement. Sensible of its value, I took it up to carry it with me, when I perceived my countryman standing up, having by this time recovered the power of his limbs. I put the chest on his back, telling him,—in the hope that it would inspire him with a little spirit,—that it would shelter him from the shot. At this instant a twelve pound shot plunged in the sand by our side. My fellow soldier fell down one way, and the box another; and, on my again endeavouring to get him on his legs, I found his limbs as powerless as if every joint had been dislocated. The veins of his wrist and forehead were greatly swollen; and he was incapable of speak-

a General and an army labour when totally ignorant of the country, of the enemy's force, and of the nature and strength of his defences. The Arabs could neither comprehend the object of the questions, nor describe the nature of the enemy's fortifications, which, taken in connexion with the ground they occupied, presented an appearance of strength, and a capability of resistance beyond what they really possessed. *

The face of the country, too, was in many parts altogether deceptive to the eye of a stranger; and, in this instance, certainly influenced the General in his resolution to retire from that position to which he had advanced. The ground on the right of the enemy, over which they might easily have been attacked in flank, with every probability of success, was covered with a species of saline incrustation, which dazzled the organs of vision, and presented, in its smooth shining surface, a perfect resemblance to a sheet of water. There was not a man in the army who detected the deception; but this phenomenon, occasioned by this saline efflorescence, was different from the *mirage*, that remarkable property of the Egyptain atmosphere, by which the level parts or plains of the country assume the appearance of water. The plains only being affected by this atmospheric delusion, houses, trees, and rocks, preserve their natural appearance, except that they seem to be entirely surrounded by water, and present so perfect a resemblance to islands, that to strangers unaccustomed to these pheno-

ing, and in a cold sweat. Seeing him in this plight, I left him to his fate; and, taking the case on my back, I delivered it to my friend the surgeon.

* Lieutenant Annesly Stewart of the 50th regiment, a promising young officer, lost his life this day from his curiosity; but he disobeyed no order, and did not occasion death or wounds to others, as was the case in the 42d regiment. Anxious to see the movements of the enemy, he advanced a short distance in front, and towards the right of the regiment. When he got to the highest part of a gentle acclivity, he lay down on his face, resting his spy-glass on his hat, but was not three minutes in that position, ere a twelve pound shot came rolling along the ground, and carried his head clean off, leaving nothing but part of the neck between his shoulders.

mena, the deception is complete. In the uneven surface round Alexandria, there was no mirage;* but the fiery brightness of the atmosphere, heightened by the white and glittering sand, deranged so completely the visual organs, as to give to the more elevated ground an overcharged semblance of height and strength. Its real nature greatly astonished the army, when, at an after period, they passed over it, and were thus enabled to correct the impressions derived from a more distant prospect. Had the General been aware of these optical illusions, Alexandria might have been in his possession on the 13th, while Menou, cut off from the sea, and from all communication with Europe, must soon have surrendered. Fortune ordered it otherwise; and perhaps the result of the campaign was the more honourable, as an opportunity was afforded to our army to obtain a compensation for their long and tantalizing confinement and suspense. Of this opportunity they nobly availed themselves, when opposed to a veteran enemy, greatly superior in numbers, elated with former victories, and believed unconquerable, because hitherto unconquered. In the distant region where the contest was now carried on, no support could be expected by either of the parties, appointed as it were, on a certain spot or stage, to decide the palm of prowess and military energy, while their respective countries were anxiously looking for the result.

As the ground now occupied by the British presented

* It may be proper to explain, that there was a cause beyond the common for this accession of saline matter on the ground alluded to. It was several feet lower than the surface of the sea, which was kept back by the large embankment, formed for the canal, between the Nile and Alexandria, which supplied the town with water. In high tides, and when the wind blew strong from the north-east, a quantity of salt water oozed through the sand, under the canal; and rising beyond it, mixed with the sand on the surface, on which the sun acted with such power, that when the tide receded, a thin covering of pure and beautiful salt was left, and which, in peculiar states of the atmosphere, produced that species of mirage I have noticed. Both in the Egyptian mirage, and that occasioned by the salt, objects are represented in their perfect state, without reflection or shadow.

few natural advantages, no time was lost in strengthening it by art. The sea was on the right flank, and the Lake Maadie on the left. The Reserve were placed as an advanced post on the right; the 58th occupied a ruin of great extent, supposed to have been the Palace of the Ptolemies. Close on their left on the outside of the ruin, and a few paces onward, was a redoubt occupied by the 28th regiment. Five hundred yards towards the rear were posted the 23d, the flank companies of the 40th, the 42d, and the Corsican Rangers, ready to support the two corps in front. To the left of the redoubt, a sandy plain extended about three hundred yards, and then sloped into a valley. Here, a little retired towards the rear, were the cavalry of the reserve; and still farther to the left, on a rising ground beyond the valley, the Guards were posted, with a redoubt thrown up on their right, a battery on their left, and a small ditch or embankment in front, which connected both. To the left of the Guards, in form of an echelon, were posted the Royals, 54th, (two battalions,) and 92d, or Gordon Highlanders; then the 8th, or King's, 18th, or Royal Irish, 90th, and 13th; facing the lake at right angles to the left flank of the line, were drawn up the 27th, or Enniskilling, 79th, or Cameron Highlanders, and 50th regiment; on the left of the second line were posted the 30th, 89th, 44th, Dillon's, De Rolls, and Stuart's regiments; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th and 26th Dragoons completed the second line to the right. The whole was flanked on the right by four cutters, stationed close to the shore. By this formation it will be seen, that the Reserve and the Guards were more advanced, leaving a considerable open space or valley between them. A party of dragoons, as a kind of picquet, occupied the bottom of the valley; but, as has been said, a little to the rear. This was the position of the army from the 14th till the evening of the 20th, the whole being in constant employment, either in performing military duties, erecting batteries, or in bringing forward cannon, stores, and provisions. Over the whole extent of the line there

were arranged two 24 pounders, 32 field pieces, and one 24 pounder, in the redoubt of the 28th, which was open in the rear. Another gun was brought up, but not mounted.

The position of the enemy was parallel, and bore a very formidable appearance. They were posted on a ridge of hills, extending from the sea beyond the left of the British line, and having the town of Alexandria, Fort Caffarelli, and Pharos, in the rear. Menou's army was disposed in the following manner: General Lanusse was stationed on the left with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by General Roise. The centre was occupied by five demi-brigades. General Regnier was on the right, with two demi-brigades, and two regiments of cavalry. General D'Estain commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry.

Such were the positions of the opposing armies. The Queen's regiment had been left to blockade the fort of Aboukir, which surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the 18th. On the evening of the 20th, this regiment was ordered up to replace the Gordon Highlanders, who had been much reduced by previous sickness, and by the action of the 13th, in which they singly resisted the united force of the French infantry. In the evening of the 20th, some parties of the enemy were seen marching over the ground, which had assumed the deceitful appearance of water, as already noticed, to join the force in the lines. This dissipated the delusion, but it was now too late. In addition to this, and other symptoms of activity and preparation, accounts were received that General Menou had arrived at Alexandria with a large reinforcement from Cairo, and was preparing to attack the British army.

From the 13th to the 21st of March, the army were under arms every morning at three o'clock, as was the practice on every occasion where General Abercromby commanded. On the 21st of March, every man was at his post at that hour. No movement on either side took place for half

an hour, at the end of which interval the report of a musket followed by that of some cannon, was heard on the left of the line. This seemed a signal to the enemy, who immediately advanced, and got possession of a small picquet, occupied by a part of Stuart's regiment. They were instantly driven back, and all became still again. It was a stillness like that which precedes a storm. All ranks now felt a presentiment that the great struggle was at hand, which was to decide the fate of Egypt, and the superiority of one of the opposing armies. General Moore, who happened to be the general officer on duty that night, galloped off to the left the instant he heard the firing. Impressed, however, with the idea that this was a false attack, and that the real onset was intended for the right, he turned back, and had hardly reached his brigade when a loud huzza, succeeded by a roar of musketry, announced the true intention of the enemy. The morning was unusually dark, cloudy, and close. The enemy advanced in silence, until they approached the advanced picquets, when they gave a shout, and pushed forward. At this moment Brigadier-General Oakes directed Major Stirling to advance with the left wing of the 42d, and take post on the open ground lately occupied by the 28th regiment, which was now ordered within the redoubt. While the left wing of the Highlanders was thus drawn up, with its right supported by the redoubt, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart, with the right wing, was directed to remain two hundred yards in the rear, but exactly parallel to the left wing. At the same time, the Welsh Fusileers and the flank companies of the 40th moved forward to support the 58th stationed in the ruin. This regiment drew up in the chasms of the ruined walls, under cover of some loose stones, which the soldiers had raised for their defence, and which, though sufficiently open for the fire of the musketry, formed a perfect protection against the entrance of cavalry or infantry. Some parts of the ancient wall were from ten to twenty feet high. The attack on the ruin, the redoubt, and the wing of the Highlanders on its left, was made at the same mo-

ment, and with the greatest impetuosity; but the fire of the regiments stationed there, and of Major Stirling's wing, quickly checked the ardour of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonels Paget of the 28th, and Houston of the 58th, allowed them to come quite close, when their regiments opened so well directed and effective a fire, as obliged the enemy to retire precipitately to a hollow in their rear.

While the front was thus engaged, a column of the enemy, preceded by a six-pounder, came silently along the hollow interval, already mentioned, between the left of the 42d and the right of the Guards, from which the cavalry picquet had retired. This column, which bore the name of the Invincibles, calculated its distance and line of march so correctly,—although it was so dark, that an object at the distance of two yards could not be properly distinguished,—that, on coming in line with the Highlanders, it wheeled to its left, and marched in between the right and left wings of the regiment, which were drawn up in parallel lines. The air being now rendeed much more obscure by the smoke, which there was not a breath of wind to dispel, this close column got well advanced between the two lines of the Highlanders before it was perceived. Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart, with the right wing, instantly charged to his proper front, while the rear-rank of Major Stirling's wing, facing to the right about, charged to the rear. The enemy, thus taken between two fires, rushed forward with an intention of pushing into the ruin. When they passed the rear of the redoubt, the 28th faced about, and fired upon them. Still, however, they endeavoured to gain the ruins.* Not aware

* So dense and dark was the atmosphere, and such was the silence and precision with which the enemy marched, that they passed unperceived along the front of four companies of the 42d regiment. One of the soldiers evinced on this occasion, great superiority of vision. When no person saw or suspected what was in front, this soldier left his station in the centre of his company, and running up to me, said, in a low tone of voice, "I see a strong column of the enemy marching past in our front; I know them by their large hats and white frocks;—tell the General, and allow us to charge them." I told him to go back to his place; that the thing was impossible, as Major Stirling, with

how they were occupied, they rushed through the openings, followed by the Highlanders, when the 58th and 40th, facing about in the same manner as the 28th had done, also fired upon them. This combined attack proved decisive of the fate of this body. The survivors (about 200) threw down their arms and surrendered. General Moore followed the enemy's column into the ruin, where he and General Oakes were wounded; but these officers, disregarding wounds which did not totally disable them, remained in the exercise of their duty.* Leaving General Oakes with the

the left wing of the regiment, was in our immediate front, at the distance of only 200 yards, and that no enemy could pass between the two wings. However, as the man still insisted on the accuracy of his statement, I run out to the front, and soon perceived through the darkness a large moving body; and though I could not distinguish any particular object, the sound of feet and clank of arms convinced me of the soldier's correctness. In a few seconds Colonel Stewart and Major Stirling's wings charged the column in the ruins. But it is proper to explain, that it was only the rear rank of the left wing that faced about and charged to their rear; the front rank kept their ground to oppose the enemy in their immediate front; and thus was exhibited great presence of mind in the officers, and perfect steadiness in the execution of their duty by the soldiers, when thus, with an enemy in front, and another in rear, men less firm, and less collected, would perhaps have hesitated which way to turn, and in this hesitation lost the time for action, and thus allowed themselves to be destroyed.

* At this moment, the standard borne by this column was surrendered by a French officer to Major Stirling, who gave it to a sergeant of his regiment, directing him to take charge of it, and stand by a gun which had been taken from the enemy. The sergeant, standing as he had been desired, was overthrown and stunned by the cavalry who had charged to the rear. When he recovered, the standard was gone, and he could give no farther account of it. Some time after this, a soldier of Stuart's regiment carried a standard to Colonel Abercromby, the deputy-adjutant-general, which he stated he had taken from a French cavalry officer, in front of his regiment, and for which he got a receipt and a reward of twenty-four dollars. I notice this circumstance the more particularly, as the officers of the 42d regiment have been accused of having allowed it to be stated, that the colour, which was brought home and lodged in the Royal Military Chapel, Whitehall, as the colour of the French Invincibles, was the same that had been surrendered to them, without taking any notice of the circumstance of the sergeant having lo that given to him

troops within the ruins, General Moore hurried to the left of the redoubt, where part of the left wing of the 42d was hotly engaged with the enemy, after the rear-rank had followed the corps into the ruins. The enemy were now seen advancing, in great force, on the left of the redoubt, with an apparent intention of again attempting to turn it, and to overwhelm those who stood on its left. General Moore immediately ordered the Highlanders out of the ruin, and directed them to form line in battalion on the flat on which Major Stirling had originally formed, with their right supported by the redoubt. This extension of the line enabled them to show a larger front to the enemy, who pressed forward so rapidly, that it was necessary to check their progress, even before the battalion had fully completed its formation in line. Orders were, therefore, given to drive them back, which was instantly done, with complete success.

It was here that the Commander-in-Chief, always anxious to see every thing with his own eye, had taken his station. Encouraging the troops in language of which they always felt the force, he called out, "My brave Highlanders, remember your country, remember your forefathers!" They

or of a colour being delivered by a soldier of Stuart's regiment to the adjutant-general.

An attack, founded upon this supposed misrepresentation, was made on the officers in a weekly publication of that period. This was answered, but not in the manner in which some of the officers of the regiment thought it ought to have been. The truth is, the thing was not worth a dispute. Those who carried the colour given to Major Stirling were annihilated; and it neither added to, nor detracted from the character of the 42d, that the colour was subsequently lost by the misfortune or stupidity of an individual. The question was not whether a colour or a drumstick was taken. This supposed invincible corps was conquered; in this the 42d had their share; and this standard fell accidentally into their hands, in consequence of their being so much mixed and so closely engaged with the enemy. The standard which the sergeant of the 42d had in his possession was lost by him; the standard of which the soldier of Stuart's regiment got possession is preserved, and is now in Whitehall; and there the business rests.

pursued the enemy along the plain. Meanwhile, General Moore, who had the advantage of a keen eye, saw, through the increasing clearness of the atmosphere, fresh columns drawn up in the plain beyond, with three squadrons of cavalry, seemingly ready to charge through the intervals of their retreating infantry. Not a moment was to be lost in re-forming, as the expected attack was not to be resisted by a moving line. General Moore, therefore, ordered the regiment to retire from their advanced position, and form again on the left of the redoubt. Supported by the redoubt on the right, the cavalry could not turn that flank of the 42d; which strengthened this position, in other respects favourable for cavalry, as it was level, and presented no obstruction to their movements except the small holes which the soldiers of the 28th, when stationed there, had made for their camp-kettles. * Owing to the noise of the firing, this order to fall back to the redoubt, although repeated by Colonel Stewart, was only partially heard. The consequence was, that the companies whom it distinctly reached retired; but those who did not hear it hesitated to follow; thus leaving considerable intervals between those companies who heard the orders to retire on the redoubt, and those who did not. The opportunity was not to be lost by a bold, enterprising, and acute enemy. They advanced in great force, with an apparent intention of overwhelming the Highlanders, whose line was so badly formed as to appear like an echelon. Such a line was ill calculated to resist a charge of cavalry made with the impetuosity of a torrent; yet every man stood firm. Many of the enemy were killed in the advance. All those who directed their charge on the companies, which stood in compact bodies, were driven back with great loss. The others passed through the intervals, and wheeling to their left, as the column of infantry had done early in the morning, they were

* The accidental circumstance of these holes gave occasion to General Regnier to state, that the front of the British line was covered with *frons de lour*, or trap-holes for the cavalry.

received by the 28th, who facing to their rear, poured on them a fire so effective, that the greater part were killed or taken.*

General Menou, exasperated at seeing the élite of his cavalry suffer so much, ordered forward a column of infantry, supported by cavalry, to make a second attempt on the position. Though the consequent formation of the Highlanders was not, and indeed could not be, very correct in such circumstances, they repulsed the enemy's infantry at all points. Another body of cavalry then availed themselves, as the former had done, of the disorder in the line of the regiment produced by repelling the attack of the infantry, dashed forward with equal impetuosity, and met with a similar reception; numbers falling, and others passing through to the rear, where they were again overpowered by the 28th. It was now on the part of the Highlanders a trial of personal firmness, and of individual courage, as indeed it nearly was in the former charge, every man fighting on his own ground, regardless how he was supported, facing his enemy wherever he presented himself, and maintaining his post while strength or life remained.† But exertions like these could not have been long sustained.

* Their passing through the intervals in this manner accounts for a circumstance, which, without some explanation, is calculated to excite surprise; namely, that while the regiment was, as it were, passed over by cavalry, as appeared to be the case with regard to the Highlanders in that day, only thirteen men were wounded by the sabre. That they suffered so slightly was owing to the firmness with which the men stood, first endeavouring to bring down the horse, before the rider came within sword-length, and then despatching him with the bayonet, before he had time to recover his legs from the fall of the horse.

† The enemy were much struck with this:—a body of men broken—cavalry charging through them—attacked in flank—with an enemy in rear, yet still resisting, either in groups or individuals, as necessity required. This they did not expect. Perhaps they seldom saw it, and thought it contrary to the usual rules of service, and therefore their charges were probably made with greater boldness, and in fuller confidence of success, believing that no broken

The regiment was now much reduced, and if not supported, must soon have been annihilated. From this fate it was saved by the opportune arrival of the brigade of Brigadier-General John Stuart, who advanced from the second line, and formed his brigade on the left of the Highlanders, occupying as far as his line extended, part of the vacant space to the right of the Guards. No support could have been more seasonable. The enemy were now advancing in great force, both of cavalry and infantry, with a seeming determination to overwhelm the small body of men who had so long stood their ground against their reiterated efforts. To their astonishment they found a fresh and more numerous body of troops, who withstood their charge with such firmness and spirit, that in a few minutes they were forced to retreat with great precipitation.

By this time it was eight o'clock in the morning, and although, from the repulse of the enemy at all points, it was pretty evident how the battle would terminate, appearances were still formidable. The French continued a heavy and constant cannonade from their great guns, and a straggling fire from their sharpshooters, who had ranged themselves in hollows, and behind some sand-hills in front of the redoubt and ruins. The fire of the British had ceased, as those who had been so hotly engaged had expended the whole of their ammunition; and a fresh supply, owing to the distance of the ordnance stores, could not be immediately procured. While this unavoidable cessation of hostilities on our part astonished the enemy, who ascribed it to some design which they could not comprehend, the army suffered exceedingly from their fire, particularly the Highlanders and the right of General Stuart's brigade, who were exposed without cover to its full effect, being posted on a level piece of ground, over which the cannon-shot rolled after striking the ground,

disjointed body of men could, in such circumstances, attempt to resist their impetuous attacks. But finding, instead of a flying enemy, every man standing firm, and ready to receive them, their nerves were probably somewhat shaken, and their assaults rendered less effective.

and carried off a file of men at every successive rebound. This was more trying to the courage and discipline of the troops than the former attacks; but the trial was supported with perfect steadiness. Not a man moved from his position, except to close up the opening made by the shot, when his right or left hand man was struck down. The long shot which passed over the first line struck in front of the second,* where it did great execution.

To stand in this manner with perfect firmness, exposed to a galling fire, without any object to engage the attention or occupy the mind, and without the power of making the smallest resistance, was a trial of the character of the British soldier, to which the enemy did full justice. Witnessing the fact, although mistaken in the cause, they could more fully estimate the value of this admirable military quality.

Having thus endeavoured to preserve an uninterrupted narrative of the proceedings on the right, where the conflict was now nearly terminated, I shall next proceed to give a short detail of the actions of the centre. Before the dawn of day a heavy column of infantry advanced on the position occupied by the Guards. General Ludlow allowed them to approach very close to his front, before he ordered his fire to be opened. This was done with such effect, that they were forced back with precipitation. Endeavouring therefore to turn the left of the position, they were received and repulsed with such spirit, by the Royals and the right wing of the 54th, that they desisted from all further attempts to carry that position. Still, however, they continued an irregular fire from their cannon and sharpshooters, the former of which did more execution in the second line than in front. The left of the line was never engaged, as General Regnier, who commanded the right of the French line,

* Lieutenant-Colonel David Ogilvie of the 44th, son of Sir John Ogilvie, Baronet, was mortally wounded in the second line. Several other officers also suffered.

never advanced to the attack, but kept up a heavy cannonade, from which several corps on the left of the British suffered considerably.

During the cessation of the fire on the right, the enemy advanced their sharpshooters close to the redoubt; but before they had commenced their operations from this new position, the ammunition arrived. At the first shot fired from the 24 pounder on the redoubt, they began to retreat with much expedition; and before a fourth round was discharged, they had fled beyond reach.* The retreat was general over the whole line, and by ten o'clock the enemy had gained their position in front of Alexandria. The strength of this position, the number of its defenders, and the fatigue already sustained by the British army, rendered it necessary to proceed with caution. In addition to these considerations, another great reason for desisting from such an attempt was the loss of the Commander-in-Chief. Early in the day he had taken his station in front, and in a line between the right of the Highlanders and the left of the redoubt, so as to be clear of the fire of the 28th regiment who occupied it. The 42d, when advanced, were in a line with him. Standing there, he had a full view of the field; and here having detached the whole of his staff on various duties, he was left alone: this was perceived by two of the enemy's cavalry, when they dashed forward, and drawing up on each side, attempted to lead him away prisoner. In this unequal contest he received a blow on the breast; but with the vigour and strength of arm, for which he was distinguished, he seized on the sabre of one of those who strug-

* Perhaps the retreat was hastened by the admirable precision with which the gun was levelled by Colonel Duncan of the artillery. He pointed at the sixth file from the right angle of the close column, and directed his shot with so much precision, that it levelled with the ground all that were outward of the file, either killing or overthrowing them by the force of the concussion; the second shot plunged into the centre of the column; the third had less effect, as the column opened in the retreat; and, before the fourth was ready, they were nearly covered by the sand-hills.

gled with him, and forced it out of his hand. At this moment a corporal of the 42d seeing his situation, ran up to his assistance, and shot one of the assailants, on which the other retired.

Some time after the General attempted to alight from his horse. A soldier of the Highlanders, seeing that he had some difficulty in dismounting, assisted him, and asked if he should follow him with the horse. He answered, "I don't imagine I will require him any more this day." While all this was passing, no officer was near him. The first officer he met was Sir Sidney Smith, and observing that his sword was broken, the General presented him with the trophy which he had gained. He betrayed no symptoms of personal pain, nor relaxed a moment the intense interest he took in the state of the field; nor was it perceived that he was wounded, till he was joined by some of the staff, who observed the blood trickling down his thigh. Even during the interval between the time of his being wounded and the last charge of cavalry, he walked with a firm and steady step along the line of the Highlanders, and General Stuart's brigade, to the position of the Guards, in the centre of the line, where, from its elevated situation, he had a full view of the whole field of battle. Here he remained, regardless of the wound, giving his orders so much in his usual manner, that the officers who came to receive them perceived nothing that indicated either pain or anxiety. These officers afterwards could not sufficiently express their astonishment when they came to learn the state in which he was, and the pain which he must have suffered from the nature of his wound. A musket ball had entered his groin, and lodged deep in the hip-joint. The ball was even so firmly fixed, that it required considerable force to extract it after his death. My respectable friend, Dr Alexander Robertson, the surgeon who attended him, assured me that nothing could exceed his surprise and admiration at the calmness of his heroic patient. With a wound in such a part, connected with, and bearing on every part of his body, it is

a matter of surprise how he could move at all; and nothing but the most intense interest in the fate of his army, the issue of the battle, and the honour of the British name, could have inspired and sustained such resolution. As soon as the impulse ceased in the assurance of victory, he yielded to exhausted nature, acknowledged that he required some rest, and lay down on a little sand-hill close to the battery.

He was now surrounded by the Generals and a number of officers. At a respectful distance the soldiers were seen crowding round this melancholy group, pouring out their blessings on his head, and their prayers for his recovery. He was carried on board the Foudroyant, where he lingered for some days, still maintaining his usual serenity and composure. On the morning of the 28th of March his breathing became difficult and agitated, and in a few hours he expired. "As his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the memory of a grateful posterity." * The respect and affection with which this excellent man, and highly distinguished commander, was universally regarded, may be considered as a most honourable tribute to his talents and integrity. Though a rigid disciplinarian, when rigour was necessary, such was the general confidence in his judgment and in the honour and integrity of his measures, that, in the numerous armies which he at different periods commanded, not a complaint was ever heard, that his rigour bordered on injustice, or that his decisions were influenced by partiality, prejudice, or passion. Under such a commander, no British soldier will ever be found to fail in his duty † in the hour of trial.

* General Hutchinson's Official Despatches.

† The different incidents in Sir Ralph Abercromby's life are well known; but, as every thing relative to such a man must be interesting, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of delineating a few traits of his character. As a sol-

Thus I have endeavoured to give a plain and unvarnished narrative of the principal events of a series of engagements, interesting in themselves, and most important in their consequences. To rescue from a powerful enemy a country, in the previous conquest and preservation of which they had expended much blood and treasure, and by the permanent possession of which they calculated on the exe-

dier, he displayed a strong and vigorous intellect, with a military genius which overcame the disadvantages of inexperience. It was at the age of 61 that General Abercromby first took the field, in 1793, in an active campaign, having seen but little service, except as a subaltern of dragoons, for a short time in Germany, in the Seven Years' War. At this age, when many men are retiring from the fatigues of life, he commenced an honourable and successful career of military duty. From the very outset, he displayed great talent. His appointment was a signal proof of the discernment of the late Lord Melville, who was in habits of intimacy with him, and who, in reciprocal visits at their country residences, saw his value, and subsequently recommended him to the King. Thus, in a fortunate hour for his country, he was called from his retirement at that late period of life. Successful in every military movement or attempt where he could act from his own judgment, or was not deceived by false intelligence, as in the case of Porto Rico, by "his steady observance of discipline, his ever-watchful attention to the health of his troops, the persevering and unconquerable spirit which marked his military career, the splendour of his actions in the field, and the heroism of his death, he showed an example worthy the imitation of all who desire, like him, a life of honour and a death of glory." *.

There was something remarkable in this family. The father, who was born in 1704, lived to see his four sons honoured and respected, and at the head of their different professions. While his eldest son, Sir Ralph, was Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, his second son, Sir Robert, held the same station in the East; Lord Abercromby, the third son, was an eminent, learned, and virtuous judge; and the fourth died in possession of an independent fortune, acquired in the service of the East India Company. Three of his daughters were married to gentlemen of family and fortune, who resided so near him, that he could dine with either any day he chose; and his fourth daughter, continuing unmarried, devoted her days to the declining years of her father. Latterly he lived with his son. I happened to be in Edinburgh in May 1800, and dined with Lady Abercromby on the day Sir Ralph left her to embark on that expedition from which he never returned. A King's messenger had arrived from London the day before, and Sir Ralph, only waiting for a few family arrange-

* Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

cution of great ultimate plans, was certainly an important achievement. But this result was less glorious than that of having destroyed the ideal invincibility of an army to which defeat was hitherto unknown, and which, from a continued career of success, had some reason for assuming such a proud distinction.

I must here observe, however, that to describe a battle of any duration and extent, in a manner satisfactory to all who were present, is extremely difficult, if not impossible, since events and objects vary in their appearances according to the position of the observer. The weight of the battle was sustained by the Reserve on the right, the Guards, two regiments of the first brigade, on the centre, and the brigade of General Stuart, which gave to the Highlanders such timely and effectual support, making the sum-total of the British actually engaged somewhat less than 6000 men. Yet from the narrowness of the ground, from the nearness of their opponents, and from part of the line being broken and mixed with the enemy, (as was the case with the Highlanders), in a conflict where men were personally opposed, and victory depended on dexterity and strength of arm, and where the struggle was so long and so obstinately maintained, as was the case in this important battle, it will appear surprising, on a comparison of the numbers who fell on this day and

ments, set out on the following morning. When at dinner with the family after his departure, I was affected in a manner which I can never forget, by the respectable old gentleman's anxiety about his son, and his observations and inquiries about his future intentions, and what service was intended for him. His particular destination was not known at that time, but it was suspected that he would be immediately employed. "They will wear him out," said he, "too soon," (the son was then in his 68th year,) "and make an old man of him before his time, with their expeditions to Holland one year, and the West Indies the next; and, if he would follow my advice, he would settle at home and take his rest." And when Lady Abercromby observed that she was afraid that he must go abroad, "Then," said he, "he will never see me more." The verification of this melancholy prediction was to be expected from his great age, being then in his 97th year. He died in the month of July following, eight months before his son, whose absence he regretted so much.

in the previous battle of the 13th that the loss on both occasions should be so nearly equal; while, on the 13th, the loss of the French was less by one-half than that of the British, and on this occasion it was so much greater, that 1700 men were left on the field, either killed or desperately wounded. To this must be added the number that was killed and wounded within and in front of the French line, which, calculated in the usual proportion of wounded to killed, will be found to have been very considerable. Indeed, while the number of British killed amounted to 224 soldiers, there were buried of the enemy 1040 men on the field of battle. Allowing, therefore, three wounded for every one killed, (and, on reference to our returns of casualties, there will be found in many instances a much greater proportion of wounded,) the total loss of the enemy that day, exclusive of prisoners, must have been upwards of 4000 men.

I have been the more minute in this calculation, because it serves to illustrate a position interesting to every soldier; that the loss of men will always be smaller, and success more certain, according as the energy and alacrity with which an attack is made, or the cool and steady intrepidity with which it is received, are more conspicuous. Thus we have seen, that, on the 13th, when there was no close fighting, (except the charges made on the 90th and 92d,) and when, from causes already noticed, the slow advance, and the hesitation in following up the attack and pushing the enemy to the walls of Alexandria, allowed them full opportunity to take cool aim on the extended line, the loss in killed and wounded on our part was nearly equal to that of the succeeding engagement. On the 21st of March, there was no hesitation, but, on the contrary, the most determined and effective resistance was made to the boldest attacks of the enemy, and the promptest and most rapid advance, when it was necessary to prevent their nearer approach. The cool and steady manner in which our line reserved their fire till the object was within reach, had undoubtedly the most appalling

influence on the enemy, producing a trepidation which rendered a steady aim impossible; and when their cavalry, after charging through the Highlanders, still saw themselves followed and attacked, they certainly seemed paralyzed; for they galloped about, flourishing their sabres in the air, and ready to cut at any enemy that came in their way, but seemingly not looking for one. All this, too, happened in a confined space immediately in rear of the 42d and of the redoubt of the 28th.* A fine opportunity was thus afforded those two regiments, and it was not lost; for (as I have observed already) very few of those who penetrated to the rear through the 42d were permitted to return; and on this sandy spot, which had been so keenly contested, and had formed an arena for a display of personal prowess, it was not easy to determine whether men or horses were more thickly

* Although this redoubt was elevated in front, and covered the men breast high, it was open to the rear, having a low and narrow platform running round the inside of the parapet on which the men stood. The 23d and 40th flank companies, and the 58th, were likewise partly covered by the immense masses of ruinous walls. This circumstance will account for the small loss of those corps of the same brigade, in comparison of that of the Highlanders, as the difference has given rise to a belief among many, that the heavy loss of the latter was owing to their allowing themselves to be overpowered and broken by the enemy. In the 23d regiment, the number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded was 20; in the 28th, the number was 70; in the 40th flank companies, 7; in the 58th, 24; and in the 42d, 316, nearly three times the aggregate amount of the loss of all the other regiments of the Reserve. Such a contrast as this, and so great a proportional loss, might occasion a supposition that they showed less promptitude in attacking, and less firmness in repelling the enemy than those who had fewer killed. But, fortunately for the honour of the corps, there was in this case an evident cause in the confidence reposed by the Commander-in-Chief in their firmness, when he posted them on a smooth level piece of ground, fully exposed to the attacks of cavalry, infantry, and every arm which the enemy could bring forward. He gave another proof of this confidence by putting himself at their head during the hottest hours of the battle, and never leaving them till the hardest part of the contest was decided. The corps had thus an opportunity, which, otherwise situated, they could not have had, of evincing whether they still retained any part of the intrepidity which characterized their predecessors in the regiment, and their countrymen in other national corps.

strewed, although, from the larger size of the latter, they occupied more space. It has seldom happened that so many men have fallen on so limited an extent of ground.

The death of their veteran and heroic commander was felt by the British as a heavy calamity. Besides him there were killed, 10 officers, 9 sergeants, and 224 rank and file: and wounded, 60 officers, 48 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 1082 rank and file. The Highlanders lost Brevet-Major Robert Bisset, Lieutenants Colin Campbell, Robert Anderson, Alexander Stewart, Alexander Donaldson, and Archibald M'Nicol, * and 48 rank and file, killed; and had Major James Stirling, Captain David Stewart, Lieutenants Hamilton Rose, J. Milford Sutherland, A. M. Cuningham, Frederick Campbell, Maxwell Grant, † Ensign William Mackenzie, 6 sergeants, and 247 rank and file, wounded.

* These six officers were promising young men, and their death was a sensible loss to the regiment. Lieutenants Campbell and Donaldson had had the advantage of an education suited to their profession. Few officers equalled Major Bisset in every professional accomplishment. With a keen and penetrating mind, great application in his youth, and a retentive memory, his information was general and extensive, and equally fitted him to support the character of the soldier, the gentleman, and the man of the world. He was son of Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, in Athole, who had been, at any early period, an officer in Lord Loudon's and Lord John Murray's Highlanders, and afterwards on Lord George Sackville's Staff. He was aide-de-camp to that general at the battle of Minden, and an evidence of importance to his Lordship's defence at his trial. He was also many years Commissary-General for Great Britain, and was succeeded in 1793 by Alderman Brook Watson. Lieutenant Campbell was son of Captain Patrick Campbell, of Campbell's Highlanders, in the Seven Year's War. This respectable veteran possessed apparently an inexhaustible store of Ossian's and other ancient and modern Gaelic poetry, which he used to repeat with the ease and fluency common in the Highlands in his youth. This veteran soldier, poet, and bard, died at Inverlochy, in December 1816, in his 80th year.

† This officer, afterwards a Colonel in the Portuguese service, was wounded by a bayonet, which entered one side of his stomach, a little below the navel, and came out at the other. Lieutenant Stewart, son of Mr Stewart of Foss, was wounded in the same part of the body by a musket ball, which passed through in like manner. After the action, they lay together in the same tent. Mr Grant vomiting and throwing up blood was considered in immediate dan-

The conquest of Egypt might now be considered as complete. Such, indeed, was the opinion of the French army, at least of that part of it which had been engaged on the 21st, and were now in Alexandria. They readily acknowledged that all future resistance was merely for the honour of France, and the glory of her arms. Succeeding events proved this, and that they only waited to be attacked in order to surrender.

Rhamanieh, an important post, commanding the passage of the Nile, preserving the communication between Alexandria and Cairo, and defended by 4000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 32 pieces of cannon, was, on the approach of the British, evacuated in the course of the night. One hundred and fifty men were left in the place to keep up fires and lights, the better to conceal the retreat of the French. During the advance, there was a good deal of skirmishing and cannonading, by which the British lost 30 killed and wounded, including 6 officers.

General Hutchinson proceeded to Cairo. The French general, Belliard, waited until the approaches of the British were so far completed as to enable him to capitulate with honour; and, on the 22d of June, he offered to surrender, on condition of being sent to France, and of his army retaining their arms and baggage. Thus all Egypt was conquered at Alexandria; but, notwithstanding the ease with which (except the sufferings from fatigue and climate) this conquest was accomplished, General Hutchinson experi-

ger; Mr Stewart complained of nothing but a degree of tension and dull pain in the lower part of the abdomen, and the wound was consequently thought trifling. The result was quite unexpected. Lieutenant Stewart died at four o'clock the same evening, and Lieutenant Grant was quite well within a fortnight. Lieutenant Sutherland, now Major of the 91st regiment, was wounded in the belly by the push of a bayonet, which entered four inches, and with such violence as to throw him on his back; but such was the yielding nature of the inner membrane of the stomach, that it was not pierced; and within three weeks Mr Sutherland was able to join his regiment.

enced great difficulties and perplexities when he succeeded to the command.

With an army much reduced by three successive battles, and possessing little more than the ground on which the troops were encamped, while the enemy, though beaten, was still numerous, and occupied every strong place in the country, the Commander-in-Chief had only a choice of difficulties. Whether to commence hostilities against Alexandria, or leaving it to the last, proceed up the country to attack the army there, was a question of much moment, and anxious consideration. Although the result demonstrated how easy it was to conquer Upper Egypt, that was not known to General Hutchinson, who had to oppose a greater force than he expected. In his despatches previous to his immediate approach to Cairo, he states his belief that there were not more than 6000 troops of all kinds in the town, whereas the numbers exceeded 13,000, of whom 10,850 were French. But, as I have already said, Cairo was taken on the 21st of March, and so was Alexandria: as it was found that nothing was required for the completion of every object for which the expedition had been originally undertaken but to make such an attack as would, by its boldness, and the strength of the force brought forward, enable General Menou to make an honourable defence, and to show that his surrender would not sully the glory of the French arms. *

* Early in July, the British army was reinforced from England and Minorca by the 22d dragoons, a detachment of Guards, two battalions of the 20th foot, the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th regiments, the Ancient Irish Fencibles, and the foreign regiments of Watteville's and Chasseurs Britanniques. The Irish Fencibles were enlisted for European service only, and were ordered from Ireland to Minorca, where they were quartered in 1801. When more troops were required in Egypt, this regiment was treated in the same manner as at different times the Highland regiments had been, and, without regard to their terms of service, was ordered to embark for Africa. The men complained, and stated the nature of their engagement, but to no purpose; and, being

When the army had returned from Cairo, and the necessary preparations had been made, General Hutchinson proceeded to the investment of Alexandria; and detaching General Coote, with nearly half the army, to the westward of the town, he himself advanced from the eastward. In this manner, General Menou, finding himself surrounded on two sides by an enemy 14,500 strong, * by the sea on the north, cut off from the country by the newly-formed lake † on the south, and already forced to subsist his troops on horse flesh, could delay a surrender only for the sake of effect. In the meantime, the French general played his part well, and every advance was disputed, until the evening

less refractory than the Highlanders had showed themselves in similar circumstances, they embarked, though reluctantly. However, when they found themselves fairly landed in Egypt, and were ordered to march forward from the beach to join the army before Alexandria, making a virtue of necessity, and with characteristic good humour, they pulled off their hats, and, with three cheers, cried out, "We will volunteer now." My countrymen, in the days of their spirited independence, would not have yielded so readily, and would have been in no humour to sport their jokes on such an occasion.

The whole proceeded from a mistake in the nature of the engagement on which these men were to serve. The order to embark them from Minorca must, however, have been clear and positive; otherwise General Fox, who commanded there, and whose mildness of disposition, and high sense of honour and probity, are so well known, would never have countenanced any breach of engagement.

* The army from India had not descended the Nile.

† When General Hutchinson marched for Cairo, leaving General Coote to blockade Alexandria, the latter officer, wishing to strengthen his position, and lessen the line of blockade, availed himself of the natural formation of the country, and of a valley running upwards of forty miles to the westward. The bottom was under the level of the sea, which, as I have already stated, was only prevented running into it by the dike, on which the water was carried by a canal from the Nile to Alexandria. He directed four cuts of six yards in breadth, to be made in the dike, and the cuts ten yards asunder. When the fascines which protected the workmen were removed, the water rushed in with a fall of nearly seven feet, and with such force, that all the cuts were soon washed away; and although the whole breach widened to the extent of 300 feet, it was nearly a month before the valley was filled, and the water found its level. Indeed, there was always a considerable current running westward, the evaporation in that scorching climate requiring a constant supply.

of the 26th of August, when he demanded an armistice for three days, to afford time to form conditions of capitulation. The armistice was agreed to; and, on the 2d of September, the capitulation was signed, and ratified by the respective commanders.

In these short but conclusive movements, little occurred worthy of notice beyond what was to be expected when one army was pushing another to an ultimate surrender, except a very spirited affair, in which the 30th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart, displayed its gallantry and discipline. It was low in numbers, and did not exceed 180 men. On the 16th of August, being on duty in the trenches to cover the workmen, while constructing an advanced battery on a piece of ground covered with white sparkling sand, which the soldiers jocularly called the "Green Hill," a column of 600 of the enemy appeared on the left, as if they intended to attack and destroy the new battery. Colonel Lockhart immediately suggested to Colonel Brent Spencer, who commanded the advance, the propriety of marching out to meet and attack this party instead of waiting for them in the trenches. To this the latter consented, and immediately ordered the 30th out of the trenches, where they lay sheltered from a smart fire which was kept up on the battery. They were hardly formed before the enemy had reached the brow of the hill, covered with showers of round and grape shot from all their batteries. They were immediately charged by the 30th, and totally routed, with the loss of upwards of 100 men left behind killed or wounded, and several prisoners. As Colonel Lockhart advanced with spirit, so he retired with judgment. Seeing a large body of the enemy in reserve, as a second line to their first, who opened a heavy fire upon his party, he immediately drew them off, as a farther attack on this reserve was not necessary, and to remain under the fire of the batteries would have only been a sacrifice of his men. *

* This attack was made under the immediate observation of General Menou, who, it is said, upbraided his troops for permitting these works to proceed with

This little exploit was performed at mid-day in presence of the whole army, who witnessed this striking proof of the good effects of closing upon an enemy with energy and alacrity, instead of waiting to be attacked. Had Colonel Lockhart, with his inferior numbers, stood to receive the attack of the enemy, thinned as he must have been while thus exposed to the heavy fire from the batteries, the result would have been doubtful; but he trusted to the bayonet, which, in a steady hand, will never fail to be decisive.*

Equally problematical would have been the safety and success of the Highlanders on the 21st of March, had they trusted to their fire alone, and stood still to receive the charge of the enemy on the left of the redoubt. But, converting a defence into an attack, they rushed forward in the face of the enemy, who were advancing in full charge; and although the Highlanders suffered when the cavalry charged through the intervals occasioned by the attacks of the infantry, there is little doubt, that, if they had stood still, and had not rushed upon the enemy, the loss would have been much more considerable.

The proceedings against Alexandria showed to what a pitch of perfection the British artillery had arrived. The battery which had been so bravely protected by the 30th regiment, was finished on the evening of the 25th of August; and although an irregular fire was kept up on the

impunity. A party was immediately selected or volunteered to destroy them; but the attempt, as has been seen, was not made with impunity, and the works proceeded without farther interruption.

* General Hutchinson, noticing this circumstance in his despatches, forgot to mention, that, although Colonel Spencer was present, and ordered the charge, he was under the command of Brigadier-General Doyle, who was close in the rear at the time, and had left his sick-room at Rosetta to command his brigade the moment he heard of the movement in advance; and, on his representing these circumstances, General Hutchinson most readily corrected his omission in the subsequent despatches. The truth was, the thing of itself was of no importance. Any real merit belonged to Colonel Lockhart, who proposed and executed the exploit, and who was so gallantly supported by his officers and men.

working parties from the surrounding batteries of the enemy, the works were little interrupted; the fire being so ill directed that only one man (a soldier of the 90th) was killed. Very different was the effect of the fire from the battery on the "Green Hill," which opened at six o'clock in the morning of the 26th. Before mid-day the enemy were completely silenced; their batteries destroyed; and the guns withdrawn. On the west of Alexandria, the tower of Marabout was bombarded from a battery commanded by Captain Curry of the Royal Artillery. The first shot struck the tower four feet from the ground; every succeeding shot struck the same spot; and in this manner he continued, never missing his mark; till a large hole was in a manner bored completely through, when the building fell, and filling up the surrounding ditch, the place was instantly surrendered.

The expedition being brought to this fortunate conclusion, immediate preparations were made for embarkation. The French were first embarked, and sailed for France.

STATE of the NUMBERS of both ARMIES.

Garrison of Cairo, including 1000 auxiliary troops,	13,674
Garrison of Alexandria, including Marines doing duty,	10,308
Prisoners taken on different occasions,	3,500
Embarked,	27,482
Killed and died of wounds in the different actions,	3,000
Soldiers dead by sickness since the 8th of March,	1,500
Total in arms, deducting 2000 in hospital when the British landed,	31,982
Civil establishment,	768
Deserters,	600
Total,	33,350

The number of troops landed with Sir Ralph Abercromby was,

Artillery,	630
Cavalry, (without horses,)	1,063
Infantry,	12,171
Reinforcements which joined afterwards,	3,250
Army from India,	5,226
Grand total in Egypt,	22,340

The killed and wounded of the British in the different actions are stated in the following return. The three principal actions happening previously to the arrival of the reinforcements, the weight fell on those who first landed, and who, as formerly stated, did not, from sickness and various causes, exceed 12,934 in the field.

Return of Killed and Wounded of the British Army during the Campaign in Egypt.

		Staff.		Sergeants.		Drummers.		Rank and File.	
			Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Aboukir,	March 8,	4	26	4	34		5	94	540
Advance of the army,	13,	8	71	7	31	1	7	165	965
On a skirmish to the left of the position,	18,	1	2		1			7	11
Attack of the French on the position before Alexandria,	21,	10	60	9	48		3	224	1082
Rhamanieh,	May 9,		4		1	1	1	4	18
Driving in the enemy's advanced post on the eastern side of Alexandria,	Aug. 6,		2		3			9	39
Major-General Coote's corps advancing to blockade the western side of Alexandria,	22,		1					3	40
Advance of Major-General Coote's corps,	23 & 25,		3				1	1	33
Total,		23	169	20	148	2	17	505	2725

Thus, after a campaign of more than five months, from

the landing on the 8th of March till the surrender of Alexandria, the service was completed in a manner honourable to the talents of the commanders, and the bravery, discipline, and steady conduct of the troops.* No time was to be lost in making the necessary arrangements for settling, in quarters, the troops who were destined to remain in the country, and to embark those who were ordered to other stations.

Despatch in embarking the troops was the more necessary, as ophthalmia and dysentery had increased to an alarming degree. Fortunately the plague, which had got into the British camp in April, now disappeared, or became of so mild a nature, as to be in nowise dangerous, and indeed to give little inconvenience. This frightful disease was introduced among the troops by accident. A vessel from Smyrna, with the plague on board, had lost eleven out of thirteen of her crew on the passage, and the two survivors, steering for the first land, unluckily reached the spot, on

* The good conduct of the troops was conspicuous on other occasions than when opposed to the enemy. From the difficulty of procuring specie to subsist the army, no pay was issued to the soldiers for eight months; and, except when officers made advances from their private resources, (which was done at great loss, as upwards of twenty per cent. was lost by the exchange,) the soldiers had not wherewithal to purchase the most common necessaries of life. Living entirely on their rations, in a country abounding in every luxury and fruit, particularly the musk and water-melon, so grateful in hot climates, they could not command a melon or a pound of grapes for the want of money; and yet there was not a murmur.

It has often been remarked with surprise, how submissive French troops have been when irregularly paid; but it ought to be recollected, that, in an enemy's country, and sometimes in that of their friends, they were allowed much freedom in obtaining what they required; and, if the supplies were not given voluntarily, they showed no hesitation in helping themselves. In Egypt, every thing was paid for by the British as if purchased at Leadenhall or Covent Garden markets; and, with the thoughtless generosity of their character, they always raised every market by offering more than demanded. Such extravagant folly, however, was checked in this instance; and, when the soldiers got subsistence money, any one who offered to forestall, or give a higher price than that established by the general orders, was checked and reprehended.

the western shore of Aboukir Bay, where a camp had been formed as an hospital for the sick and wounded, and running the vessel on shore, struck the ground close to the tents. Some men went on board, and, on seeing the state of the crew, the alarm was given, but too late;—the contagion was caught, and it soon spread. Every precaution was now adopted to prevent any communication with the rest of the army. A line of sentinels was immediately placed round the hospital ground; no intercourse whatever was allowed; and if any individuals went within the line, they were not permitted to return. Provisions and all necessaries were left on the line of demarcation by those on the outside, and when they had removed to some distance, those within came and took them away.* By these strict precautions, and the unremitting zeal of Dr Young, who had so ably conducted the hospitals in the West Indies, and who had been recommended by

* Dr Buchan, Physician to the Forces, had at this time arrived from Edinburgh, where he had been in private practice; and, with a fearless and honourable zeal, volunteered to do the duty of the Pest Hospital, though Dr Finlay, and other medical officers, had already died of the plague. To cross this line, and enter the den of death, as it was called, and undergo all the consequent privations, exposed, under a canvas tent, to the chilling dews of night and the fiery heat of an Egyptian mid-day sun, formed no common contrast to the comforts of Edinburgh practice. Such zeal met with well-merited good fortune, so far, that he was very successful in the treatment of the disease. More than one-half of those who were attacked, that is, 400 out of 700 men, recovered under his judicious arrangements. How few recovered under the practice of Turkish surgeons (if surgeons they may be called) is well known. Dr Buchan further proved his successful practice. He himself recovered from two attacks of the plague; Assistant-Surgeon Webster of the 90th also overcame two attacks; and it at last became of so mild a nature, that, in the month of July, when the cook of the hospital was seized, it was with so little fever, that he never gave up his work, nor complained, till he found it necessary to apply for some dressings when the sores occasioned by the disease had suppurated. The plague is always most violent in cold weather; but as the hot season approaches, it abates, and, when the temperature has reached the maximum, it disappears altogether. On the other hand, the yellow fever of New York, generated by heat, is destroyed by cold. As to the fever of the West Indies, it appears and disappears without any visible cause.

Sir Ralph Abercromby for the same duties in Egypt, the disease was prevented from spreading, and only one instance of it occurred in the camp before Alexandria. A French cavalry deserter had given his cloak to a soldier of the 58th, who was acting as clerk in the Adjutant-General's department. The soldier was seized with the plague the following night, and died. Fortunately, from his duty as clerk, he had a small tent exclusively for himself, in which he wrote and slept. This, with all that belonged to him, was burnt to ashes, and thus the pestilence was prevented from spreading to those in the neighbouring tents, who, though quite close, had had no personal communication with him.*

The army sent from India, under the command of Major-General David Baird, to reinforce and act in conjunction with that under General Abercromby in Egypt, reached Cossier on the western shore of the Red Sea in June. After a harassing march across the Desart to Kenna, they descended the Nile in boats to Rosetta, and encamped there in August. Although various accidents occasioned so much delay as to prevent the full accomplishment of the combined plan of operations, which was to bring together two armies from such opposite points in the eastern and western hemisphere, yet the report of a reinforcement from India being expected, might probably have had some influence in quickening Belliard's surrender of Cairo. But however this might be, the

* I state the above case more particularly, as it is disputed among medical men, whether the plague spreads by infection or by contact. In Egypt it was clearly by contact. This case came under my immediate observation. I was badly wounded on the 21st of March, and sent on board ship, but being anxious to be with my regiment, I was carried on shore as soon as I could be moved. Unable to perform any active duty, I took a military superintendance of the convalescents in the hospital of the wounded, and thus had an opportunity of seeing and hearing much of what was passing among the sick. The corporal's tent was twelve yards in rear of mine, but, fortunately, the nature of his complaint was early discovered, and the necessary precautions taken. If it were communicated by air, how could those who lived within a few yards of him, separated only by a piece of canvas, have escaped?

junction was highly gratifying to numbers in both armies; and it was interesting to witness so unexpected a meeting of old friends, school-fellows, and companions, in a country which, in the days of their first acquaintance, they no more thought of seeing than the land of Canaan or of Goshen.

This army was in high discipline, and in full order of service. It consisted of the 10th and 61st regiments, with large detachments of the 80th, 86th, and 88th British regiments, the 1st battalion of the 1st Bombay, and the 2d battalion of the 7th regiment, a detachment of Bengal volunteers, and a full proportion of artillery, in all 5227 rank and file, besides 1593 Lascars, servants, and followers of the camp.

To those who had never seen Asiatic troops, this opportunity was very gratifying; and as they had, on many occasions, sufficiently evinced their improvement under the discipline of British officers, and had distinguished themselves for all the moral, and many of the best military duties, in the field and in quarters, it was generally regretted that circumstances prevented them from meeting the troops of France in the field.

SECTION XI.

England—Highland Society of London—42d reviewed by the King—Second battalion—Scotland—England—Gibraltar—Spain—Corunna—Advance of Sir John Moore.

When the destinations were finally arranged, the three Highland regiments were included among those ordered home. The 42d, all healthy except those affected with ophthalmia, landed at Southampton, and marched to Winchester.

The 42d regiment had now reached the conclusion of an active war, in the course of which its conduct, both individually and collectively, may, in many respects, bear a comparison with that for which the corps had, at an early period, been distinguished. At different times, however, during this war, a laxity of principle interfered with that general correctness and sobriety for which the men had been so remarkable. But however irregular they may have occasionally been, so far as regarded a love of liquor, unknown in those times when the soldiers had their spirits served out to them only twice a week, yet much moral principle remained, and there were but few instances of confirmed depravity. At the same time, it must be lamented that there were among them several poor creatures totally unfit for being soldiers, and with whom the ranks had been completed, from too great a desire to have numbers without paying a due regard to quality. It should have been recollected that such men are an incumbrance to an active and spirited corps, and that the conduct and appearance of a few individuals may affect the general character and estimation of a whole regiment. Instances of this must be familiar to military men, who will

be aware how much more confidence a commanding officer in a campaign must feel, when at the head of 600 men of good principles, tried courage, and constitutional strength, than when commanding 800, of whom one-fourth, deficient in character and health, cannot be trusted when their services are most required.

The regiment had been only a short time at Winchester, when the men caught a contagious fever, supposed to have proceeded from the prisoners over whom they stood sentinels at the jail. · Captain Lamont and several of the men died of the fever. *

At this period a circumstance occurred which caused some conversation, and to which I have alluded in a note on the French standard taken at Alexandria. The Highland Society of London, much gratified with the accounts given of the conduct of their countrymen in Egypt, resolved to bestow on them some mark of their esteem and approbation. This Society being composed of men of the first rank and character in Scotland, and including several of the Royal Family as members, it was considered that such an act would be honourable to the corps and agreeable to all.

* Captain Lamont was an excellent man; he had a considerable dash of eccentricity, combined with the warmest zeal for his profession, and affection for his brother officers and soldiers. Indeed, he fell a sacrifice to his kind attachment to his men; for when the fever was at its height, although he knew its contagious nature, he could not be kept away from the sick. He was always anxious, and always imagining that they were in want of some comfort or cordial. He caught the fever, which carried him off in a few days, lamented by all who knew his worth; and as none knew his value more than his regiment, his loss was proportionally regretted by every individual. His own hopes and happiness seemed to be centered in his corps, from whom he never wished to be absent. Although he had an estate in Argyleshire, and was often offered leave of absence, he would not quit the regiment; and in the year 1795 declined a step of promotion, to which he was appointed, in another corps, preferring an inferior commission among his old friends. He lamented, when dying, that he should go out of the world like a manufacturer, quietly in his bed, when he might so frequently have died a soldier's death. He had served in the 76th, or Macdonald's Highlanders, in America, and was put on the full pay of the 42d in 1787.

It was proposed to commence with the 42d as the oldest of the Highland regiments, and with the others in succession, as their service offered an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Fifteen hundred pounds were immediately subscribed for this purpose. Medals were struck with a head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and some emblematical figures on the obverse. A superb piece of plate was likewise ordered. While these were in preparation, the Society held a meeting, when Sir John Sinclair, with the warmth of a clansman, mentioned his namesake, Sergeant Sinclair, as having taken or having got possession of the French standard, which had been brought home. Sir John being at that time ignorant of the circumstances, made no mention of the loss of the ensign which the sergeant had gotten in charge. This called forth the claim of Lutz, a soldier of Stuart's regiment, accompanied with some strong remarks by Cobbett, the editor of the work in which the claim appeared. The Society then asked an explanation from the officers of the 42d regiment. To this very proper request a reply was given by the officers who were then present with the regiment. The majority of these happened to be young men, who expressed, in warm terms, their surprise that the Society should imagine them capable of countenancing any statement implying that they had laid claim to a trophy to which they had no right. This misapprehension of the Society's meaning brought on a correspondence, which ended in an interruption of farther communication for many years. By this unfortunate misunderstanding, a check was given to the intention of the Society to present marks of their esteem to those of their countrymen who, either in collective bodies as regiments, or individually, had distinguished themselves, and contributed by their actions to support the military character of Scotland. The approbation of such a body as the Highland Society of London, composed of men of the first rank and talent, and every way competent to appreciate the character and actions of our national corps, would, unquestionably, have acted as an incitement to the youth of the North, to en-

tablish future claims to their notice. That a purpose so well intended should have suffered a temporary interruption, was therefore a matter of regret.

However, as a prelude to a fresh correspondence and intimacy between the Society and the Highland regiments, the communication with the 42d was again renewed in 1816. I was then one of the vice-presidents of the Society; and being in the full knowledge of the circumstances, although absent from the regiment when the first correspondence took place, and knowing that the whole originated in mistake and misapprehension, I was requested by the Society to open a communication with the regiment. This ended in a complete understanding; and, on the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, the 21st of March 1817, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then President of the Highland Society, in the chair, presented the Marquis of Huntly, on behalf of the 42d regiment, with a superb piece of plate, in token of the respect of the Society for a corps which, for more than seventy years, had contributed to uphold the martial character of their country. This his Royal Highness accompanied with an impressive speech, in which he recapitulated the various services of the corps from the battle of Fontenoy, down to those of Quatre Bras and Waterloo.

The intention of granting medals was abandoned by the Society, as it was stated that military men could receive honorary medals from the Sovereign alone. When the Prince Regent became Chief of the Highland Society, one of the gold medals which had been prepared, was presented, with an address, to his Royal Highness, by Sir Archibald Macdonald, late Chief Baron, accompanied by a deputation, and most graciously received. As those medals commemorate the honourable death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, one was presented to each of his four sons.

The king having expressed a wish to see the 42d regiment, they marched to Ashford, and were reviewed there by his Majesty, in May 1802, accompanied by the Prince of

Wales and the Duke of York. A great concourse of people collected from London and the adjacent country. His Majesty was graciously pleased to express himself satisfied with the appearance of the regiment, but I believe many of the spectators were disappointed. There is no reason to suppose that good-looking men, more than others, suffer from the dangers and fatigues of a soldier's life. In the instance of the 42d regiment, however, this was certainly the case; and although the men looked like soldiers, and wore their bonnets and every part of their dress, with a military air, and much in the manner of the ancient Highlanders, they had a diminutive appearance, and complexions nowise improved by several years' service in hot climates. Some of their countrymen who were present participated in the general disappointment. They had formed their notions of what the 42d should be from what they had heard of the Black Watch.

It is a commonly received opinion, that the Highlanders have harsh features, high cheek bones, and, as we see in allegorical paintings and engravings of them, a fierce and melancholy aspect. It is not easy to define exactly the characteristic of the Highland features; but that which is generally given is by no means appropriate, either as to features or expression. In all parts of the country, men are seen with swarthy faces, and countenances more characteristic of a Spaniard or an Italian, than of men born in the cold climate of the Scottish mountains; and it is a singular circumstance worthy of investigation, that the women do not display the same difference of hue, till affected by much exposure to weather, or by age: they are generally fair and clear in the skin, few even being brunettes. People who are in the habit of seeing Highland regiments, at least those that are really such, must have observed the fresh complexion and regular features of a great proportion of the young men. In their own country, both sexes lose their juvenile looks at an early period of life. This is probably owing to their food. Vegetable diet seems healthy and nourishing to the

youthful, enabling them to go through much hard labour. But judging from the Highlanders, a hard-working man of forty requires more than potatoes and milk, with the addition sometimes of a little bread, and very rarely animal food. While the gentry in the Highlands increase in size and weight agreeably to their constitutions, as well-fed men do in other countries; I never saw but one individual of the lower orders, in the Highlands, either fat or bulky, (he was rich, and could afford a portion of butcher meat daily;) and although the gentry of the Highlands are tormented with the gout, in the same manner as people in their stations in different climates, I have never seen, nor have I ever heard, of an instance of the common Highlander, of either pastoral or agricultural districts, being affected with that complaint. Is it from similar causes that I have never seen a fat or gouty soldier?

Soon after the review the regiment marched for Edinburgh, exciting on the road less curiosity and surprise at their garb and appearance than on former occasions, when the Highland dress was rarely seen. But although less curiosity was displayed, they experienced increased kindness and hospitality, and received such marked attention in every town through which they passed, that to repeat the particulars would be tiresome. But in the town of Peebles a circumstance occurred that deserves to be noticed. Here, as in many other places, the magistrates entertained the officers, at the same time not neglecting the soldiers. Colonel Dickson of Kilbucho, the commanding officer, was a native of the county, which had been represented in Parliament by his family for many years before and after the Union. In the course of the evening the hearts of the provost, bailies, and deacons, began to warm and expand. They seemed delighted to have their countryman back again among them in his then respectable situation,* and being jovial and good

* Sir Ralph Abercromby, Lord Lynedoch, and such men, may enter on the active duties of a soldier at an advanced period of life, and rise to the highest

tempered, before they separated they made him an offer of their suffrages to represent their burgh at the next general election. Following up this ebullition of friendship, they canvassed the towns united with theirs in returning a member of parliament; and three out of the five were secured for Colonel Dickson, who was accordingly returned in the month of August 1802, and sat in the ensuing parliament. The enthusiasm of his townsmen, however, was too warm to be lasting, and at the following election he lost his seat.

The regiment having been received with so much respect and attention in their march through England and the south of Scotland, a similar reception was to be expected in the capital of their native country. As it was previously known that they were to march into the Castle, thousands of the inhabitants met them at some distance from the town; and with acclamations congratulated them on their return to their native country.

Some men are unable to bear good fortune or applause; and forget the true end of the approbation of their countrymen; while others are excited and animated by it to persevere in those exertions which obtained the distinction. I know not how this matter stood with the majority of the regiment; but, from the kindness generally shown them, many did indulge themselves in a greater degree of latitude. Several fell under the notice of the police, and helped in no small degree to lower the corps in the esteem of the inhabitants, who expected to find them as quiet and regular in quarters as formerly. But however incompatible these deviations might be with the high notions entertained of this

honours of the profession. But these must be remarkable men, and their example is not for general adoption. Next to moral principles early infused into the minds of soldiers, nothing contributes more to render them perfect than a good comanding officer: and on the other hand, few things sooner subvert discipline, and ruin a soldier, than being commanded by one of a different character, however unexceptionable he may be as a man or a private individual. The Highlanders have, at different periods, been unfortunate in this respect.

corps by their partial countrymen, and however derogatory from the character of good soldiers in quarters, there was no actual moral turpitude, no offence evincing unprincipled depravity, nothing, in short, which might not soon be remedied by discipline, and a removal from the scene in which the evil had originated. Fortunately for the reputation of the regiment, this change of quarters took place early. The peace was soon interrupted, and the regiment embarked at Leith in spring 1803, and landing at Harwich, marched to the camp at Weeley in Essex, where it was placed in Major-General the Honourable Sir John Hope's brigade. Under his command all the bad effects of the festivity and hospitality of Edinburgh disappeared.

The regiment was at this time low in numbers, not exceeding 400 men, which was, in a great measure, occasioned by the numerous discharges in 1802, amounting to 475 men. Many of those, though still fit for service, had got pensions; but this generosity, which was well intended, failed in its effect. They had hardly reached their homes, (where, as they expected, they were to end their days in the enjoyment of their country's reward,) when two-thirds of them were called out again to serve in the Veteran corps. This call they obeyed with considerable reluctance, complaining as if they had suffered from a breach of faith. In the close communication and confined societies of the Highlands, every circumstance spreads with great rapidity. These men complained that they were allowed no rest; and to be called to the field again after their minds had been turned to other objects, they considered as oppressive and unjust. Their complaints made an impression in the Highlands, and afforded an argument to those who wished to prevent the young men from enlisting, by representing to them that they needed never expect to be allowed to rest in their native country. The Highland people reason and calculate, and do not enter the army from a frolic or heedless and momentary impluse; consequently, the complaints of these veterans, who thus unwillingly resumed

their arms, certainly destroyed, in a considerable degree, the facility of recruiting.—It is hardly necessary to notice another recent cause, which has made a great impression in the Highlands, as it will probably be forgotten before recruiting on any extensive scale is again required. I allude to the number of men discharged without the pension, after a service of fourteen or fifteen years, and sent to their homes without money, and, perhaps, from their late habits, unwilling and unable to work; or, if they attempt to return to their ancient homes in the improved and desolate districts, without a house or friend to receive them. But where old soldiers, after a long service, have retired on the liberal pensions granted by Mr Wyndham's bill, they live in great comfort, and their regular and well-paid incomes offer great encouragement to the youth of the country to enter the army. *

In 1803 the regiment was recruited in a new manner. An act had been passed to raise men by ballot, to be called "The Army of Reserve," on condition of their serving only in Great Britain and Ireland, with liberty to volunteer into the regular army on a certain bounty. In Scotland, those

* If one of these were in each district, they might exhibit an example like that of an old military friend of mine, who was many years a soldier in my company, and who is now living on a pension as the reward of twenty-eight years' service. I met this man two years ago, when riding through a glen, where, if the people are to be credited, the rents are higher than the produce of the lands can pay. After the first salutation, I asked him how he lived. "I am perfectly comfortable," said he, "and, if it was not for the complaints I hear about me in this poor country, I would be happy. I vow to God, I believe I am the richest man among them; and, instead of having thirty-four pounds a-year, as I have, I do not believe a man of them has thirty-four pence after the rents are paid. Times are sadly changed since I left this country to join the 42d. We had then no complaints of lords or lairds; indeed, nobody *dared speak ill* of them, as they were kind to us all; we had no banning and cursing of great folks, and were all merry and happy, and had plenty of piping, and dancing, and fiddling, at all the weddings. Many of the good folks say they are sorry they did not go with me to the army; and the young men say, that, if they were to be as well used as I have been, they would turn soldiers: so, Colonel, when you raise a regiment, come here, and I will be your recruiting sergeant."

men were, in the first instance, formed into second battalions to regiments of the line. The quota of men to be furnished by the counties of Perth, Elgin, Nairn, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Argyle and Bute, were ordered to join a second battalion then to be formed for the Royal Highlanders; and the quotas for the counties of Inverness, Banff, Aberdeen, and Kincardine, to join the newly formed second battalion of the Gordon Highlanders; but with liberty to the men, so soon as the battalions were formed, to volunteer into the Royal Artillery, or any other regiment of the line which they might prefer.

I was ordered to Perth, to take charge of the quota of that county, which exceeded 400 men. The young men from the Highland parts of Perthshire showed a marked dislike to the ballot. This feeling was increased by the insurance societies, established to protect men from that new mode of calling them out to serve. When young men saw these protecting establishments, they began to think that there must be something very terrible in the nature of the service; otherwise, why should they see advertisements for protection posted up in all parts of the country? Under this impression, many hundred youths in each district insured themselves, who would have readily entered in person, had it not been for these societies. In this manner, large sums of money were drawn out of the districts, and the nation lost the personal services of numbers of that part of the population best calculated for the purpose intended. However, this did not always happen; for many who had insured themselves voluntarily enlisted afterwards, when they understood properly the nature of the duty required of them. In the more distant districts of the North, where insurance was never heard of, the men came forward in person when the ballot fell upon them. Should men ever be raised by ballot on any future occasion, it would be well to make all insurance illegal. While so much dislike was shown to the ballot, although foreign service was excluded, I found many young men willing to serve the following year,

when I recruited for men to go to any part of the world to which they might be ordered. A Highlander does not like to be forced into the service; at the same time, if attention be paid to his habits, and if his disposition be humoured, he will readily enter. *

Fort George was the head quarters of the second battalion. I marched the men northward, and received from Colonel Andrew Hay (afterwards Major-General, and killed at Bayonne) the quota of those counties which had already furnished their men. The others soon followed, amounting in all to 1343 men, who composed the second battalion 42d regiment. Almost all the men furnished by the counties of Perth and Argyle were substitutes; they were too near the insuring societies of Perth and Glasgow. With the exception of gentlemen's sons, and some others who had situations which they could not leave, all from the northern counties were principals. Many of these were either married men, who had small farms, or tradesmen; all, except the young lads, had some occupations from which they were now taken on a short warning; consequently there were numberless applications for leave to return home to settle their affairs. As it would have been both impolitic and cruel to refuse an indulgence in such circumstances, I gave liberty to all who required it. I notice the circumstances as creditable to the men who obtained this indulgence, since in no one instance did they abuse the confidence reposed in them. The numbers who obtained leave of absence amounted to 235, yet every man returned at his appointed time, except when detained by boisterous weather at ferries, or by other unavoidable causes, which were certified by some neighbouring gentleman or clergyman. It afforded satisfaction to assist and oblige men who showed themselves so deserving and

* It must probably have been from some feeling of this kind, that, in the following year, (1804,) when I raised men for promotion in the 78th regiment, numbers engaged with me, as I have already observed, to serve abroad for a bounty of twelve guineas, while they could have got twenty-five guineas and upwards as substitutes for the militia.

trust-worthy. Several of the gentlemen wrote me very feelingly on the state in which many of them had left their families, and on the struggle they had in parting from them. However, Government provided for these privations, as the families of men ballotted by the Army of Reserve Act were entitled to receive the same allowance as those of the militia. But while a humane provision was thus made for families left without a husband or father, it had a most mischievous effect in preventing men from extending their service; for while a man's family was to be maintained if he continued on the home service, whenever he engaged to go abroad and expose himself to the dangers of climate and war, the provision ceased. In such circumstances no well-principled man possessing any regard for his family would think of extending his service. However, as the principal object of the act was to raise men who would ultimately enter the regular army, a bounty was offered to all who would volunteer. On this occasion, great exertions were used to encourage the men to volunteer into the first battalions of the 42d, the 92d, and other regiments. So many had engaged to serve for life, that when I resigned the command to Colonel James Stewart, the men for limited service were reduced to 800. There were no desertions, nor had I occasion to bring a man to a court-martial. Some slight irregularities were committed by a few of the substitutes, who had been soldiers formerly; but a few days' confinement, and a regimen of good bread and fresh water, proved a sufficient check. No such restraint was required for the men who had now for the first time left their native country. During the time I commanded, and when the men were thus exemplary, there was much money in the garrison, from the bounty given to the volunteers for the line; consequently there was no want of liquor, the usual incitement to misconduct in our army.

In November the second battalion embarked at Fort George, to join the first in Weeley Barracks, Essex. Both

battalions continued together throughout the year.* Several changes occurred among the officers this year. In April Captain David Stewart was appointed Major, and Lieutenants Robert Henry Dick and Charles M'Lean Captains, to the second battalion of the 78th regiment. In September Colonel Dickson was appointed Brigadier-General, and Lieutenant-Colonels James Stewart and Alexander Stewart retired. They were succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonels Stirling and Lord Blantyre; Captains M'Quarrie and James Grant became Majors; Lieutenants Stewart Campbell, Donald Williamson, John M'Diarmid, John Dick, and James Walker, were promoted to companies; and Captain Lord Saltoun was removed to the Foot Guards.

The two battalions remained together in Lieutenant-General Hope's brigade till September 1805, when General Fox, Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, requiring a reinforcement in consequence of the removal from that garrison of the Queen's, 13th, and 54th regiments, the 1st battalion of the Royal Highlanders from Weeley, and the 2d battalion of the 78th or Seaforth's Highlanders from Shorncliff,

* At this period a circumstance of an unpleasant nature occurred. A soldier of the name of Munro, irritated to a degree of madness by a supposed or real affront he had received from his officer, struck him in the ranks. A detail of the circumstances of this unfortunate case would tend to give strength to the opinions I have frequently presumed to give, on the propriety of selecting officers to regiments, composed of men of a turn of mind and disposition differing from what is commonly met with. In this instance, a man who had, in the course of several years' service, showed himself a good man and brave soldier, found his feelings so outraged and tormented by what he supposed indignities; trifling, perhaps, in themselves, but to a high-spirited soldier so extremely irritating, that his reason was overcome, and the loss of his officer's life and the forfeiture of his own had nearly been the consequence. Had this officer possessed a proper knowledge of, or penetration to discover the soldiers' true character, he would not have pursued a line of conduct so unsuitable to the men he commanded. It would appear that this was known at the proper place, and the circumstances understood; for his Majesty granted a pardon to the soldier from the sentence to be shot, to which he had been condemned by the court-martial by which he had been tried.

were marched to Portsmouth and embarked there early in October, whence they sailed for Gibraltar and, after being driven into Lisbon by stress of weather, reached that fortress in November.

A very considerable, and certainly a very gratifying alteration had taken place in the garrison since the 42d had been quartered there in 1797 and 1798. The moral habits of the troops had undergone a marked improvement; and although it is not easy to prevent soldiers from drinking, when wine may be had at threepence the quart, and they have money to pay for it, yet what was now consumed did not materially affect their discipline, and in no degree their health. This is evident from the number of deaths, which, in the three years of 1805, 1806, and 1807, amounted only to 81 men, in this regiment of 850 men. Judging from this and other circumstances, Gibraltar may be considered as one of the most salubrious stations in the British dominions abroad. As to the violent inflammatory fevers which have been so destructive since their first appearance in 1804, they were infectious diseases brought in from other places, and in no instance endemic, or attributable to the nature of the climate.

I know not whether it is from reliance on the goodness of the climate, or from a principle of economy, that in a garrison of such magnitude and importance, requiring so many men for its defence, and which has been upwards of 100 years in the possession of Britain, there is no general hospital, nor any receptacle for sick soldiers, except some small rooms attached to the barracks. In Minorca, which has for nearly 80 years been a British garrison, the case is the same; but in both places there are excellent and complete naval hospitals.

Nothing worthy of notice occurred while the regiments were in Gibraltar. Great cordiality subsisted between the officers of the garrison and those of the Spanish troops at St Roque and Algesiras, and the asperities of war were softened by a frequent and friendly interchange of visits

and civility. In the different attacks made by the Spanish gun-boats on our fleets and ships, sailing out of, or entering the bay, the opposing officers would afterwards meet at the tables of General Fox or General Castanos, the governor of Algesiras, fight their battles o'er again, and discuss their respective merits and manœuvres. This amicable disposition was in a great measure to be ascribed to the character of the two commanders. Liberal, candid, and sincere, their mutual confidence descended to those under them; the gates of the hostile line of defence were opened to give a free passage to the officers of the garrison, on producing a few lines of a passport, and permission was even given them to form a race-ground on the Spanish territories. These indulgences contributed to the health of the officers, and rendered the garrison in every way more agreeable. They also seemed to influence the conduct of the soldiers, who appeared satisfied and contented with their confinement within the garrison. At least there were no desertions, nor any unruly conduct; and indeed, altogether, their behaviour was very different from, and much superior to what it had been in 1797 and 1798.

In the winter of 1805 and 1806, two flank battalions were formed in the garrison: the command of the Grenadier battalion was given to Major John Farquharson of the 42d regiment, and that of the Light infantry battalion to Major David Stewart of the 78th Highlanders. These battalions were broken up when the flank companies of the 78th embarked with the regiment for Sicily in the month of May 1806. *

* The colonel, Sir Hector Munro, died this year. He was a brave officer, and possessed of a firm mind, of which he exhibited an instance before the battle of Buxar in 1764. * He did not interest himself much about his regiment, nor seemed to regard them with that feeling which might have been expected from a countryman of their own, who, with an affluent fortune, and the influence it commanded, might have materially contributed to the welfare and good name of his regiment. Although the first and second battalions were a consi-

* See the account of the 89th Highland regiment.

Having, in this manner, recorded the preceding services of the regiment, we have now arrived at the period when it was to be employed on a field such as had not for ages been presented to the British army, and to participate in the military operations which commenced in the Spanish peninsula in 1808, and continued till the conclusion of the war in 1814. Within these six years, a career was open for talent, courage, enterprise, and all the most eminent qualities necessary for a commander and an army, as splendid as that in the reign of Queen Anne, when the transcendent genius of the Duke of Marlborough, with the great force intrusted to his command, raised the military character of the British nation to a pre-eminence which it has not since that period been able to uphold, on an equally extended scale of operations. Insulated examples of military talent and undaunted firmness were sufficiently numerous to prove that there was no deficiency in any respect, and that those opportunities and that experience were only wanting which are so indispensably necessary in the profession of a soldier.

derable time quartered at Fort George, in the neighbourhood of his country-seat, he never came near them, except once, when he stopped to change horses in the garrison on his way to London. He was succeeded by Major-General the Marquis of Huntly. The son of the greatest chief of the North, the Marquis derives from his personal character an influence over men's minds and actions, which even his high rank and great fortune could never give; and, of all men in his Majesty's service, he combines in the greatest proportion the necessary qualifications to make him the most proper commander of a Highland corps. Although, as I have said, in speaking of Lord John Murray, the army is now under such happy auspices that a corps has less occasion for a zealous and friendly colonel to see that proper officers be appointed, and justice distributed, with less regard to political influence, and more regard to talent, zeal, and length of service; yet a regiment is most fortunate in having a man at their head who has their honour and welfare at heart, and is the friend of all who are deserving. He will at once do justice to the memory of the honourable and brave men who originally formed the character of this corps, and exert himself to fill the ranks with officers and soldiers likely to maintain this honourable character.

Since the above was written, the Marquis of Huntly has been removed to the Royal Scots, and the Earl of Hopetoun, who had frequently commanded the 42d in the field, appointed to the regiment.

For many years the strength and energy of the country had been so much directed to the conquest and defence of colonies, that little else had been attempted. The force supposed necessary was generally so strictly calculated, that little was left for contingencies; and frequently, after any successful enterprise had been accomplished, the force was so diminished by warfare, disease, and climate, as to be unequal to the defence of the conquest. The same troops were sometimes compelled to surrender on the spot where they had previously triumphed. This produced an unfavourable impression, which their former triumph could not always efface. Such results bore hard on the officers, to whose want of ability and professional ignorance they were not unfrequently, and often unjustly, ascribed. The preservation and protection of the island of St Lucia, in the year 1796 and 1797, occasioned the death of more than six times the number of men killed in the capture of it under Sir Ralph Abercromby; and there is little doubt that, if the duty had been intrusted to an officer of less unwearied zeal and persevering exertion than General Moore, it would not have been preserved.

But a new and noble field was now opened, and although, in many cases, there was a scarcity of troops, and a want of some very efficient arms, arising from the difficulty of transporting artillery and cavalry, still there was scope for the display of mental resources; and sometimes a skilful retreat proved as honourable to the talents of the commander as a victory. In colonial warfare, on the contrary, the theatre of action was so often circumscribed, as to afford no room for the display of military talent, and leave no hope of adequate and timely support.

When the usurpation of the crown of Spain by Bonaparte had roused the patriotism of the Spanish people, the British government, anxious to take advantage of this spirit, immediately ordered a large proportion of its disposable force to embark for the Peninsula.

In the month of July 1808, Major-General Sir Arthur

Wellesley sailed from Cork with 10,000 men, with the intention of landing at Corunna; but the Spaniards rejecting his offered assistance, he proceeded to the coast of Portugal. At Oporto, as at Corunna, the offered assistance was declined, although nearly two-thirds of the Portuguese peasantry were calling for arms, and ready to rise against the French, who had invaded and taken possession of the country with a force of nearly 40,000 men. In these circumstances, he continued his voyage to Mondego Bay, where, after a farther delay, he landed on the 2d of August. Major-General Spencer, with 6000 men, then on board transports off Cadiz, but not permitted to land, was ordered to join General Wellesley, who was to be further reinforced with 5000 men, under Brigadier-General Robert Anstruther, from England, and 12,000 under Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore. To this concentrated force was added the Royal Highland regiment from Gibraltar, * and the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders from England. Previous to this period was fought, on the 21st of August, the battle of Vimiera, after which, an extraordinary collision of command occurred. General Wellesley, who had gained the battle, was on the same day superseded by two senior generals, (Sir Harry Burrard and Sir John Moore), and these again, on the following morning, by a third general, Sir Hew Dalrymple. The convention of Cintra which followed, causing the recall of Generals Dal-

* It has been already stated, that, in this national corps, the characteristic, so far as regarded the native country of the soldiers, had been well preserved. In 1776, the number embarked for America was 1160 men, all of whom, except 54 Lowlanders, and 2 Englishmen in the band, were Highlanders. In all former periods the proportions were similar. But when the men ordered from the London depot in 1780 were removed from the regiment, not more than one half of those received in exchange were native Highlanders, 81 being Lowlanders. At the commencement of the war in 1793, the strength of the regiment was low. The proportions were 480 Highlanders, 152 Lowland Scotch, 4 Irish, and 3 English. At the present period there embarked from Gibraltar, in 1808, 383 Highlanders, 231 Lowlanders, 7 English, and 5 Irish.

rymple and Burrard, the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore.

An order to resume active operations was received on the 6th of October, accompanied with instructions to march, with all possible expedition, into the heart of Spain, to co-operate with the Spanish army. A body of troops from England, under Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird, was directed to land at Corunna, and proceed forthwith to form a junction with General Moore. The want of previous preparations retarded the advance of the army from Lisbon, and the Portuguese government and people affording but little assistance, the whole was left to the resources and talents of the commander, who, incredible as it may appear, could obtain no correct information of the state of the country, or even of the best road for the transport of artillery. Labouring under this deficiency of accurate intelligence, and from the best accounts he could procure, believing it impossible to convey artillery by the road through the mountains, it was judged necessary to form the army in divisions, and to march by different routes.

The division of the Honourable Lieutenant-General Hope, consisting of the brigade of artillery, and four regiments of infantry, of which the 42d was one, marched upon Madrid and Espinar; General Paget's division moved by Elvas and Alcantara; General Beresford by Coimbra and Almeida; and General Mackenzie Fraser by Abrantes and Almeida. All these divisions were to form a junction at Salamanca, and when united would amount to 18,600 men, including 900 cavalry. This force, it was believed, would animate or revive Spanish patriotism, and enable the natives to oppose an effectual resistance to the powerful force which the enemy was preparing to pour into Spain in support of that already in the country. As the army advanced, little enthusiasm was perceived; and nothing was experienced like the reception which might have been expected by men entering the country with the generous and disinterested purpose of aiding the people in throwing off a yoke which

they were taught to believe, the Spanish nation to a man regarded as odious, galling, and disgraceful. General Moore soon found that little dependence was to be placed on the cooperation of the Spanish armies, or on the intelligence furnished by the inhabitants of either Spain or Portugal. Of the incorrectness of the latter he had a striking proof, when he subsequently discovered that the roads were practicable for artillery, that the circuitous route of General Hope was totally unnecessary, and that better information would have enabled him to bring his troops much sooner to the point of rendezvous. He arrived, however, in sufficient time for those allies with whom he was to act in concert; for, from the day he entered Spain, until the 13th of November, when he reached Salamanca, he did not see a Spanish soldier; and so far from having any communication with the Generals commanding the Spanish armies, or any immediate prospect of their concentrating their forces, and acting in concert for the further service of the common cause, it would seem as if he himself had been the only general and army they feared. All vanished at his approach. The army of Estremadura was dispersed; that under Castanos marched away in one direction, while Blake's division took another, increasing their distance from the British army, to whose line of march free access was thus left for the enemy. General Baird had arrived at Corunna, but he was not permitted to land: his troops were kept on board from the 13th to the 31st of October, and when allowed to disembark, no exertion was made to forward their march. On the contrary, had he come with the most hostile intentions, he could not have met with a greater eagerness to extort the highest value for whatever was requisite to equip and forward the troops.

These untoward appearances too fatally confirmed an unfavourable opinion early entertained by Sir John Moore of the cause in which he was engaged. Of the people he always thought well. "The poor Spaniards," said he in a letter to his brother, "deserve a better fate, for they seem

a fine people, but have fallen into bad hands, who have lost them by their apathy. I am in no correspondence with any of their Generals or armies. I know not their plans or those of the Spanish Government. No channels of information have been opened to me; and as yet a stranger, I have been able to establish no certain ones for myself."

Waiting the junction of Generals Baird and Hope, who were so situated, (the former marching from the north of Spain, and the latter from the south), that, if he attempted to move towards the one, he would leave the other at a greater distance, he received intelligence of—what might have been anticipated from the line of conduct pursued by the Spanish Generals dividing and weakening their forces—the defeat and total dispersion of General Blake's army on the 10th of November, at Espenora de los Monteros. This disastrous intelligence was soon followed by that of the total defeat and dispersion of the army under General Castanos at Tudela. By this dispersion of the two principal armies of Spain, all hope of farther support vanished from the British, who were now become principals in the war. The Spaniards allowing themselves to be thus beaten in detail, the British General had to make preparations against the concentrated force of the enemy, now about to move in the confident expectation of overwhelming him.

General Moore's difficulties began to be evident. It was the 1st of December; his army had not yet assembled; General Baird was at Astorga, and General Hope four days' march from Salamanca. "Indeed, few generals have been entangled with so many embarrassments as Sir John Moore was at this crisis, who not only had to contend with the Spanish Government, always exaggerating their resources, and concealing or glossing over their disasters, but also to guard against the secret plots of unsuspected traitors hid in the bosom of the Junta. And now he had to encounter the power and genius of Buonaparte." *

Under such an accumulation of difficulties, it was to be

* Moore's Narrative.

decided how long a force, which, when united, would not amount to 30,000 effective men, including artillery and cavalry, ought to remain in the centre of Spain, opposed to 100,000 men, and these expecting additional reinforcements. The difficulty of the decision must have been increased by the opinion strongly and loudly expressed in the army with regard to its future movements; the prevalent opinion of officers of rank being against a retreat.

Men of common minds would have hesitated to decide in such circumstances, but General Moore determined at once, and called a council of war, "not to request their counsel, or to make them commit themselves by giving any opinion on the subject; he took the responsibility entirely upon himself, and only required that they would immediately prepare to carry his orders into execution." Councils of war are sometimes considered as indications of weakness and indecision in a commander, who wishes, by this means, to procure a sanction for his own opinion, and to divide with others any share of censure that may be afterwards incurred. General Moore, on the contrary, acted from the suggestions of his own mind. He had now been a month in Spain, without being joined by a single soldier of the country; he had seen the Spanish armies dispersed in succession, except the corps under the Marquis of Romana, who, acting independently, served more to obstruct than expedite the plans of the British general, by crossing his line of march, intercepting his provisions, and occupying the carriages and means of conveyance. In this state of affairs, he determined to retire on Portugal, and ordered Sir David Baird to march to Corunna, and proceed thence by sea to Lisbon. But having received favourable accounts of a reviving spirit among the Spaniards, and of a successful resistance to the enemy at Madrid, he was induced to countermand the order for retreat. But later and better intelligence, obtained through the means of Colonel Graham of Balgowan, Mr (now Sir Charles) Stuart, and also an intercepted letter of Marshal Berthier to Marshal Soult, laid open to him the real pos-

ture of affairs. In consequence of this intelligence he resumed his original intention of retiring, not indeed to the south, but to the north of Spain, where he hoped to effect a junction with General Baird. Accordingly, the army moved in different divisions, and reaching Toro on the 21st of December, there formed a junction with General Baird's army, making altogether a force of 26,311 infantry, and 2450 cavalry, with a proportion of artillery.

On the 23d the army marched to Sahagun, which had been the preceding night occupied by the enemy. Lord Paget being ordered to the front, with a detachment of cavalry, fell in with part of the French horse, when they were evacuating the town, and immediately attacked them. The French cavalry formed, and waited with great firmness to receive the charge, but they were quickly overpowered, and upwards of 150 wounded and taken, among which were 2 colonels, and 11 other officers.

The total want of assistance and co-operation from the Spaniards, their inhospitable conduct, and the time lost at Salamanca, had excited among the officers complaints and murmurs which had now extended to the men, who soon began to display their feelings in their usual manner by their actions, testifying their disappointment by acts of insubordination and plunder, and revenging the privations and fatigues they underwent on the inhabitants, whose apathy nothing could shake, and who seemed equally indifferent whether their country was occupied by a protecting or an invading army. Those instances of licentiousness in his troops gave the General the more vexation, as they were so opposite to his own strict notions of military correctness, and of the proper duties of a soldier. From these unpleasant feelings he obtained a temporary relief, when the near approach of Marshal Soult, with a division of the French army, afforded a hope that he might be attacked with a prospect of success, before he was strengthened by the troops who were on their march to reinforce him.

It was determined to attack Soult at Saldanha. The or-

der to move forward operated on the men like a charm; and in the animation and alacrity with which they flew to arms, all past privations and disappointments seemed for the moment forgotten. Fortunate is the General who commands troops that can thus be restored to order, and reanimated by the prospect of attacking the enemy. General Moore was sensible that all the mental and personal energies of his troops would now probably be called into action. "The movement I am making is of the most dangerous kind. I not only risk to be surrounded every moment by superior forces, but to have my communications intercepted with the Gallicias." *

His views of this risk were but too well founded; for, when all his preparations and dispositions were made, and the hopes and prospects of the army at the height, intelligence was received from various channels that the enemy were advancing in great force in several directions, all bearing down to one point. This was confirmed by subsequent information, which stated, that, besides the reinforcements received by Soult, Buonaparte had marched from Madrid with 40,000 cavalry and infantry, and that Marshals Junot, Mortier, and Lefebre, with their different divisions, were also directing their march towards the north of Spain. The forward march of the British was, therefore, countermanded, and an immediate retreat ordered. This commenced on the 24th of December, the same day on which the advanced guard of Buonaparte's division passed through Tordesillas, both armies marching on Benevente, at the distance of fifty miles from each other.

In proportion to the ardour of the troops when they expected to meet the enemy, was their depression and disappointment when again ordered to retreat, and their discontent soon broke out in acts of turbulence and depredation hitherto unheard of in a British army. Those only who know the inflexible honour and purity of principle, moral

* Dispatch to Mr Frere.

and military, which guided the correct mind of Sir John Moore, can judge how painful were his feelings, and how greatly his chagrin must have been aggravated, by the understanding that the tardiness of his former advance, and the rapidity of the present retreat, were disapproved by many in his army, and that much, if not all, the unmilitary misconduct of the men was ascribed to this retrograde movement.

That the retreat, to which the soldiers attached a degree of disgrace, irritated their minds, there can be no doubt; and what true soldier would not feel mortified on being obliged to retire before an enemy? That they were extremely enraged against the people of the country is also most true, and, all circumstances considered, not to be wondered at; but that they should judge of the general policy of the measures of their commander beyond the immediate order of the day, is not common among British soldiers, and, indeed, forms no part of their character, of which a strong feature is to place perfect confidence in their General, till his conduct shows he does not deserve it. But seeing that the Spaniards, who, they were told, were to be their fellow soldiers in the field, and their friends and brothers in quarters, were cold and inhospitable, their first ebullitions of rage naturally broke out against the supposed authors of their disappointment and disgrace. Had it been possible that their wrath could have fallen on the heads of the Junta, and on those who had, in reality, reduced the cause of Spanish independence to its present calamitous state, and the British army to so perilous a situation, it would have occasioned little regret. But, in this case, the innocent suffered for the guilty; and the character of the British army was so changed and lowered, that "malditos ladrones," or cursed robbers, was a term too commonly applied to them by the unfortunate inhabitants. The extent of these disgraceful scenes, and the evil consequences that resulted from the inconsiderate reflections of officers, whose ignorance of facts must have rendered them very incompetent

judges of the motives which directed the measures of the commander, may be seen from the following extract of general orders issued at Benevente on the 27th of December: "The Commander of the Forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are most requisite. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched from Valderas to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the Forces refers to the general orders of the 15th of October, and of the 11th of November. He desires that they may again be read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. It is impossible for the General to explain to his army his motive for the movements he directs. When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit. In the mean time, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to discharge their part, and to leave to him and to the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone."

This melancholy view of the discipline of the army was occasionally relieved and brightened up by brilliant and successful rencounters with the advanced parties of the enemy, who now hung close on the rear and flanks. On the morning of the 29th of December, just as the army had quitted Benevente, a party of seven squadrons of the Imperial Guard was observed crossing a ford, a little above a bridge, which had the same morning been blown up, (to very little purpose, it would appear, as the river was fordable), when the picquets under Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, and the 10th Hussars, under Lieutenant-General

Lord Paget, were ordered out. The enemy made a gallant resistance; but, after a short though well-contested action, in which much individual bravery, skill and horsemanship, were displayed on both sides, they were driven across the river. There they attempted again to form, but a fire from the field-pieces forced them to fly, leaving 60 killed and wounded, and 70 prisoners; among the latter was General Lefebre, son of the Field-Marshal.

As provisions had now become scarce, and as it was necessary to prevent the enemy from getting round on the flank, and occupying strong passes in front, General Crawford, with a lightly equipped corps of 3000 men, was detached by the Orense road. The rest of the army proceeded to Astorga, of which Romana's army was found in possession. The evils which ensue when generals command independently of each other, were here fully exemplified. The Spanish army consumed the resources of the country, crossed the British line of march, and in every way obstructed, rather than forwarded, General Moore's movements. At Astorga all superfluous baggage was destroyed; horses, mules, carriages, and every thing not absolutely necessary, were abandoned; even the military treasure was sacrificed, and, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, barrels full of dollars were rolled down the steepest precipices into the dens and ravines.

Now that the soldiers saw that the retrograde movement had become a real and absolute retreat, their former disappointments and consequent despondency rose to despair. Worn out with fatigue, and the want of necessaries, and frequently without food, they seemed totally reckless of life. Who could have believed this to be the same army which, a few weeks before, had marched from Portugal in high discipline, and full of hope and confidence? The orders of their officers then received a prompt obedience, but now discipline was gone, and the cry of plunder and vengeance was more attended to than the word of command. Villages and houses were seen burning in all directions. From the plun-

der of stores and cellars, the means of intoxication were procured, and the horror and confusion increased; and the sufferings of the troops from the snow and rain, which fell alternately as they crossed the mountains and valleys, were thus unspeakably aggravated. Yet, exposed to these hardships, and, in this wretched state of total disorganization, compelled to march two hundred and fifty miles over a mountainous country, followed by a greatly superior enemy, eager to take every advantage, the men displayed, on all occasions, their *native courage and intrepidity*. Wherever the enemy appeared, he was met with spirit, and *never, in any one instance*, obtained the most trifling advantage. At Lugo, where General Moore offered battle, which Soult thought proper to decline, the greatest alacrity and animation were exhibited. The lame, the sick, or the fatigued, who were lagging along, or lying on the ground seemingly unable to move, no sooner heard the firing, or were led to believe that an attack was to be made, than their misery and weakness appeared instantly to vanish. At the slightest indication of a brush with the enemy, they sprung up with renewed animation, and, seizing their arms, prepared to join their comrades.

When Buonaparte reached Astorga, his force amounted to 70,000 men; besides reinforcements on the march to join him. From thence he despatched three divisions, under three of his Marshals, Soult's being appointed to lead and keep up a constant skirmishing with the rear of the British, which was composed of the Reserve under General Paget. General Moore himself was always with the rear-guard, and never absent where a shot was fired, or the enemy in sight.

On the 11th of January 1809, the army completed a harassing march, and, taking post on the hills behind Corunna, were ready to embark. This might have been effected without loss, as the French general did not push forward with vigour from Lugo; but, unfortunately, the transports had not arrived from Vigo,—a circumstance the more ex-

traordinary, as the approach of the army was some time known, and is only to be lamented, as the loss of those who fell in the subsequent battle is to be ascribed entirely to this delay. On the other hand, it afforded the British troops the much wished for opportunity of wiping off the imaginary disgrace of their retreat, and of achieving a memorable and glorious victory, while labouring under the greatest privations and sufferings.

Corunna is surrounded on the land side by a double range of hills, a higher and a lower; but, as the former were too extensive, the British were formed on the latter. On their arrival the French occupied the higher range.

Our troops had now enjoyed some rest, and had experienced the kindest reception from the inhabitants of Corunna, who displayed a patriotic spirit which had not been witnessed since their departure from Lisbon. Instead of apathy, sloth, and a seeming indifference to the departure of the British or the arrival of the French, all was activity and exertion for the defence of the place in conjunction with their allies. In addition to their present critical state, with the sea on one side, and so superior an army, hourly increasing, on the other, the British must have felt strongly for the situation of these poor people, so soon to be left to the unrestrained vengeance of a man who seldom forbore the gratification of his resentment.

Several transports arrived on the 14th, when the embarkation of the sick, cavalry, and part of the artillery, was effected. The whole of the 15th was passed in skirmishing, with little loss on either side, except Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, of the 5th foot, who was killed in a bold effort to seize on two of the enemy's guns, the success of which was prevented by his death. On the forenoon of the 16th, the enemy considering himself sufficiently strong, was seen getting under arms soon after mid-day. This challenge was promptly answered by his opponents, who were soon drawn up in line of battle. Lieutenant-General Hope's division, consisting of Major-General Hill's brigade of the Queen's,

14th, and 32d, and Colonel Crawford's brigade of the 36th, 71st, and 92d or Gordon Highlanders, occupied the left. Lieutenant-General Baird's division, consisting of Lord William Bentinck's brigade of the 4th, Royal Highlanders, and 50th regiment, and Major-General Manningham's brigade of the 3d battalion of the Royals, 26th or Cameronians, and 2d battalion of the 81st, and Major-General Ward with the 1st and 3d battalions of the Foot Guards, were drawn up on the right of the line: the other battalions of Guards were in reserve in rear of Lord William Bentinck's brigade. The Rifle corps formed a chain across a valley on the right of Sir David Baird, communicating with Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, which was drawn up in the rear at a short distance from Corunna. General Paget's brigade of Reserve formed in rear of the left. At the beginning of the action General Fraser's division was ordered to advance, and the Reserve to move to the right to support the Guards and Lord William Bentinck's brigade. General Fraser's division consisted of the 6th, 9th, 23d or Welsh Fusileers, and 2d battalion of the 43d, under Major-General Beresford; and the 36th, 79th, or Cameron-Highlanders, and 82d regiment, under Brigadier-General Fane. The Reserve was composed of the 20th, 28th, 52d, 91st, and rifle corps; the whole amounting to nearly 16,000 men under arms.

The enemy commenced the attack by a discharge of artillery, while two columns advanced upon General Baird's wing, which was the weakest part of the position. A third directed its march towards the centre, and a fourth to the left, a fifth remaining as a reserve in the rear. The British did not wait to be attacked, but advanced under a heavy fire to meet their opponents. The post occupied by Lord William Bentinck' brigade, being considered most difficult to defend, General Moore was there directing every movement, and encouraging all by his language and example.

The 50th regiment, under Majors Napier and Stanhope, pushing over an inclosure in front, charged the enemy in he best manner, and drove them out of the village of El-

vina with great loss. "Well done the 50th, well done my Majors!" exclaimed the General, who had trained these young men under his own eye, and recommended them for promotion. Then proceeding to the 42d, he called out, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" They rushed forward, and drove back the enemy in all directions, the General accompanying them in the charge. He then ordered up a battalion of the Guards to the left flank of the Highlanders, upon which the light company conceiving, as their ammunition was expended, that they were to be relieved by the Guards, began to fall back, but Sir John, discovering the mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades, ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets." They instantly obeyed, and all moved forward.

About this time Sir David Baird's arm was shattered by a musket ball, which forced him to quit the field, and immediately afterwards a cannon-ball struck Sir John Moore in the left shoulder, and beat him to the ground. "He raised himself, and sat up with an unaltered countenance looking intently at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Harding threw himself from his horse and took him by the hand; then observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing, upon which his countenance immediately brightened up."

Lieutenant-General Hope, who succeeded to the command after the death of Sir John Moore, and the wound of Sir David Baird, in an admirable account of the battle addressed to the latter, says, "The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces, and by yourself at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that, after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined

bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget with the Reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward the 95th (Rifle corps), and the 1st battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, (calculated to give still farther security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, when they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of that under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with a considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls. Before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line, than at the commencement of the action; whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light

troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing ceased."

This victory, complete in itself, was gained under manifold disadvantages. The enemy possessed a great superiority of numbers, and occupied a very favourable position on the elevated ground, from which his heavy cannon fired with great effect on the British line. The darkness of the night, and the strong position on the heights of which he had still the command, rendered it impossible to pursue the enemy. Besides, the great reinforcements which he had received on the march would have enabled him to renew his attacks, till the British would have been fairly borne down and overwhelmed by superior numbers; General Hope determined, therefore, to follow up General Moore's intentions, and issued orders for the immediate embarkation of the troops.

The boats were in all readiness. Admiral De Courcy had made such judicious arrangements, and the officers and seamen exerted themselves with such zeal and effect, that before morning the whole were on board except the rear guard, left under the command of Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which, with the sick and wounded, were all embarked the following day.

And thus ended, with the loss of the gallant Commander of the Forces, and many valuable officers and brave soldiers, an expedition from which the happiest results had been anticipated, but which, from a combination of causes, failed in every essential point except one of great importance, that of drawing the combined force of the enemy to the north, and of leaving the south of Spain open to the efforts of the people.

The loss of the British was 800 men killed and wounded; that of the enemy was afterwards ascertained by Major Napier (who advancing with too great eagerness in the charge just noticed, was wounded and taken prisoner) to be upwards of 3000 men. This is a very remarkable disproportion, when we take into consideration the number

and commanding position of the enemy, possessed of a powerful artillery, which, during the whole of the action, continued to plunge its shot into the British ranks from the heights, which our guns could not reach. It can only be ascribed to causes which cannot be too frequently brought under the notice of all soldiers,—the cool and steady aim of the men, and the spirit with which they met the enemy. They did not wait to receive the attack, but rushing forward with eagerness and force, quickly turned the attack of their opponents into self-defence, the result of which is always comparative safety to the successful assailants, and destruction to their antagonists.

But moderate as the loss of the army was in comparison with that of the enemy, the death of the Commander of the Forces increased it greatly in the estimation of all who appreciate high honour, devoted zeal for the service, and the most ardent love of his country. The kindest friend, and the most affectionate son, General Moore's last thoughts were divided between his country, his venerated parent, and his friends and companions in arms. His aide-de-camp, Captain Henry Harding, describing his fall, says:—"The violence of the stroke threw him off his horse on his back. Not a muscle of his face altered, nor did a sigh betray the least sensation of pain. I dismounted, and taking his hand, he pressed me forcibly, casting his eyes very anxiously towards the 42d regiment, which was hotly engaged, and his countenance expressed satisfaction when I informed him that the regiment was advancing. Assisted by a soldier of the 42d, he was removed a few yards behind the shelter of a wall. Colonel Graham of Balgowan, and Captain Woodford of the Guards, came up, and perceiving the state of Sir John's wound, instantly rode off for surgeons."

"He consented to be carried to the rear, and was put in a blanket for that purpose." Captain Harding attempted to unbuckle his sword from his wounded side, when he said in his usual tone and manner, "It is as well as it is; I had rather that it should go out of the field with me." "He

was borne," continues Captain Harding, "by six soldiers of the 42d and Guards, my sash supporting him in an easy posture. Observing the resolution and composure of his features, I caught at the hope that I might be mistaken in my fears of the wound being mortal, and remarked, that I trusted when the surgeons dressed the wound, that he would be spared to us and recover. He then turned his head round, and, looking stedfastly at the wound for a few seconds, said, "No, Harding; *I feel that to be impossible.*" I wished to accompany him to the rear, when he said, "You need not go with me; report to General Hope, that I am wounded and carried to the rear. A sergeant of the 42d, and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave General to Corunna." As the soldiers were carrying him slowly along, he made them turn round frequently to view the field of battle, and to listen to the firing; and was well pleased when the sound grew fainter, judging that the enemy were retiring.

Colonel Wynch, being wounded, was passing in a spring waggon. When he understood that the General was in the blanket, he wished him to be removed to the waggon. Sir John asked one of the Highlanders, whether he thought the waggon or blanket best? when the soldier answered, that he thought the blanket best, "I think so too," said the General; "and the soldiers proceeded with him to Corunna, shedding tears all the way." *

* It was not without cause that the Highland soldiers shed tears for the sufferings of the kind and partial friend whom they were now about to lose. He always reposed the most entire confidence in them; placing them in the post of danger and honour, and wherever it was expected that the greatest firmness and courage would be required; gazing at them with earnestness in his last moments, and in this extremity taking pleasure in their successful advance; gratified at being carried by them, and talking familiarly to them when he had only a few hours to live; and, like a perfect soldier, as he was, dying with his sword by his side. Speaking to me, on one occasion, of the character of the Highland soldiers, "I consider," said he, "the Highlanders, under proper management, and under an officer who understands and values their character, and works on it, among the best of our military materials. Under

Colonel Anderson, his friend and aide-de-camp for twenty years, thus describes the General's last moments:—"After some time, he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and at intervals got out as follows:—'Anderson, you know that I always wished to die in this way.' He then asked, were the French beaten?—and which he repeated to every one he knew as they came in. 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied; I hope my country will do me justice. Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can. Tell them every thing—Say to my mother?—Here his voice quite failed, and he was excessively agitated." At the thought of his mother, the firm heart of this brave and affectionate son gave way—a heart which no danger, not even his present situation, could shake, till the thoughts of his mother, and what she would suffer, came across his mind.

General Moore * was a soldier of the best mould. He

such an officer, they will conquer or die on the spot, while their action, their hardihood, and abstinence, enable them to bear up against a severity of fatigue under which larger, and apparently stronger, men would sink. But it is the principles of integrity and moral correctness that I admire most in Highland soldiers, and this was the trait that first caught my attention. It is this that makes them trust-worthy, and makes their courage sure, and not that kind of flash in the pan, which would scale a bastion to-day, and to-morrow be alarmed at the fire of a picquet. You Highland officers may sleep sound at night, and rise in the morning with the assurance, that, with your men, your professional character and honour are safe, unless *you yourselves destroy the willing and excellent material intrusted to your direction.*" Such was the opinion particularly addressed to me, as a kind of farewell advice in 1805, when my regiment left his brigade to embark for the Mediterranean. It was accompanied by many excellent observations on the character of the Highland soldier, and the duties of Highland officers, especially what regards their management of, and behaviour towards their soldiers, and the necessity of paying attention to their feelings. The correctness of his views on this important subject I have seen fully confirmed by many years' experience.

* After he was made Knight of the Bath, he preferred to be called General rather than Sir John Moore. "Sir," said he one day to an officer, who called him Sir John, Sir John, at the beginning of every sentence, "I am your General; I am General Moore."

was endowed with a vigorous mind, improved by every accomplishment which an anxious and intelligent parent could suggest or bestow. With a face and figure uncommonly handsome, he was active and capable of bearing great fatigue; but in his latter years he had a considerable stoop, and was much broken down by wounds and service in various climates, although only forty-seven years of age at the time of his death. He was the eldest of five sons of the late Dr Moore, and was born at Glasgow in 1762, where his father practised as a physician till he accompanied the late Duke of Hamilton on his travels. He took his son along with him, and thus he was early introduced into the first society of Europe. Having his education and pursuits guided by so able a director, and so accurate a judge of mankind, as his father, every improvement was to be expected. How completely these expectations were fulfilled, the military history of his country will show. "Sir John Moore, from his youth, embraced the profession with the sentiments and feelings of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer are the best foundation for subsequent military fame. In the school of regimental duty he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any point as a preferable subject for praise. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among his troops.

"During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him the post of honour; and by his un-

daunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory." *

Every soldier's heart must warm when reading so just a tribute from a Commander-in-Chief to the memory of this gallant soldier. General Moore's keen feelings of honour, and enthusiastic zeal for the duties of his profession, often raised his indignation at any dereliction of conduct or duty. Hence, with the mildest and most amiable temper, he was considered by many who did not sufficiently know him, as fierce, intemperate, and unnecessarily severe; while, in truth, no man was more indulgent and easy, when strictness was unnecessary. At the same time, when severity was called for, as the correctness and propriety of his own mind led him to have "no mercy on officers who neglected their duty on any important occasion," no man could be more severe; and in this he greatly resembled the eminent men by whose example he was always anxious to form his habits and character—Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir Charles Stuart.

It was under General Stuart in Corsica that General Moore, then lieutenant-colonel of the 51st regiment, was first distinguished. At the storming of Calvi he headed the Grenadiers; and in the face of an obstinate and gallant resistance, carried the place by assault. General Stuart, who witnessed the attack, rushed forward, and with an enthusiasm which only such minds can feel, threw himself into the arms of Colonel Moore, the surrounding soldiers shouting and throwing up their caps in the air for joy and exultation.

As Sir John Moore, according to the wish which he had uniformly expressed, died a soldier in battle, so he was buried like a soldier, in his full uniform, in a bastion in the garrison of Corunna, Colonel Graham of Balgowan, Colonel Anderson, and the officers of his family only attending.

* General Orders, Horse Guards, 1st February 1809.

On the 18th and 19th of January, the army being all embarked, sailed for England, one division of which landed at Portsmouth, and another at Plymouth. The 42d regiment landed at Portsmouth.

The soldiers suffered more from the want of shoes than from any other privation; and, marching over mountains deeply covered with snow, their feet were torn by the ice, and their toes frost-bitten. The shoes were supplied by contract, and, as is too common in such cases, became wholly unserviceable after a few days' march. *

* Although the following observations may seem foreign to the present subject, I give them a place here, both on account of the number of men who suffered severely on this occasion, and, at the same time, in order to mention the great improvements that have been effected—improvements that must be gratifying to every friend of the good and faithful soldier. I have had frequent occasion to notice the high state of comfort, and the attention to the feelings and convenience of the soldiers, introduced into the army under the directions of the present Commander-in-Chief. The regulations with regard to the shoes of the troops form only one out of a numerous list of improvements, all tending to the same purpose,—to show the soldier that he is held in respect by the country which pays him, and by his immediate commanders. Such is the anxiety that justice be done to the soldiers, and so judicious and appropriate are the regulations, that much of the fault must rest with the regimental officers, if they receive, or permit their soldiers to be supplied with, improper cloathing or provisions. But while this is the case in the army, it cannot well be denied, that the system of doing every thing by contract is quickly undermining the honesty of the people, and subverting all proper ideas of truth and justice in their dealings. In contracts, it is generally understood that the lowest will be accepted. When the cheapest offer has been preferred, the next object of the contractor is to fulfil it on terms as profitable as possible to himself; that is, to make the article as bad as he can, first saving the risk of its being returned on his hands. A contractor, seeing that his principal sets others in competition with him, will naturally retaliate. In this process he must give directions to his workmen, who thus become familiarized with fraud, bad materials, and hasty and careless workmanship, such as they do not see in the fair honest course of business. Observing this iniquitous proceeding carried on by their superiors, so far as they perceive, without shame, punishment, or prejudice to their characters, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that, in their own dealings, they should practise a little of the duplicity and deception so successfully

employed by those to whom, from their education and rank in society, they might be expected to look up to as examples of honour and integrity. When the great number of contracts is taken into consideration, and the proportion executed in this manner is so great as to render it proverbial that any work badly executed has been done by contract, and when we farther consider the thousands of the common and labouring people to whom, in the course of workmanship, the secret of these deceptions must be communicated, and a still greater number who must suffer, as the poor soldiers formerly did, from its effects, this system of itself may be viewed as a very fruitful source of dishonesty, and as one of the main causes of lessening that regard for fair dealing and probity which has always been so honourable a feature in the character of the people of this kingdom.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO

VOLUME FIRST.

APPENDIX.

A, Page 15, Vol. I,

THE country traditions are filled with anecdotes of the hunting expeditions of the Alpine kings. From these traditional authorities, the names of many remarkable objects in the neighbourhood of their ancient residence, particularly in Glenroy and Glenspean, are derived. Ossian, and the heroes celebrated in song, seem in a manner overlooked in the recollection of the later warriors and Nimrods. Since strangers and men of science have traversed these long-deserted regions, an irreconcileable feud of opinions has arisen between the Geologists and the Highlanders, regarding an uncommon conformation in Glenroy, a glen in Lochaber, remarkable for the height and perpendicularity of its sides, particularly of one of them. On the north side, at a considerable elevation above the stream, which flows along the bottom of the glen, there is a flat, or terrace, about seventy feet broad, having the appearance of a road formed on the side of the mountain, and running along, on a perfect level, to the extremity of the glen. Five hundred feet above this, there is another of these terraces, and still higher a third, all parallel, and of similar form. In English they are called Parallel Roads: the inhabitants know them by the name of the King's Hunting Roads. Geologists say that the glen was once full of water, up to the level of the highest parallel, which must have been formed by the action of the waters of this lake on the side of the hill. By some violence, however, an opening was made in the lower end of the glen that confined the water, in consequence of which it immediately fell as low as the second parallel, and formed it in the same manner as the first. Another opening of the same kind brought down the surface of the water to the third parallel, when, at length, that which confined the water giving way entirely, it subsided to the bottom of the glen, where it now runs, in a rapid stream, without obstruction. To this opinion the Highlanders object, that it is not probable that water, after the first declension, would remain so perfectly stationary as to form a second parallel of the same dimensions as the first, or that the second declension would be so regular in time, and the water so equal in its action, as to form a third terrace in every respect perfectly similar to the two others; that the glen is too narrow to allow the waves to act with sufficient force to form these broad levels; that, in the centre of the glen, which is narrow, the levels are the broadest

and most perfect, whereas, on the upper end, which opens to a wide extent, allowing a large space for the wind and waves to act with superior force, the levels are contracted and less perfect; that on one side of the glen these terraces are broad, and of perfectly regular formation, while, on the other, they are narrow, and not so well formed; and that, unless the wind blew always from the same quarter, waves would not roll with more force to one side of a piece of water than to another. In Glenspean, which is in the immediate neighbourhood, and in which similar appearances present themselves, the hills recede several miles from each other, leaving a wide expanse, on the sides of which, if the valley or strath had been filled with water, the waves would have acted with considerable force, and yet these roads, or terraces, are by no means so distinctly formed, and continuous, as in Glenroy. The Highlanders also urge the impossibility of water having ever been confined in Glenspean, without an improbable convulsion of nature, the lower end being of great width, and open to the ocean. After stating these reasons, they triumphantly conclude by a query, Why do not other glens and straths in the Highlands exhibit natural appearances similar to those in the vicinity of the ancient residence of the Alpine kings? Their own account, which they believe as firmly as they do their creed, is, that these roads were made for the hunting of the kings when at Inverlochay; that they were palisadoed on each side; and that the game was driven through, affording the Royal Hunters time to destroy numbers before they could get to the end. As a confirmation of this account, they quote the names of the circumjacent places, which all bear an analogy to these huntings.

To these opinions, so opposite and difficult to reconcile, it is probable that each party will adhere.

B, Page 16.

Tradition states, that, in honour of this ancient alliance, and in compliment to the Lilies of France, one of the succeeding Kings of Scotland surmounted the lion on his arms with the double tressure, which has, ever since, continued to be the arms of Scotland. In consequence of a requisition from Charles VII. of France, founded, as it is said, on this treaty, the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, in the year 1419, sent his son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, with 7,000 men, to assist him in his wars against the English. The Earl of Buchan, as a reward for the eminent service rendered by his army, was made Constable of France, which is the only instance of a foreigner receiving this distinction.

The late Lord Hailes was so remarkable for his accuracy and precision, that, on one occasion, it is said, he proposed to reject a law-paper, because the word *justice* was improperly spelt, the last letter having been omitted. This severity of criticism he carried through all his labours. In his remarks on the History of Scotland, he doubts

the reality of this alliance, because it has been variously related by authors, and particularly by Hector Boece, a Scotch historian, (of a character very different from that of the accurate, honourable, and learned judge,) who indulges himself in detailing many improbable and fabulous events. Though doubts may reasonably be entertained concerning the authenticity of this alliance, it is evident that our ancient historians and chroniclers, when they thought it probable that such a treaty had really existed, must have believed that the Alpine kings had numerous and warlike subjects; and hence we may conjecture, that the country was able to support a numerous population, which has been denied by modern economists. With regard to the credit due to traditions, it may be observed, that, in the absence of written documents, they may be so unvarying in their tenor, and so confirmed by collateral circumstances, as to be entitled to a considerable degree of importance. Traditions, thus preserved and confirmed, are certainly preferable to the mere conjectures and hypotheses of modern authors, which are not so much founded on any authentic documents, as on the absence of them, and which often vary with the peculiar opinions and preconceived notions of each individual speculatist. The want of written proof may, in many cases, be a good legal objection; but are we warranted, merely from the absence of proof to the contrary, in refusing all credit to what has, for ages, been handed down as the firm belief of our ancestors? These observations I have thought it necessary to offer, as I shall have occasion to refer to many traditions, for which I have neither written nor printed proofs, but which I have every reason to believe are founded on facts, although there may be some little difference in the relation,—not more, perhaps, than we have met with in the accounts given of the same work by the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.

There is hardly any point of history, far less tradition, in which all men are agreed. Recent as the events are, we have contradictory accounts of the Peninsular campaigns, and of the battle of Waterloo. When, therefore, we every day hear discordant reports and versions of events that occurred within our own memory, can it be matter of surprise that the affairs of remote ages should be variously related, and can it furnish good grounds for rejecting the whole as fabulous? Many parts of our own national history, which we receive with implicit credence, will not perhaps bear that strictness of criticism which calls for present and written proofs. In the same manner, therefore, as I believe that there was a great and overwhelming victory gained at Waterloo, notwithstanding the discrepancy of minute details, so I am likewise willing to give credit to many parts of our traditional story, when these are not opposed to the principles of reason, and well-authenticated facts.

Whatever may be thought of the treaty with Charlemagne, the connexion between France and Scotland must be allowed to be of high antiquity, since it is noticed as the "Ancient League," as far back as the reigns of Baliol, Bruce, and Robert the first of the

Stewarts, upwards of five hundred years ago. Now, as it is not disputed, that an amicable communication subsisted thus early, those who disbelieve the alliance between Charlemagne and Achaius ought to fix the period of the commencement of that friendly intercourse, which continued uninterrupted till the Kings of Scotland removed to England, and united the rival kingdoms under one Crown. It should also be stated how far back the League must have extended, to have entitled it to the term of "Ancient" bestowed on it in the days of John Baliol, who was declared King of Scotland in the year 1292.

C, Page 27.

THE Memorial begins with Argyleshire, "the country of the Campbells."

"*Campbells.*—In Gaelic they are called Clan Guin, or O Duine. The Duke of Argyle is their Chief. He is called in the Highlands Macaillain Mor. On his own property, and on his kinsmen's lands, he can raise above 3,000 men; the Earl of Breadalbane, more than 1,000; and the Barons of the names of Campbell, Ardkinglass, Auchenbreck, Lochnell, Inneraw, and others, 1,000; so that this clan could bring into the field above 5,000 men, besides those barons and gentlemen of the name in Dumbarton, Stirling and Perthshire, and the Laird of Calder in Nairn. They are at present the richest and most numerous clan in Scotland; their countries and bounds most extensive; their superiorities, jurisdictions, and other dependencies, by far the greatest in the kingdom, which makes the family of the greatest importance in North Britain, and has been so since the decline of the Douglasses, the total fall of the Cummins, the extinction of the Earl of Ross's family, and of the Macdonalds of the Isles.

"*Maclean.*—In Gaelic called Clan Lein. Sir Hector Maclean of Douart is their Chief. He is called in the Highlands Macil-Lein. This was a very potent clan 200 years ago, and could have raised 800 men; but now that the Campbells are possessed of their chief's estate, they will hardly make 500, and even many of that number must be brought out of the Duke of Argyle's estate.

"*Maclachlan.*—In Gaelic called Clan Lachlin. The Laird of Maclachlan is their Chief. He can raise 300 men.

"*Stewart of Appin.*—The Laird of Appin is their Chieftain. He holds his lands of the Crown, and can raise 300 followers.

"*Macdougall of Lorn.*—In Gaelic called Clanvickuil. Their Chief is the Laird of Macdougall. He is called in the Highlands Mackuil Laurin. This was a more potent family of old, but is now much diminished by the Campbells; they can still (I believe) bring out 200 men.

"*Macdonalds of Sleate.*—Proceeding northward by the coast and Isles, we come to the Macdonalds. Sir Alexander Macdonald is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac Connel nan Eilan, simply

by way of pre-eminence; he has a very large estate which he holds of the Crown. It lies in the Isles of Skye and Uist. He can bring out 700 men.

" *Macdonald of Clanranald.*—In Gaelic this Chieftain is called Mack vic Allian, and in English Captain of Clanranald. He has a very handsome estate, holding most of it from the Crown. It lies in Moidart and Arisaig on the Continent, and in the Isles of Uist, Benbecula, and Rum. He can bring out 700 men.

" *Macdonell of Glengarry.*—The Laird of Glengarry is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Allistair. He has a good estate, which he holds of the Crown. It lies in Glengarry and Knoidart. He can bring out 500 men.

" *Macdonell of Keppoch.*—Keppoch is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Raonuil. He is not proprietor of one ridge of land, but himself, kindred, and followers, are only tacksman and tenants, holding the most of their possessions from the Laird of Mackintosh, and the rest from the Duke of Gordon, all being in Lochaber. He can raise and bring out 300 followers.

" *Macdonald of Glenco.*—The Laird of Glenco is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac-vic-Ian. He holds his lands of Stewart of Appin, and can raise 150 men.

" These five Chieftains of the Macdonalds all claim a lineal descent from Alexander Macdonald Earl of Ross, successor and representative of the Macdonalds of the Isles; but none of them have any clear document to vouch the same, so that that great and aspiring family, who waged frequent wars with our Scotch Kings, and who acted as sovereigns themselves, and obliged most of the clans to swear fealty to them, is now utterly extinct. The last Earl of Ross had no sons, nor any near male relation to succeed him.

" *Cameron.*—A very potent clan in Lochaber. The Laird of Lochiel, called in Gaelic Maconnel Dui, is their Chief. He has a good estate, but none of it holds of the Crown; the most of it holds of the Duke of Argyle, and the rest of the Duke of Gordon. He can bring out 800 men. Of old there were several tribes in that country, viz. Macmartin of Letterfinlay, and others, branches of the Camerons, who faithfully followed their chief.

" *Macleods*—Were two distinct and very potent families of old, viz. Macleod of Lewis, and Macleod of Harris, but they are both utterly extinct, and their lands possessed by the Mackenzies. The present Laird of Macleod is Chief of the name. He is called in Gaelic, Macleod. He has a very considerable estate, all holden of the Crown, lying in Glenelg, on the Continent, and in the Isle of Skye. He can bring out 700 men.

" *Mackinnons.*—The Laird of Mackinnon is their Chief; he holds his lands of the Crown, both in the Isles of Skye and Mull, and can raise 200 men.

" I again pass to the south to give an account of the inland Chiefs, beginning again in Argyleshire, and proceeding from thence north-

ward. There are several persons of rank, as well as gentlemen, who are chieftains, and who have the command of many Highlanders in Argyle, Monteith, Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perth shires; such as the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Moray and Bute, also the Macfarlanes, Macneil of Barra, Macnab of Macnab, Buchanans and Colquhouns of Luss, Macnaughtons, Lamont of Lamont, &c. They can raise among them 5,400 men. Besides these there are several border families, those of Kilraick, Brodie of Brodie, Innes of Innes, Irvine of Drum, Lord Forbes, and the Earl of Airley, all of whom are loyal, except the Ogilvies. Few or none of them have any followers, except Lord Airley, from his Highland estate.

" *Duke of Perth*—Is no clan family, although the Duke is Chief of a considerable number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Drummond in the Low country. He is brought in here allenarly on account of his command of about 300 Highlanders in Glenartnie and other glens in the county of Perth.

" *Robertsons*.—The Laird of Strowan is their Chief. They are called in Gaelic, Clan Donachie. His lands hold of the Crown, and lie in Rannoch, and in the Braes of Athole in Perthshire. On his own estate he can raise about 200 men. There are 500 men more of the Robertsons in Athole who never follow their chief, being part of the followers of the Duke of Athole.

" *Menzies*.—Sir Robert Menzies of Weem is the Chief. In Gaelic he is called Menairich. He has a very handsome estate, all holding of the Crown, lying in Rannoch, and Appin Dull in Athole, and can raise 300 men.

" *Stewart of Grandtully*—Has a handsome estate in Strathbrane and Strathtay in Athole, all holding of the Crown, out of which he can raise 300 followers.

" *Clan Gregor*.—This name was called down by act of Parliament. They are now dispersed under the different names of Drummond, Murray, Graham, and Campbell, and live in the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, &c. &c. They have no present Chief, that being elective, and continuing no longer than the current expedition. He is chosen on the principle of *detur digniori*. They can raise among them 700 men.

" *Duke of Atholl*.—The Murrays is no clan family, though the Duke of Atholl is Chief, and head of a number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Murray in the Lowlands; but he is deservedly placed here on account of his extensive following of about 3,000 Highlanders, a good many of them out of his own property, but most of them from the estates of the barons and gentlemen who hold their land of him on account of his great superiorities in Athole, Glenalmond, and Balquidder. The most numerous of these, and the readiest to turn out on all occasions, are the Stewarts of Athole, in number more than 1,000 men, as also 500 Robertsons, who do not follow their chief; likewise the Fergussons, Smalls, Spaldings, Rattrays, Mackintoshes in Athole, and Maclarens in Balquidder,

with other broken names in Athole, are all followers of the Duke of Atholl.

" Crossing the Grampian mountains to Brae Mar.

" *Farquharsons.*—The only clan family in Aberdeenshire. In Gaelic called Clan Ianla. They can bring out about 500 men. The Laird of Invercauld is their Chief. He has a very handsome estate holden of the Crown, both in Perthshire and Brae Mar. There are several other barons of the name that have competent fortunes, such as Monaltrie, Inverey, Finzean, &c.

" *Duke of Gordon.*—The Gordons is no clan family, although the Duke is Chief of a very powerful name in the Lowlands. He has a great posse of cavalry and gentlemen on horseback in Enzie and Strathbogie, but he is only placed here on account of his Highland followings in Strathavon and Glenlivet, which are about 300 men; his extensive jurisdictions and superiorities in the centre Highlands, viz. Badenoch, Lochaber, and Strathspey, do not yield him any followers. The tenants on his own property, as well as those who hold their lands of him in feu, follow their natural-born Chief, of whom they are descended, and pay no regard either to the master or superior of their lands. Thus the Camerons follow Lochiel, the Macphersons follow Clunie, and other chiefs are followed and obeyed in the same manner from respect, family attachment, and consanguinity.

" *Grant.*—A considerable name and family in Strathspey. The Laird of Grant is their Chief. He has a handsome and large estate both in Strathspey and Urquhart, in the county of Inverness, all holden of the Crown, except Abernethy, which he holds of the Earl of Moray. He can raise out of Strathspey 700 men, and out of Urquhart 150. He has several barons of his name both in Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen shires, such as Dalvey, Ballandalloch, Rothiemurchus, Cullen, &c.

" *Mackintoshes.*—This was one of the most potent clans in Scotland when their residence was at Tor Castle in Lochaber, the ancient seat of their family (of which country they are still heritable stewards), but the Camerons having purchased the said estate, their power is much diminished. The Laird of Mackintosh is their Chief; in Gaelic he is called Mackintoschach, and in English Captain of Clan Chattan. He can bring out 800 men, including the small neighbouring clans of Macgillivray, Macqueen, Macbean, &c. who all own themselves his kinsmen. His countries are Brae Lochaber, Badenoch, and Strathnearn, in Inverness-shire. He still retains a very competent estate. He holds Brae Lochaber, Moy, and Largs, of the Crown, Badenoch of the Duke of Gordon, and most of his kinsmen hold Strathnearn of the Earl of Moray.

" *Macphersons.*—Called in Gaelic Clan Vurrich. Their Chief is the Laird of Clunie. He can raise 400 men. His whole lands, and all his kinsmen's lands, hold of the Duke of Gordon, and lie in Badenoch.

" *Frasers*—Are a considerable clan in the countries of Aird and Stratherrig, in Inverness-shire. Their Chief is Lord Lovat; in Gaelic he is called Macimmie. He has a large estate held of the Crown, and can raise 900 men. He has a good number of barons of his name in Inverness and Aberdeen shires.

" *Grant of Glenmoriston*—Is Chieftain of a branch of the Grants, but does not follow his Chief. He brings out 150 men. In Gaelic he is called Macphadrick. His lands hold of the Crown. In armaments he frequently joins with the Laird of Glengarry.

" *Chisholms.*—Their Chief is Chisholm of Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held of the Crown, and he can bring out 200 men.

" *Mackenzies.*—One of the most considerable clans of one name next to the Campbells in the nation. The Earl of Seaforth is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Mac Coinich. Out of his countries of Kintail, Lochalsh, Lochbroom, Lochcarron, on the Continent, and in the Isle of Lewis, all in Ross-shire, he can raise 1,000 men. The Earl of Cromarty, with the Lairds of Gairloch, Scatwell, Killcowie, Redcastle, Comric, &c. &c. can raise among them 1,500 men more.

" *Monroes.*—Sir Henry Monro of Fowlis is their Chief. His lands hold of the Crown. He can raise 300 men.

" *Rosses.*—Lord Ross is their Chief. His lands hold of the Crown, and he can raise 500 men.

" *Sutherlands.*—The Earl of Sutherland is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Morar Chatto. He can raise 2,000 men.

" *Mackays.*—The Lord Reay is their Chief. He is called in Gaelic, Macaoi. His estate holds of the Crown, and brings out 800 men.

" *Sinclairs.*—The Earl of Caithness is their Chief. He is called in Gaelic, Morar Gallu. He could raise 1,000 men, but many of his followers are now under May, Dunbeath, Ulbster, Freswick, &c. &c.

D, Page 35.

Of the expedients generally adopted by the Chiefs for summoning their friends and followers, it may not be unacceptable to afford the reader some idea. The warlike disposition of the Celtic clans, their jealousy of wrongs, the numerous concurrent causes of irritation and quarrel, and the nature of the country, over a large extent of which they lived scattered and distant from one another, rendered some signal necessary to give the alarm, and assemble the warriors. The principal signal was the Cross Tarie, or Fiery Cross, a piece of wood burnt or burning at one end, with a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood hanging from the other. This symbol served two purposes. It was sent round the country to call the men to arms, and it was meant also to show what were the intentions of the enemy

(that is, to burn and desolate the country), and what would be their own fate if they did not defend their honour, their lives, and their properties. The cross was sent round the country from hand to hand, each person who bore it running at full speed, shouting as he went along the war-cry of the tribe, and naming the place of rendezvous. At each hamlet a fresh man took it up, so that an alarm was given, and the people assembled a with celerity almost incredible. One of the latest instances of the Fiery Cross being used happened in 1745; when, by the orders of Lord Breadalbane, it was sent round Loch Tay (a distance of thirty-two miles, in three hours), to raise his people, and prevent their joining the rebels,—but with less effect than in 1715, when it went the same round, and when five hundred men assembled the same evening under the command of the Laird of Glenlyon, acting under the orders of the Earl of Breadalbane, to join the Earl of Mar.

The war-cry served as a watchword to individuals in the confusion of the combat, in the darkness of the night, or on any sudden alarm, when assistance was necessary. Each tribe had its own war-cry (or *slogan*, as it is called in Scotch), to which every clansman answered. The war-cry of the Grants was *Craig Eila-chie*, from a large rock in the centre of the country of the Grants; that of the Mackenzies, *Tulloch-ard;* of the Macdonalds, *Craig-na-fioch;* of the Macphersons, *Craig-dui;* of the Macgregors, *Ard-choile;* of the Macfarlanes, *Loch Sloy;* of the Buchanans, *Clairinish;* and of the Farquharsons, *Carn-na-cuin.* Some families in the border Lowlands employed their names as *slogans* and watchwords. In the case of the Gordons, whenever assistance was necessary, the cry of "A Gordon! a Gordon!" was sure to be effectual. The cry of "A Forbes! a Forbes!" was equally availing with regard to the Forbeses; and as these two warlike families were at feud for more than 200 years, they had frequent occasion for their respective slogans, in their countless strifes and rencounters. Besides these cries, they had other marks by which it could be known to what clan, tribe, or district, individuals belonged. One of these was the particular disposition or set of the different colours of the tartan, in the plaid, kilt, hose, and trews. Another mark of distinction was a tuft of heath, pine, or such plant, stuck in the bonnet, as would not fade or cast the leaf. Thus the Macdonalds wore in their bonnets tufts of heath; the Macgregors and Grants a bunch of pine; the Drummonds and Mackenzies wore the holly, the former the plain, and the latter the variegated;* the Mackintoshes the boxwood, and so on; always taking

* The Mackenzies occasionally assumed the deer's grass, in allusion to the armorial bearings of the chief, viz. deer's head and horns. In connexion with these bearings, and with the origin of the clan, is an anecdote which will be found in the account of the Seaforth Regiment. This distribution of the distinguishing badges must have been well understood, otherwise interferences would occur, as our evergreen trees and shrubs are not numerous. The Macgregors and Grants carried the same badge, as being of the same descent. Clans inhabiting countries distant from each

care, whatever the badge or mark was, that it should be permanent, and not affected by the change of the season, and thus be equally conspicuous in winter as in summer. This was the practice of all except the Stewarts, who generally wore the oak; which, from losing the leaf and decaying, many regarded as ominous of the decline of the family and name, who also considered the oak emblematical, as the leaves, though withered and decayed, still hang by the branches till forced off by the new leaves in spring.

E, Page 35.

Of such feuds, many instances might be adduced. I shall select only one, which may serve to exemplify the apparently trivial causes from which they sometimes arose, in periods when men could not resort to the laws for protection, and the deadly and often fatal animosity with which they were maintained. After the middle of the fifteenth century, a quarrel occurred between Stewart of Garth and a clan named Macivor, who then possessed the greater part of Glenlyon. The Laird of Garth had been nursed by a woman of the clan Macdiarmid, which was then, and is still, pretty numerous in Glenlyon and Breadalbane. This woman had two sons, one of whom, foster-brother to the laird, having been much injured by Macivor in a dispute, threatened to apply for redress to his foster-brother. Accordingly, the two brothers immediately set out for that purpose to the Castle of Garth, twelve or fourteen miles distant. In those days, a foster-brother was regarded as one of the family; and Macivor, well aware that the quarrel of the Macdiarmids would be espoused by his neighbour, ordered a pursuit. The young men being hard pressed, threw themselves into a deep pool of the river Lyon, where they hoped that their pursuers would not venture to follow them. The foster-brother was, however, desperately wounded with an arrow, and drowned in the pool, which still retains the name of Linne Donnel, or Donald's Pool. The other succeeded in reaching Garth. Resolved to avenge his friend's death, the laird collected his followers, and marched to Glenlyon. Macivor mustered his men, and met the invaders about the middle of the glen. The chieftains stepped forward between the two bands, in the hope of settling the affair amicably. Garth wore a plaid the one side of which was red, and the other dark-coloured tartan, and, on proceeding to the conference, he told his men, that, if the result was amicable, the darker side of the plaid should remain outward as it was; if otherwise, he would give the signal of attack by turning out the red side. They were still engaged in the conference, when Macivor whistled loud, and a number of armed men started up from the adjoining rocks and bushes,

other, had sometimes badges somewhat similar, although sufficiently marked to distinguish them, as in the instance of the plain and variegated holly of the Drummonds and Mackenzies.

where they had been concealed, while the main body were drawn up in front. "Who are these," said Stewart, "and for what purpose are they there?" "They are only a herd of my roes that are frisking about the rocks," replied Macivor. "In that case," said the other, "it is time for me to call my hounds." Then turning his plaid he rejoined his men, who were watching his motions, and instantly advanced. Both parties rushed forward to the combat; the Macivors gave way, and were pursued eight miles farther up the glen. Here they turned to make a last effort, but were again driven back with great loss. The survivors fled across the mountains to another part of the country, and were for some time not permitted to return. Macivor's land was, in the mean time, seized by the victors, and law confirmed what the sword had won. *

The names of the river and glen still continue memorials of this sanguinary fray. Dhui and Glen Dhui were their former names. When the Stewarts were returning from the last pursuit, they washed their swords in the river, which was discoloured a considerable way down on one side by the blood. "This stream," exclaimed the chieftain, "shall no longer be called Dhui, but Leiven (leiven is to wipe or lave), and the glen shall be called Glenleiven." Before the combat commenced, Stewart's men pulled off a kind of sandals, bound round the ancles with thongs, and called in Gaelic *cuaran*. These they laid aside, close to a small rock, which to this day is called *Lech-na-cuaran*, the stone or slab of the sandals. The spot where they drew their swords is called *Ruskich*, to uncover or unsheath; the field where the rencounter commenced *Laggan-na-cath*, the field of battle, and the spot where the last stand was made, *Camus-na-carn*, from the cairns or mounds of stones which cover the graves, and which, from their quantity, show the considerable number slain, which, tradition says, amounted to 140 on the part of the Macivors.

In 1816, a sword and battle-axe, now in my possession, were dug up at Laggan-na-cath. The first is in the form of a small sword, and remarkable for its elegance and proportions, being equal to any model of the present day. The blade is long, but, as may be supposed, much destroyed by rust. The axe, more decayed than the sword, is the same as was anciently used by the Highlanders when they closed in the fight. The sword is so far curious, as it shows that the Highlanders of that age had small swords.

F, Page 38.

The following are the instances given by Martin: "Captain Jack-

* Charters under the Great Seal were passed by James III., dated at Edinburgh, 24th January 1477, and addressed "To John Stewart of Garth and Fothergill, and Neil Stewart, his son and heir, of the lands of Fothergill (now Fortingal), Apnadull, Temper, and others in Rannoch; Glenquaich, Wester Strathbrane, and *Glenlioun*, in the county of Perth."—*Records, General Register House.*

son of Whitehaven, about sixteen years ago, was obliged to leave his ship, being leaky, in the bay within Island Glass, alias Scalpa, in the Isle of Harris, with two men only to take care of her, though loaded with goods. The ship was not within three miles of a house, and separated from the dwelling-houses by mountains. Yet when the captain returned, twelve months afterwards, he found the vessel and his men quite safe. Captain Lotch lost the Dromedary of London, of 600 tons burthen, with all her rich cargo from the Indies, of which he might have saved a great deal, had he embraced the assistance the natives offered him. The captain and his men were kindly entertained in the Isle of Skye by Sir Norman Macleod; and though, among other valuable goods, they had six boxes of gold dust, there was not the least thing taken from them by the inhabitants." *

This protection afforded to the lives and property of their fellow-creatures in the calamity of shipwreck, is honourable to a people among whom the restraints of political institutions were few and feeble. To persons who understand the character of the Highlanders, it would be unnecessary to state facts, to prove how generally feelings of humanity, charity, and probity prevail; but it is by relating a succession of characteristic traits and circumstances of different ages and periods, connected with, and illustrating each other, that prejudices, long entertained, can be subdued, and that a proposition, however true in itself, which militates against general opinion, can be fully established. To deny the truth of a general statement, to which, in all cases, exceptions may be made, is a matter of no difficulty; but it is not so easy to resist a coincident and connected view of the manners and habits of successive generations. I do not mean to apply those observations to the statements which follow, but to the general scope of the whole, as I have had occasion to state facts in opposition to the opinion of many, with regard to the character and dispositions of the Highlanders, as well as with regard to their intelligence and religious and moral principles.

Without referring to Roman authors, Ossian's Poems, or the traditional history of the ancient Caledonians, for the firmness and spirit of independence with which they maintained their freedom from a foreign yoke; I shall only notice a few extracts from authors, whose works were printed soon after they were composed. Amongst the earliest of these is Hollingshed, who wrote previous to 1560, and who thus speaks of the Highlanders: "Hereby, in like sort, it cometh to pass, that they are more hard of constitution and bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better, and abstaine longer; whereinto also it appeareth, that they are *kind*, *bold*, *nimble*, and thereto more skillfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, *they hold it with great constancie.*" The author of "Certayne Matters concerning Scotland," printed in 1597, describes the Highlanders of

* Martin's Description of the Western Isles. London, printed 1703.

his day in the following manner: "Their drink is the broth of sodden flesh;* they love very well the drinks made of whey and certayne yerbs, drinking the same at feasts; but the most part of *them only drink water;* their custom is to make their bread of oats and barley, which are the only kinds of grain that grow in those parts; experience with tyme hath taught them to make it of such sort that it is not unpleasant to eat; they take a little of it in the morning, and passing to the hunting or any other busynis, content themselves without any other kind of meat till even." The following extract is from an author of great learning and research, who wrote upwards of a century after the preceding: "But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, *is constant temperance.* They rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their meals are two a-day, water being their ordinary drink; they are strangers to many of the distempers, as they are to most of the vices, of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name. They owe every thing to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labour. Hence, they are stout and active, dexterous in all their exercises, as they are withal remarkably sagacious, choleric, but easily appeased, *sociable, good natured, ever cheerful,* and having a strong *inclination to poetry and music.* They are hospitable beyond expression, entertaining all strangers of whatever condition gratis. They have no lawyers or attorneys. The men and women plead their own causes, and every decision is made by the proprietor, who is perpetual president in their courts; or by his bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief curses of mankind, luxury and ambition. They are not *only rigid observers of justice,* but show less propensity than *any people to tumult,* except what they may be led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to their chiefs and leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring on these well-meaning men, by their feuds and quarrels with their neighbours." †

The next quotation is from a valuable work lately published. The author, although born in the Lowlands, and at a distance from the people he describes, was latterly much among them, and had every opportunity of ascertaining the truth of what he states. "The natives of the Highlands and Isles possess a degree of civilization, that, by those who had never been amongst them, would hardly be believed. Attention to the great laws of morality, as confirmed and supported by religion, is no where more complete; in no part of the world is property more secure. A stranger in these regions, behaving inoffensively, will not only travel in perfect safety, but be kindly received, and welcomed with affectionate hospitality. On

* This beef-soup has gone out of fashion, as many cannot now indulge in animal food. It was called *inerich*, and considered so nourishing, that, even in my own time, it was given to delicate persons who required strengthening food.

† Toland's History of the Druids. London, printed 1709.

these unknown coasts, shipwrecks must sometimes happen; and, in all cases of that nature, the mariners are not only saved, where it possibly can be done, and kindly entertained, but their property is secured and preserved, with a degree of care that reflects the highest honour on the natives. During the winter of 1784-5, a vessel, navigated by Danish seamen, having struck on a rock west of Icolmkill, the men, afraid of sinking, took to their boat, and made for that island, leaving the vessel, with the sails set, to drive with the wind and tide. Some of the natives, seeing the vessel rolling, without being under proper management, put off to the ship, and, finding nobody on board, took possession of her, and carried her into Loch Scridan in Mull. The mariners, seeing their vessel safely moored, went and claimed her, and, without hesitation or dispute, obtained full possession, without any salvage or other charge being made, save a few shillings to the men who brought her in. The ship and cargo were then intrusted to the farmer of the land adjoining the port in which she lay, who, for a very trifling consideration, insured the whole cargo to the owners, and delivered it over to them some months afterwards, complete, and in good order. Another vessel was put ashore about the same time in the Island of Coll, the cargo of which was, in like manner, saved by Mr Maclean, the respectable chief and laird of the island.

"About the same time, two large vessels, belonging to Clyde, went ashore in the Island of Islay; one of them contained on board ten thousand pounds in specie. As these vessels were not under management merely because of the sickness and lassitude of the crew, as often happens from a long voyage, although the weather was not tempestuous, the cargoes were taken out, and placed along the shores in the best way they could. The vessels were then got off, and when the articles of the two cargoes were collected together, there was not one thing missing, save one barrel of tar, which had probably been hove overboard, or lost through carelessness. But the most singular instance of the kind I met with was the following. A vessel from Ireland, laden with linen yarn, was stranded in Islay. The weather happened to become easy, and the cargo was got out; but as it was drenched in salt water, it became necessary to have the whole washed in fresh water. This was done in a river that was near, and the yarn spread about along some extensive fields near the shore. Several hundred persons were employed in this work for several weeks. Yarn is the staple manufacture of the island, so that the temptation for embezzlement was very great, as a discovery in these circumstances would have been extremely difficult. Yet when the whole was collected together, to the utter astonishment of the parties concerned, a very few hanks of the yarn, (about five or six to the best of my recollection,) value about two or three shillings, were wanting.

"I gladly record these instances of honesty and friendly care of

the unfortunate. How different from what I have been witness to on the coast of England and Ireland!" *

In a recent scientific work, the author speaks of the hospitality of the Highlanders, as forming a striking contrast to their exorbitant demands, when payment is expected. These demands (as stated by Dr Macculloch) are much at variance with Mr Fraser's statement. Both are subtantially correct. "This habitual extortion," says the Doctor, "presents an amusing, but not an inexplicable contrast to the hospitality, which every one who has travelled in this country must also have experienced. The milk is given with the utmost generosity, but if purchased, even from the same individual, ten times the value is required." † This inconsistency, as this Geologist justly observes, is not inexplicable. Hospitality and kindness to strangers proceed from the natural disposition; the exorbitant demand for that which, under other circumstances, would be presented with cheerfulness, proceeds from the trafficking spirit which has now reached the Highlands, and is gradually superseding all gratuitous kindness and disinterested hospitality. Men who are not in the habit of demanding payment for hospitality or for accidental personal services, know not what to ask. The man who would ask two shillings for a quart of milk, would work a whole day for a shilling, or run ten miles with a letter or message without any payment. A Highland lad will enlist to serve for life, along with a friend, for a trifling or nominal bounty; but if an attempt be made to bargain with the same lad, no sum, perhaps, will tempt him to enlist; or if he do listen to proposals, he will demand a sum out of all reason. I have seen Highland soldiers spring forward to cover their officers from the shot of the enemy; I have seen them endeavouring to restrain their officers, and to keep them under cover, while they fully exposed themselves, in the expectation of diverting the attention of the enemy from their commanders; I have seen the same soldiers disputing a penny in their accounts with the same officers, and, this perhaps, only a few days after this voluntary hazard of their lives to shelter them.

G, Page 41.

The most noted of these was the celebrated Robert Macgregor Campbell, or Rob Roy, well known, in his own and after times, as the most daring freebooter of his day, and latterly celebrated by the great and faithful Delineator of the character and manners of our countrymen, who has recalled to the recollection of the aged, scenes and circumstances which they had almost forgotten,—showed to the

* See Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, on the best Means of Improvement of the Coasts and Western Isles of Scotland, and the extension of the White Fisheries, by Robert Fraser, Esq.

† Dr Macculloch's Description of the Western Isles.

young what their forefathers saw in their days,—and taught all to appreciate the blessing of living under laws which protect their persons and property, and which forbid the injured or the turbulent to redress their grievances by the sword. Much, perhaps too much, has already been said about this man; but as his actions have formed the subject of one of the most popular works of the age, it may be desirable to state a few particulars explanatory of his birth, character, and conduct, and also of the primary cause of his adopting the lawless course of life which he led for many years. The few notices which follow may be considered as perfectly authentic, being communicated by men who were either sharers in his different exploits, or were perfectly acquainted with the leader and many of his followers.

The father of the present Mr Stewart of Ardvorlich knew Rob Roy intimately, and attended his funeral in 1736, the last at which a piper officiated in the Highlands of Perthshire.* The late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, Mr Macnab of Inchewan, and several gentlemen of my acquaintance, also knew Rob Roy and his family. Alexander Stewart, one of his followers, afterwards enlisted in the Black Watch. He was wounded at Fontenoy, and discharged with a pension in 1746. Some time after this period he was engaged by my grandmother, then a widow, as a *grieve* or overseer to direct and take charge of the farm-servants. In this situation he proved a faithful trust-worthy servant, and was by my father continued in his situation till his death. He told many anecdotes of Rob Roy and his party, among whom he was distinguished by the name of the Bailie, a title which he ever after retained. It was before him that people were sworn, when it was necessary to bind them to secrecy.

Robert Macgregor Campbell† was a younger son of Donald Macgregor of Glengyle, in Perthshire, by a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, sister of the individual who commanded at Glenco.‡ He

* The pipers on these occasions played a solemn dirge, which served the same purpose as bells in towns, organs in churches, and bands of music at military funerals or executions. The difference was only in the instruments used: the principle and effect were the same in all. This ancient custom was revived three years ago at the funeral of a most exemplary, patriarchal, and honourable Chieftain, the late Sir John Murray Macgregor of Lanrick, Baronet.

† After the name of Macgregor was suppressed by act of Parliament in 1622, individuals of the clan assumed the names of the chiefs or landlords on whose estates they lived, or adopted the names of such men of rank and power as could afford them protection. Thus, Rob Roy, took the name of his friend and protector the Duke of Argyll, while his son James, putting himself under the protection of the family of Perth, took the name of Drummond. This cruel and degrading act was repealed in 1775. Now the clan Macgregor may assume and sign their own names to bonds and deeds, (formerly no document signed by a Macgregor was legal,) but numbers do not avail themselves of this indulgence. Many Macgregors have not assumed their original name.

‡ In a contract of amity and *manrent* between this Donald Macgregor and John Buchanan of Arnprior, he is called Colonel. In this contract, which is dated 24th May 1693, Colonel Macgregor becomes bound for himself, and for all those descended of his family, or "Clan Duil Cheire," to support Arnprior in all difficul-

was born some time between 1657 and 1660, and married Helen Campbell of the family of Glenfalloch. As cattle was at that period the principal marketable produce of the hills, the younger sons of gentlemen had few other means of procuring an independent subsistence, than by engaging in this sort of traffic. At an early period Rob Roy was one of the most respectable and successful *drovers* in his district. Before the year 1707 he had purchased of the family of Montrose the lands of Craigrostane, on the banks of Lochlomond, and had relieved some heavy debts on his nephew's estate of Glengyle. While in this prosperous state, he continued respected for his honourable dealings both in the Lowlands and Highlands. Previous to the Union no cattle had been permitted to pass the English border. As a boon or encouragement, however, to conciliate the people to that measure, a free intercourse was allowed. The Marquis of Montrose, created Duke the same year, and one of the most zealous partisans of the Union, was the first to take advantage of this privilege, and immediately entered into partnership with Rob Roy, who was to purchase the cattle and drive them to England for sale; the Duke and he advancing an equal sum, (10,000 merks each, a sum which would have purchased 500 head of cattle in those days, when the price of the best ox or cow was seldom twenty shillings), all transactions beyond this amount to be on credit. The purchases having been completed, Macgregor drove them to England; but so many people had entered into a similar speculation, that the market was completely overstocked, and the cattle sold for much less than prime cost. Macgregor returned home, and went to the Duke to settle the account of their partnership, and to pay the money advanced with the deduction of the loss. The Duke, who had taken Macgregor's bond for the money, it is said, would consent to no deduction, but insisted on principal and interest. "In that case, my Lord," said Macgregor, "if these be your principles, I shall not make it my principle to pay the interest, nor my interest to pay the principal; so if your Grace do not stand your share of the loss, you shall have no money from me." On this they separated. No settlement of accounts followed, the one insisting on retaining the money unless the other would consent to bear his share of the loss. Nothing decisive was done till the Rebellion of 1715, when Rob Roy "was out," his nephew Glengyle commanding a numerous body of the Macgregors, but under the control of his uncle's superior judgment and experience. On this occasion the Duke of Montrose's share of the cattle speculation was expended. The next year his Grace took legal means to recover his money, and got possession of the lands of Craigrostane on account of his bond. This rendered Macgregor desperate. Determined that his Grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared

ties and against all aggressors. This "Clan Duil Cheire" have lately been brought to notice, as the "Children of the Mist" of a celebrated and popular work.

open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should, in future, supply him with cattle, and that he would make the Duke rue the day in which he had quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years, that is, till the day of his death, levied regular contributions on the Duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations and robberies, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; at an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district; always passing over those not belonging to the Duke's estate, as well as the estates of his friends and adherents: And having previously given notice where he was to be by a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or trystes, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyll protected him.

When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the Duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to suffer in every way. The rents of the lower or cultivated farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a store-house or granary called a *girnal*, near the Loch of Monteith. When Macgregor required a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the Duke's tenants to meet him at the girnal, on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his Grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the Duke's store-house, in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn (the factor) had collected the tenants to receive their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent except Alexander Stewart, "the Bailie," whom I have already mentioned. With this single attendant, he descended to Chapellairoch, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money, which he had received, and was in the act of depositing in a press or cupboard; at the same time saying, that he would cheerfully give all in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he requested them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn,

whom he ordered to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he had received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the Duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made against them, on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, "to show his Grace," said he, "that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him." After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying, that as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill; and after they had drank heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn, that he would not move from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him: "If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this," pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired.

At another collection of rents by the same gentleman, Macgregor made his appearance, and carried him away with his servants, to a small island in Loch Catrine; and having kept him there for several days, entertaining him in the best manner, as a Duke's representative ought to be, he dismissed him, with the usual receipts and compliments to his Grace. In this manner did this extraordinary man live, in open violation and defiance of the laws, and died peaceably in his bed when nearly eighty years of age. His funeral was attended by all the country round, high and low, the Duke of Montrose and his immediate friends only excepted. How such things could happen at so late a period must appear incredible; and this, too, within thirty miles of the garrisons of Stirling and Dumbarton, and the populous city of Glasgow; and, indeed, with a small garrison stationed at Inversnaid, in the heart of the country, and on the estate which had belonged to Macgregor, for the express purpose of checking his depredations. The truth is, the thing could not have happened, had it not been for the peculiarity of the man's character; for, with all his lawless spoliations and unremitting acts of vengeance and robbery against the Montrose family, he had not an enemy in the country, beyond the sphere of their influence. He never hurt or meddled with the property of a poor man, and, as I have stated, was always careful that his great enemy should be the principal, if not the only sufferer. Had it been otherwise, it was quite impossible that, notwithstanding all his enterprise, address, intrepidity, and vigilance, he could have long escaped in a populous country, with a warlike people well qualified to execute any daring exploit, such as the seizure of this man, had they been his enemies, and willing to undertake it. Instead of which, he lived socially among them, that is, as socially as an outlaw, always under a certain degree of alarm,

could do,—giving the education of gentlemen to his sons, * frequenting the most populous towns, and whether in Edinburgh, Perth, or Glasgow, equally safe; at the same time that he displayed great and masterly address in avoiding, or calling for public notice.

These instances of his address struck terror into the minds of the troops, whom he often defeated and out-generalled. One of these instances occurred in Breadalbane, in the case of an officer and forty chosen men sent out after him. The party crossed through Glenfalloch to Tynedrum, and Macgregor, who had correct information of all their movements, was with a party in the immediate neighbourhood. He put himself in the disguise of a beggar, with a bag of meal hung on his back, (in those days, alms were always bestowed in produce), went to the inn at Tynedrum where the party was quartered, walked into the kitchen with great seeming indifference, and sat down among the soldiers. They soon found the beggar a lively, sarcastic fellow, and began to attempt some practical jokes upon him. He pretended to be very angry, and threatened to inform Rob Roy, who would quickly show them they were not to give, with impunity, such usage to a poor and harmless person. He was immediately asked what he knew of Rob Roy, and if he could tell where he was. On his answering that he knew him well, and where he was, the sergeant informed the officer, who immediately sent for him.

After some conversation, the beggar consented to accompany them to Crianlarich, a few miles distant, where he said Rob Roy and his men were, and that he believed their arms were lodged in one house, while they were sitting in another. He added, that Rob Roy was friendly and sometimes joked with him, and put him at the head of his table; and, "when it is dark," said he, "I will go forward, you will follow in half an hour, and, when near the house, rush on, place your men at the back of the house, ready to seize on the arms of the Highlanders, while you shall go round to the front with the sergeant

* One of his sons, who died not many years ago, was very young at his father's death, and did not receive so good an education as his brothers. Another son, James Drummond Macgregor, was implicated with his brother Robert in carrying off by force a rich widow, whom he afterwards married. For this crime they were tried and condemned. Robert was executed in 1753. His execution is thus noticed in the Caledonian Mercury of 7th February 1753: "Yesterday Robert Macgregor Campbell, alias Rob Roy Ogg, was executed in the Grass Market, for the forcibly carrying away of the deceased Mrs Jean Keay, heiress of Edenbelly; he was genteely dressed, and read on a volume of Gother's Works from the prison to the place of execution." James escaped from prison, and fled to France, where he lived in great poverty; but, being a man of considerable talent and address, he was offered a sum of money for communicating intelligence—in short, to be employed as a spy for the French Government. An idea of his education, and of his principles, may be formed from some letters published in Blackwood's Magazine in 1818, and from his rejection of an employment which he considered dishonourable in itself, and detrimental to the good of his country, although banished from it, and having little prospect of being ever permitted to return. He died in France in great poverty, being chiefly supported by some benevolent countrymen.

and two men, walk in, and call out that the whole are your prisoners; and don't be surprised although you see me at the head of the company." As they marched on, they had to pass a rapid stream at Dalrie, a spot celebrated on account of the defeat of Robert Bruce, by Macdougal of Lorn, in the year 1306. Here the soldiers asked their merry friend the beggar to carry them through on his back. This he did, sometimes taking two at a time till he took the whole over, demanding a penny from each for his trouble. When it was dark they pushed on, (the beggar having gone before), the officer following the directions of his guide, and darting into the house with the sergeant and three soldiers. They had hardly time to look to the end of the table where they saw the beggar standing, when the door was shut behind them, and they were instantly pinioned, two men standing on each side, holding pistols to their ears, and declaring that they were dead men if they uttered a word. The beggar then went out and called in two more men, who were instantly secured, and in the same manner with the whole party. Having been disarmed, they were placed under a strong guard till morning, when he gave them a plentiful breakfast, and released them on parole, (the Bailie attending with his dirk, over which the officer gave his parole), to return immediately to their garrison, without attempting any thing more at this time. This promise Rob Roy made secure, by keeping their arms and ammunition as lawful prize of war.

Some time after this, the same officer was again sent in pursuit of this noted character, probably to retrieve his former mishap. In this expedition he was more fortunate, for he took two of the freebooters prisoners in the higher parts of Breadalbane, near the scene of the former exploit, but the conclusion was nearly similar. He lost no time in proceeding in the direction of Perth, for the purpose of putting his prisoners in jail; but Rob Roy was equally alert in pursuit. His men marched in a parallel line with the soldiers, who kept along the bottom of the valley on the south side of Loch Tay, while the others kept close up the side of the hill, anxiously looking for an opportunity to dash down and rescue their comrades, if they saw any remissness or want of attention on the part of the soldiers. Nothing of this kind offered, and the party had passed Tay Bridge, near which they halted and slept. Macgregor now saw that something must soon be done or never, as they would speedily gain the Low country and be out of his reach. In the course of the night he procured a number of goat-skins and cords, with which he dressed himself and his party in the wildest manner possible, and, pushing forward before daylight, took post near the road side, in a thick wood below Grandtully Castle. When the soldiers came in a line with the party in ambush, the Highlanders, with one leap, darted down upon them, uttering such yells and shouts, as, along with their frightful appearance, so confounded the soldiers, that they were overpowered and disarmed without a man being hurt on either side. Rob Roy kept the arms and ammunition, released the soldiers, and marched away in triumph with his rescued men.

The terror of his name was much increased by exploits like these, which, perhaps, lost nothing by the telling, as the soldiers would not probably be inclined to diminish the danger and fatigues of a duty in which they were so often defeated. But it is unnecessary to repeat the stories preserved and related of this man and his actions, which were always daring and well contrived, often successful, but never directed against the poor, nor prompted by revenge, except against the Duke of Montrose, and without an instance of bloodshed committed by any of his party, except in their own defence.* In his war against the Montrose family he was supported and abetted by the Duke of Argyll, from whom he always received shelter when hard pressed, or, to use a hunting term, when he was in danger of being earthed by the troops.† These two powerful families were still rivals, although Montrose had left the Tories and joined Argyll and the Whig interest. It is said that Montrose reproached Argyll in the House of Peers with protecting the robber Rob Roy, when the latter, with his usual eloquence and address, parried off the accusation, (which he could not deny), by jocularly answering, that, if he protected a robber, the other supported and fed him.

H, Page 66.

THIS man had been a sergeant in the French service, and came over to Scotland in the year 1745. From his large size he was called Sergeant Mor. Having no settled abode, and dreading the consequence of having served in the army of France, and of being afterwards engaged in the Rebellion, he formed a party of outlaws, and took up his residence among the mountains between the counties of Perth, Inverness, and Argyle. While he plundered the cattle of those whom he called his enemies, he protected the property of his friends, and frequently made people on the borders of the Lowlands purchase his forbearance by the payment of *Black Mail*. Many stories are told of this man. On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort-William on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way, and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the Sergeant Mor; he, therefore, requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed; and, while they walked on, they talked much of the Sergeant and his feats, the officer using

* It is said that the last rencounter Macgregor had was a duel with Mr Stewart of Ardshiel. They fought with the broad sword. Magregor being then far advanced in years, and very corpulent, gave up the contest, after receiving a cut in the chin.

† A cave under Craigrostane, and close to Lochlomond, is pointed out as one of his hiding places. If, contrary to the general opinion of the people, he ever lived in caves, it is probable that he would not make choice of such an one as that at Craigrostane, whence an escape would be impossible if an enemy discovered the hiding place, and guarded the entrance. Rob Roy was not a man likely to trust himself in such a place on any emergency, or danger from an enemy.

much freedom with his name, calling him robber, murderer.—"Stop there," interrupted his companion, "he does indeed take the cattle of the Whigs and Sassanachs, but neither he nor his kearnachs ever shed innocent blood; except once," added he, "that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (the spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners, retreating as fast as we could after such a misfortune." "You," says the officer, "what had you to do with the affair?" "I am John Dhu Cameron—I am the Sergeant Mor; there is the road to Inverlochay—you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send in future a more wary messenger for his gold. Tell him also, that, although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me." The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related.

Some time after this, the Sergeant Mor was betrayed by a treacherous friend, and taken by a party under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro. This happened at the farm of Dunan, in Rannoch, where he was in the habit of sleeping in safety, till that night, when it is said that his landlord sent notice to Lieutenant Munro, who was stationed two miles distant. Cameron slept in a barn, his arms having, as was supposed, been secretly removed, by his false friend. He was found asleep, and the soldiers rushed in and seized him; but, being a powerful man, he shook them all off, and made his way to the door, where he was overpowered by those on the outside. He threw off one of the soldiers with such force against the wall of the barn, that he was long disabled by the bruises. Cameron was carried to Perth, and tried before the Court of Justiciary for the murder in Braemar, and various acts of theft and cattle stealing. One of these acts of theft was stealing from the Duke of Atholl's parks at Blair two wedders, which the party killed for food, on their retreat from Braemar. Cameron was executed at Perth on the 23d of November 1753, and hung in chains.

It was then the practice, in the Court of Justiciary, to call the Doomster (an officer so called) into Court after sentence of death was passed, to place his hand on the head of the criminal, as a token that he was in future to be under his care. A friend of mine, who was present at this trial, informed me, that when the Doomster approached the Sergeant Mor, he exclaimed, "Keep the caitiff off, let him not touch me;" and stretching his arms as if to strike, the Doomster was so terrified by his look, action, and voice, that he shrunk back, and retired from the Court, without going through the usual ceremony.

I, Page 71.

Beague, in his History of the Scotch Campaigns of 1548 and

1549, describing the battle of Pinkie, in which the Scots were defeated, says, " The Highlanders, who show their courage on all occasions, gave proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome and orderly retreat. They are armed with broad swords, large bows, and targets."

" The armour," says the author of " Certayne Matters," in 1597, " with which they covered their bodies in times of war, is an iron bonnet, and halberzion side almost even with their heels; the weapons against their enemies are bows and arrows; they fight with broad swords and axes; in place of a drum they use a bagpipe; they delight much in music, but chiefly in harps and clairsshoes (*clairsach* is the Gaelic for harp) of their own fashion." The author of " Memoirs of a Cavalier," speaking of the Highlandrs in the Scotch army under General Leslie in 1640, says, " I confess the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the Highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable. They were generally tall swinging-looking fellows; their swords were extravagantly broad; and they carried large wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper parts of their bodies. Their dress was antique as the rest; a flat cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublets, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of Merry Andrews, ready for Bartholomew fair. They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another by his Christian name, as James, John, Rob, and Allister, that is Alexander, and the like; and they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront; but to their own chiefs or lairds they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. To give them their due, were their skill and exercise and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the best soldiers in the world. They have large bodies, and prodigious strong, and two qualities above all other nations, viz. hardy to endure fatigue, hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it, for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them, and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. There were some of them, as I observed before, went out in parties with their horse. There were 3,000 or 4,000 of these in the Scotch army, armed only with swords and targets, and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no musquets at that time among them. But there were also a great many Scotch regiments of disciplined men, who, by their carrying their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces, that they durst see an enemy."

K, Page 72.

Two which occurred in the reign of Charles II. were among the last instances of bowmen being employed in the Highlands. After a long and protracted feud between the Lairds of Mackintosh and Lochiel, commencing in a claim of the former to lands held by the latter, Mackintosh, to enforce his claim, raised his clan, and assisted by the Macphersons, marched to Lochaber with 1,500 men. He was met by Lochiel with 1,200 men, of whom 300 were Macgregors. About 300 were armed with bows. When preparing to engage, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, came in sight, with 500 men, and sent them notice, that if either of them refused to agree to the terms which he had to propose, he would throw his force into the opposite scale. This was a strong argument, and not easily refuted. After some hesitation, his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud amicably and finally settled.

The other instance happened about the same time, in a contest beween the Macdonalds of Glenco and the Breadalbane men. The former being on their return from a foray in the low country, attempted to pass through Breadalbane without giving due notice, or paying the accustomed compliment to the Earl, who, a short time previous, had been raised to that rank. A number of his Lordship's followers, and a great many others, who were assembled at the castle of Finlarig to celebrate the marriage of a daughter of the family, enraged at this insult, instantly rushed to arms, and following the Macdonalds, with more ardour than prudence, attacked them on the top of a hill north from the village of Killin, where they had taken post to defend their cattle. The assailants were driven back with great loss, principally caused by the arrows of the Lochaber men. It is said that nineteen young gentlemen of the name of Campbell, immediate descendants of the family, fell on that day. Colonel Menzies of Culdares, who had been an active partisan under the Marquis of Argyll and the Covenanters in the civil wars, and whose prudent advice of attacking in flank the hot-headed youth despised, had nine arrow wounds in his legs and thighs. These wounds he received in retreating across the river Lochy, and when ascending the hill on the opposite side of the valley. Though the arrows were well aimed, they lost much of their force by the distance; consequently the wounds were slight.

The yew was the common material of the bows of the Highlanders,

> " who drew,
> And almost joined the horns of the tough yew. "

Within the church-yard of Fortingal, Perthshire, the ruins of an enormous yew-tree still remain. The stem is now separated into two parts; the principal, although only a mere shell, the centre being entirely decayed, measures thirty-two feet in circumference. Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon, and my grandfather, used to say, that when

they were boys, (about the year 1725,) the parts now separated were united, when the whole stem measured fifty-six feet in circumference. This venerable relic, which appears so respectable in its decay, has suffered much from delapidations. Tradition says, that warriors, at one time, cut their bows from it; latterly dirk-makers, shoemakers, and others, made handles from it for their dirks, awls, and other instruments; and it has suffered greatly from the curiosity of modern tourists.

In the original charter for building the church of Perone, in Piccardy dated in the year 684, a clause was inserted, directing the proper preservation of a yew-tree, which was in existence in the year 1790, nearly 1100 years after this notice of it in the charter,—a remarkable instance of the durability of this species of wood.

L, Page 79.

WITHIN these few years, an opinion has prevailed, that the truis is the ancient garb of the Highlanders, and that the plaid, kilt, and bonnet, are of modern invention. This opinion, adopted by many, is supported by a writer in the SCOTS MAGAZINE of 1798. This author endeavours to prove that the plaid and philibeg must be modern, and assigns, as a reason, that they are not mentioned by ancient authors; and that, in all monumental figures and statues of the ancient kings of Ireland, the kilt never appears as part of their garb. But as those authors generally wrote in Latin, the words plaid and kilt could not probably be expressed in appropriate terms; and as the Irish kings were not Highlanders, there appears no good reason for supposing that they should be represented in kilts. The author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier" says, that a body of 4,000 Highlanders, whom he saw with the Scotch army in 1640, wore flat caps on their heads, called by them bonnets, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublets, *breeches*, and stockings, of a kind of stuff they called plaids, striped across, red, green, and yellow, with short cloaks of the same." Now, as this author mentions neither truis nor kilt, it might be supposed that those articles of dress were not in use so late as the reign of Charles I., that breeches only were worn, and that truis and kilt were adopted since that period; although it is well known that the truis is a very ancient, but not the only ancient, dress of the Caledonians. Beague, in his History of the Campaigns in Scotland in 1548 and 1549, printed in Paris, in 1556, states, that at the siege of Haddington, in 1549, "they (the Scotch army) were followed by the Highlanders, and these last go *almost naked*; they have painted waistcoats, and a sort of wollen covering, variously coloured." As the author wrote in French, perhaps he did not understand the terms tartan, plaid, and kilt, and as the people wore painted waiscoats and *coloured coverings*, it is probable, that, if they had had the addition of truis, they would not have been described as "almost naked." The author of "Certayne Matters" says, that in his days, (previous to 1597), "they (the Highlanders) delighted much in mar-

bled clothes, specially that has long stripes of sundrie colours; their predecessors used short mantles of divers colours, sundrie ways divided." The author first mentioned states, that plaids and tartan came from Flanders to the Lowlands of Scotland, in the sixteenth century, and thence passed to the Highlands; but is it certain that tartan was known in Flanders, and that tartan and the kilt were worn in the Lowlands, before their supposed passage to the mountains? But allowing, what is very improbable, that the fashion of striped and variegated clothes, or tartan, came from Flanders, it must have been much earlier than the sixteenth century; for we find by the chartularies of the Episcopal See of Aberdeen, lately edited by John Graham Dalyel, Esq. that the statutes or canons of the Scottish church, in the years 1242 and 1249, and the ordinances and regulations of the See of Aberdeen, 1256, directs that all ecclesiastics be suitably apparelled, avoiding *red*, *green*, *stripped clothing*, and their garments not to be shorter than to the *middle of the leg*. Now, this red green striped clothing must have been tartan, and the forbidden garment worn shorter than to the middle of the leg, the kilt.

But, to return to the article in the Scots Magazine, it is stated, that the garb is called "beggarly, *effeminate*, (this, I apprehend, is rather an unexpected characteristic,) grossly indecent and absurd," to say nothing of the tasteless regularity and "*vulgar glare of tartan.*" * The colours of the tartan do not appear so red and glaring as the peers' robes, the military uniforms, or the royal livery, which therefore cannot with propriety be called vulgar, considering those who wear them. But this author's remarks deserve no attention; and as on the whole, it is not probable that a people, at so late a period, would assume a garb totally unknown in the world, and in their cold climate put away the warm breeches, and expose half their body to the blast, there are the better grounds for the undivided opinion of the people themselves, that as far back as they have any tradition, the truis, *breachan-na-feal*, (the kilted plaid,) and philibeg, have ever been the dress of the Highlanders. The truis were used by gentlemen on horseback, and by others as they were inclined, but the common garb of the people was the plaid and kilt. This was the usual dress down till the act passed for the suppression of the garb. When gentlemen travelled southward, it was generally on horseback, consequently they wore the truis, and were often in armour; of course the Lowlanders would the more readily notice the former as a prominent part of the mountain garb, and describe it accordingly.†

* One of the most distinguished artists of the age, Mr West, late President of the Royal Academy, differs from this opinion. He has expressed his surprise at the blending and arrangement of the colours, and considers, "that great art (that is to say, much knowledge of the principles of colouring with pleasing effect) has been displayed in the composition of the tartans of several clans, regarding them in general as specimens of natural taste, something analogous to the affecting, but artless strains of the native music of Scotland."

† My great-grand-father's portrait is in complete armour, with a full-bottomed wig reaching down nearly to his waist, according to the fashion of King William's and Queen Anne's reigns. This portrait was painted in London, where he never

M, Page 87.

THE weddings were the delight of all ages. Persons from ten years of age to four score attended them. Some weeks previous to the marriage-day, the bride and bridegroom went round their respective friends, to the distance of many miles, for the purpose of inviting them to the wedding. To repay this courtesy, the matrons of the invited families returned the visit within a few days, always well supplied with presents of beef, hams, butter, cheese, spirits, malt, and whatever they thought necessary for the ensuing feast. These, with what the guests paid for their entertainment, and the gifts presented the day after the marriage, were often so considerable, as to contribute much to the future settlement of the young couple. On the wedding-morning, the bridegroom, escorted by a party of friends, and preceded by pipers, commenced a round of morning calls, to remind their invited friends of their engagements. This circuit sometimes occupied several hours, and as many joined the party, it might perhaps be increased to some hundreds, when they returned to the bridegroom's house. The bride went a similar round among her friends. The bridegroom gave a dinner to his friends, and the bride to hers. During the whole day, the fiddlers and pipers were in constant employment. The fiddlers played to the dancers in the house, and the pipers to those in the field. * The ceremony was generally performed after dinner. Sometimes the clergyman attended, sometimes they waited on him: the latter was preferred, as the walk to his house with such a numerous attendance added to the eclat of the day. On these occasions the young men supplied themselves with guns and pistols, with which they kept up a constant firing. This was answered from every hamlet as they passed along, so that, with streamers flying, pipers playing, the constant firing from all sides, and the shouts of the young men, the whole had the appearance of a military array passing, with all the noise of warfare, through a hostile country. The young couple never met on the wedding-day till they came before the clergyman, when the marriage rites were performed, with a number of

wore the Highland garb. Yet this is given as an instance of the garb not being in use among gentlemen. Had his picture been painted in the Highlands, it would probably have been done in his usual dress, which was the tartan, &c.

* Playing the bagpipes within doors is a Lowland and English custom. In the Highlands the piper is always in the open air; and when people wish to dance to his music, it is on the green, if the weather permits; nothing but necessity makes them attempt a pipe dance in the house. The bagpipe was a field instrument intended to call the clans to arms, and animate them in battle, and was no more intended for a house, than a round of six-pounders. A broadside from a first rate, or a round from a battery, has a sublime and impressive effect at a proper distance. In the same manner, the sound of the bagpipe, softened by distance, had an indescribable effect on the minds and actions of the Highlanders. But as few would choose to be under the muzzle of the guns of a ship of the line or of a battery when in full play, so I have seldom seen a Highlander, whose ears were not grated when close to pipes, however much his breast might be warmed, and his feelings roused, by the sounds to which he had been accustomed in his youth, when proceeding from the proper distance.

ceremonies too minute to particularize. One of these was to untie all the strings and bindings on the person of the bridgroom; nothing to be bound on that occasion, but the one indissoluble knot, which death only could dissolve. The bride was not included in this injunction. She was supposed to be so pure and true, that infidelity on her part was not contemplated. Such were the peculiar notions and delicacy of thinking among a people esteemed rude and uncultivated. As all these ceremonies, which were very numerous and very innocent, added much to the cheerfulness and happiness of the young people, I cannot avoid regretting their partial disuse. Nor can I help preferring a Highland wedding, where I have myself been so happy, and seen so many blithe countenances and eyes sparkling with delight, to such weddings as that of the Laird of Drum, ancestor of the Lord Sommerville, when he married a daughter of Sir James Bannatyne of Corhouse. On that occasion, sanctified by the puritanical cant of the times, there was "one marquis, three earls, two lords, sixteen barons, and eight ministers present at the solemnity, but not one musician; they liked yet better the bleating of the calves of Dan and Bethel, the ministers' long-winded, and sometimes nonsensical graces, little to purpose, than all musical instruments of the sanctuaries, at so solemn an occasion, which, if it be lawful at all to have them, certainly it ought to be upon a wedding-day, for divertisement to the guests, that innocent recreation of music and dancing being much more warrantable, and far better exercise than drinking and smoking of tobacco, wherein the holy brethren of the Presbyterian (persuasion) for the most part employed themselves, without any formal health, or remembrance of their friends, a nod with the head, or a sign with the turning up of the white of the eye, served for the ceremony." * Such was a Scotch wedding towards the end of the seventeenth, and such, I hope, will not be Highland weddings of the nineteenth century, although now seldom countenanced by the presence of chiefs and landlords, as modern manners preserve a greater distance than in former days, when a more cordial communication subsisted between the higher and lower orders.

N. Page 87.

It has often been said that the music of Scotland was borrowed from Italy, and that David Rizzio first gave it the stamp and character which it now bears. If this opinion be well founded, it would be desirable to show what part of the Scottish music has been borrowed, what is original, and whether this particular kind of music was ever known in Italy. Bagpipes are common in Italy, particularly among the Tyrolese in the north, and the Calabrese in the south; yet, is it probable that the Highland pibrochs came either from Italy or the Tyrol? The Reel of Tulloch, Rothiemurchus Rant, and Jenny Dang

* Memoirs of the Sommerville Family.

the Weaver, cannot well claim any near connexion with Italian music. Mackintosh's Lament, and Craguana in the north, the Birks of Invermay in the centre, and the Flowers of the Forest in the south of Scotland, from their melody, bear some resemblance to the Italian; but as there must be a similarity in all melodious sounds, it is probable, that the connexion between the softer music of Scotland and of Italy is only to be found in their beauty, and that the Pibroch, Reel, Strathspey, Lament, and Songs, are peculiar to the country. The opinion which attributes the melody of the Scotch songs to Rizzio, and the sublime and elevated sentiments of Ossian to Macpherson, seem to be founded more on the ideas entertained of the rude and uncultivated state of Scotland, at an early period, as being perfectly incompatible with the delicacy of taste and feeling which both the poetry and music display, than on any authentic information. But where there is a deficiency of authentic information, there is more room for a diversity of opinion, especially as, on one side, all is tradition, supported by many facts; and on the other, all is assertion, without one fact, except some surmises originating in the vanity of Rizzio and Macpherson. The latter had too much honour to assert that he was the author of the poems, although, as the MSS. of which he got possession have disappeared, perhaps he would not have been sorry if the world had given him credit for talents equal to such compositions. The MSS. would have been clear evidence that he was not the author; but he has himself furnished complete evidence, by his poetical works, and other translations, which unfortunately for his literary reputation he published, as if it were to show how inferior they are to his Gaelic translations. However, a fine field of disquisition is opened, and national vanity interposes to darken the question. In the south, it cannot be endured, that a people who have always been considered as rude and savage, should compose, preserve for ages, and enjoy with enthusiasm, the beauties of a body of poetry, equal to what the most refined civilization has produced. In the north, again, the people are impatient and irritated at the attempts to accuse them of fraud and falsehood; and of endeavours to palm on the public the patched-up works of a modern author, as the genuine productions of their ancestors. Had the question, when first agitated, been properly managed, it might have been easily decided, when there were such a cloud of witnesses, and so many people were living who had the poems before Macpherson was born, and who knew that the rehearsal and learning of them formed one of the principal winter pastimes of the people. But, even at that period, who were to be the judges? The southern unbelievers could not have understood one word of the poems in dispute, although all the bards in the north had been assembled, and each had recited Macpherson's publication verbatim in the *original*. The Highlanders, the only people who understood the language, and could judge properly, would not have been believed, although they had asserted, that the recitals of the bards and the translations coincided perfectly. In such a determined difference

of opinion, how is the point to be settled? All, therefore, who believe that Rizzio did not, in any manner whatever, originate the national music of Scotland, and that the poems ascribed to Ossian are very ancient, and so authentic as to have been handed down from father to son for ages beyond the reach of record, will continue of this belief; while those who are of the contrary opinion must remain so, as there are no proofs such as they require, that is, books or manuscripts. The manuscripts on which so much stress was laid were not many centuries old, and did in no manner prove who was the author. Had they been preserved, they would only have established this point,—certainly of some importance in the controversy,—that the poems were not the composition of a modern author; but as I believe it has not yet been ascertained in what MSS. the works of Homer were found and transmitted to posterity, Ossian's poems, whoever may have been the author or authors of them, are in good company when in a similar predicament.

O, Page 90.

While game was in such abundance as to form part of the subsistence of the people, at a time when many had the means of destruction ready, and much liberty was given, it appears remarkable, that, now, when preserved with such jealous care, it is, in many places, become so scarce, as only to furnish a short pastime to a comparatively few privileged individuals; a fact which might lead to a belief, that too great care defeats its own object, and ensures the evil against which it seeks to guard. It is certain, that in moors which annually afford an apparently inexhaustible supply, and where good marksmen have been known to shoot more than one hundred birds in a forenoon, the game seems to increase instead of diminishing by this periodical destruction, persevered in, as it has been, for weeks, each successive season; whereas, in other moors strictly preserved, the birds are fewer in number, and becoming very scarce; at the same time, that I have been assured by men well acquainted with the state of these grounds in past times, that game was as abundant as on those which now furnish the greatest numbers. The mountains of Breadalbane, Athole, Badenoch, and other districts, furnish marked instances of this scarcity of game when protected, and of abundance where the greatest annual destruction prevails. For the singular fact that the periodical killing of game does not diminish the annual increase, various reasons are assigned. It is said, that when the old birds are left, they chase away in spring all the young brood of the preceding season, and that these take shelter on grounds where the old birds had been killed. It is also said, that in preserved moors, poachers are more frequent, bold, and destructive, in the expectation, as few frequent them, that they will not be discovered. A third assigned cause, and, in appearance, the most destructive of game, is, that the farmers and shepherds who occupy these moors, irritated by severe restrictions, tormented by threats of punishment, and insulted by the arrogance

of insolent game-keepers, instead of being encouraged to preserve the game, and, instead of being allowed to derive from it either benefit or amusement, make a practice, in many cases, of feeding their dogs with the eggs, and when these escape their notice, accustom them to search for and destroy the young brood before they are fledged. Whether any or all of these causes affect the decrease of game, there appears little doubt, that judging from the character of the Highlanders, a kind and liberal indulgence to tenants in a moderate use of the gun on their own grounds, with strict injunction to their shepherds to be careful of the nests and of the young, and not to burn the heather in improper seasons, or in those places most frequented by the game, (although burning the heath in moderation is advisable, as the young sprouts furnish their principal food), and along with this indulgence, the offer of small premiums to the shepherds for each covey of eight or more birds they can produce in their pasture, would make it their interest to preserve the game; no person could escape notice; and thus, they would form a better protection against poachers, than prosecutions, fines, and imprisonment.

P, Page 92.

In the common transactions of the people, written obligations were seldom required, and although the bargains were frequently concluded in the most private manner,* there were few instances of a failure in, or denial of, their engagements. A gentleman of the name of Stewart agreed to lend a considerable sum of money to a neighbour. When they had met, and the money was already counted down on the table, the borrower offered a receipt. As soon as the lender (grandfather of the late Mr Stewart of Ballachulish) heard this, he immediately took up his money, saying, that a man who could not trust his own word without a bond, should not be trusted by him, and would have none of his money, which he put up in his purse and returned home. An inhabitant of the same district, father of the late Dr Smith of Campbelton, and of Donald Smith, M. D. eminent for antiquarian learning and research, kept a retail shop for nearly fifty years, and supplied the whole district, then full of people, with all their little merchandise. He neither gave nor asked any receipts. At Martinmas of each year, he collected the amount of his sales, which were always paid to a day. In one of his annual rounds, a customer happened to be from home, consequently, he returned unpaid; but, before he was out of bed the following morning, he was awakened by a

* When their money agreements or other negotiations were to be concluded and confirmed, the contracting parties went out by themselves to the open air, and looking upwards, called Heaven to witness their engagements, at the same time each party repeating the promise of payment, and, by way of seal, putting a mark on some remarkable stone, or other natural object, which had been noticed by those ancestors whose memory they so much respected and loved, and whom from the superstitious notions of the times they believed were permitted to look down upon them and their actions and conduct.

call from his customer, who came to pay his account. After the business was settled, his neighbour said, "You are now paid; I would not for my best cow * that I should sleep while you wanted your money after your term of payment, and that I should be the last in the country in your debt." Unfortunately, new regulations, new views of Highland statistics, and the novel practice of letting land to the highest bidder, regardless of the fidelity and punctual payment of old occupiers, have occasioned a melancholy change. Few of the late moral population now remain, and that few are mostly reduced to the condition of cottars and day-labourers. The person who now occupies the shop, a son of the former possessor, must not only keep strict accounts, but give short credits, and calculate on an annual reduction of his profits by bad payments; and he is in little danger of being deprived of his morning slumbers by debtors anxious to pay, and ashamed of being in debt. This is now too common to be a reproach, and is one of the many concomitants of modern improvements and civilization, as they have been forced on and practised in the Highlands.

Q, Page 101.

In the Highlands, where so many of the same name live in the same district or glen, some denomination for distinguishing individuals beyond that of the generic name is indispensable. In the late Sutherland Fencible Regiment there were 17 William Mackays in Captain Sackville Sutherland's company, and 104 in the regiment. When the 2d battalion of the 78th Highlanders was raised in 1804, an ensign from Ross-shire brought 18 men of his own name, of Macrae, as part of his complement of 20, for an ensigncy. On the estates of many noblemen and gentlemen, the number of their own surnames is often beyond all proportion greater than any others. On a part of the estate of Menzies, running four miles along one side of a valley, on the banks of the Tay, there are 502 of the Chief's name, descendants of his family. Many similar instances are still to be met with where gentlemen have retained their ancient tenantry. In Athole, an extensive district of Perthshire, there were, fifty years ago, 36 landholders of the name of Stewart: there are still 23; and in Athole, Strathearn, and Monteith, there are 5000 people of that name, of whom upwards of 1800 are descendents of Neil Stewart of Garth, who died in 1433. In such communities, the want of some distinguishing appellation would lead to confusion. These distinctions were generally made as follows: In the case of a chief by using singly, and by way of distinction, the denomination of son of the first founder, or most renowned man of the family; as, for example, the Duke of Argyll, who is styled *Mac Caillain Mor*, † the son of the great

* My longest horned cow, was the literal Gaelic expression. Long and well-shaped horns are considered as marks of health and strength.

† Although *Mor* is great, the word does not always mean great power, or su-

Colin; *Mac Connel Dhu*, the son of Donald the Black, the name of the chiefs of the Camerons. Under this head there was another distinctions. Chieftains, Cean Tays, or great branches of a clan or family, were distinguished as the sons of the first founder. Such as Breadalbane, a great branch of the clan Campbell; *Mac Caillain Macconachie*, the son of Colin the son of Duncan. * Lairds or landholders were often named from their estates, as Stewart of Grandully, Stewart of Garth, and so on; all others being distinguished by some personal mark which might be either an accidental defect, any natural advantage, or any singularity of colour, figure, or features. The second Marquis of Atholl was known by the name of *Ian a Bheal Mor*, John with the large mouth; John the first Duke of Atholl being blind of an eye, *Ian Cam;* the first Earl of Breadalbane having a pale countenance, *Ian Glas;* the second Earl, *Ian Bachach*, from his being lame. If a man had no personal mark, or patrimonial distinction, he was known by adding the name of his father, as the son of John. This perhaps ran back for three or four generations. However absurd a long string of names may appear in English, it is not so in Gaelic, from the facility of compounding words in that language.

R, Page 102.

THERE are four different spellings of this name; Stewart, Steuart, Stuart, and Steward. The ancient and original name, as spelt by the royal family, is Stewart, taken from the office of Lord High Steward of Scotland, which was hereditary in the family nearly two centuries before the succession of Robert II. to the throne. The original spelling of Stewart continued for several reigns after this succession, till the increased communication between France and Scotland induced so many noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers, to enter the French army. James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, carried with him on one occasion 7000 men, as auxiliaries in the war with England. The Lords of Darnley and Aubigny were frequent visitors in France, and held extensive military commands and possessions there, and following the idiom of the French language, the W being unknown, several began to use the U, and spelt the name *Stuard* or *Stuart*. Mary Queen of Scots being educated in France, likewise adopted that mode of spelling, on her subsequent marriage with the Dauphin, and out of compliment to her husband's language; as did her brother the Earl of Murray, and the families of

perior talent. It was more frequently given to men of large size, or portly persons.

* The people seldom call Lord Breadalbane by his patronymic, but not so the Duke of Argyll, Lord Seaforth, Lord Macdonald, and many others. Riding a few years ago through the Duke of Argyll's parks at Inverary, I observed some young blood horses grazing. A woman happening to pass at that time, I asked her in Gaelic to whom the horses belonged. "To whom should they belong," she answered sharply, "To whom should they belong but to Mac Caillain?" seemingly quite indignant that I should suppose that any man could posses any thing there but Mac Caillain Mor.

Traquair, Bute, Castlemilk, and several others, which from whim or accident changed their names. How much accident influenced this change of name is evident from the circumstance, that Lord Galloway retains the old spelling of Stewart, while Lord Blantyre and other families of the same descent, as Castlemilk, spell Stuart; Allanton, Steuart; Allanbank, a branch of Allanton, Stuart; Coltness, also a branch of Allanton, Stewart: and while Traquair is Stuart, Grandtully, of the same descent and family, is Stewart. The Earl of Murray, before his promotion to that title, when Prior of St Andrews, and previous to the return of Queen Mary from France, spelt his name Stewart, as we find by the following document, signed by him and the Earl of Argyle, and Ruthven Earl of Gowrie, authorizing the Lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid to destroy all images and relics of the Catholic religion in the Cathedral of Dunkeld.

"To our traist friends the Lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid.

"TRAIST friends, after most hearty commendation, we pray you fail not to pass incontinent to the Kirk of Dunkeilden, and tak doon the hail images thereof, and bring them forth to the kirk yaird and burn them openly. And sicklyke cast doon the alters and purge the kirk of all kind of idolatyry. And this ze fail not to do, as ze will do us singular impleasure, and so committeth you to the protection of God.

"From Edinburgh the XII of August 1560.

"Argyle,

"*James Stewart.*

"William Ruthven.

"Fail not, but ze tak guid heyd that neither the desks, windocks, nor duires, be any way hurt or broken, eyther glassin wark or iron wark."

S, Page 106.

IT is a generally received opinion, that the Highlanders are ignorant and uneducated. It is no doubt true, that previous to the present reign, many could not read, or understand what they read in English, and there were few books in their own language; but they had their Bards and Senachies, who taught them in the manner already mentioned. The middle and higher orders of society were as well educated as the youth of any part of the United Kingdom. The gentlemen farmers and tacksmen were certainly better classical scholars than men holding the same occupation and rank in society, in the south. These observations must be confined to the period which has elapsed since the reign of Charles II. as the prior notices are not in a connected series. But, to judge from insulated circumstances, the education of the gentry, and the better order of farmers of an earlier period was not deficient. Of this, the celebrated George Buchanan, the son of a small Highland farmer, was a remarkable in-

stance. On reference to old family charters and papers, it will be found, that the signatures to the former, from and after the year 1500, show a correctness of writing not to be seen in modern times, and not to be acquired without much time and experience. Aware that it might be said that these signatures were written by the notaries and others who drew out these charters, I have compared the signatures of the same persons to different instruments at considerable intervals, and signed in different places, sometimes as principals, at others as witnesses, and I have found them always similar, or in the same hand. Of this I have seen many instances in my own family, as well as in several others. A fair hand is certainly no proof of a classical education; but it is a proof of care having been bestowed on a branch of education which was not then so necessary as it is now, when epistolary communication is so much more frequent. In those days, when there was no public conveyance, and when distant events did not occupy so much of the attention of men, there was not the same inducement to correspond. It may therefore be concluded that they to whose instruction in writing so much attention had been paid, would not be neglected in other branches of education. The fragments of manuscripts and private correspondence which have been preserved in families give evidence of classical attainments, and prove also, that this was not confined to one sex. The following is an instance. There is a manuscript volume preserved in the family of Stewart of Urrard, of 260 pages, consisting of poems, songs, and short tracts, in the Scotch language, written, as is stated on the first page, by Margaret Robertson, (daughter of John Robertson of Lude) and wife of Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid, dated 1643. It is written in a beautiful hand, and with such correctness, that it might be sent to the press.

There were eminent grammar schools in Inverness, Fortrose or Channonry, Dunkeld, &c. The grammar school of Perth was celebrated for ages. From these different seminaries, young men were sent to Aberdeen and St Andrews, and many to Leyden and Douay, The armies of Sweden, Holland, and France, gave employment to the younger sons of the gentry, who were educated abroad; many of these returned with a competent knowledge of modern languages, added to their classical education, often speaking Latin with more purity than Scotch, which these Highlanders sometimes learned after leaving their native homes, where nothing but Gaelic was spoken. The race of Bradwardine is not long extinct. In my own time, several veterans might have sat for the picture, so admirably drawn in Waverley, of that most honourable, brave, learned, and kind-hearted personage, the Baron of Bradwardine. These gentlemen returned from the Continent full of warlike Latin, French phrases, and inveterate broad Scotch, (learned, as I have said, by the Highlanders abroad.) One, I believe of the last of these, Colonel Alexander Robertson, of the Scotch Brigade, uncle of the present Strowan, I well

remember.* I also knew several tacksmen of good learning, who could quote and scan the classics with much ease and rapidity; while the sons of these men are now little better than clowns, knowing nothing beyond English reading and the common rules of arithmetic. When the Hessian troops were quartered in Athole in 1745, the commanding officers, who were accomplished gentlemen, found Latin a ready means of communication at every inn. At Dunkeld, Inver, Blair Athole, Taybridge, &c. every landlord spoke that language, and I have been informed, by eye-witnesses, of the pleasure expressed by a colonel of the Hessian cavalry, when he halted at the inn in Dunkeld, the landlord of which addressed and welcomed him in Latin, the only language they mutually understood. I knew four of these respectable innkeepers, who, like many other valuable classes in the Highlands, have disappeared. Perhaps the landlords of Dunkeld, Blair Athole, or indeed any other Highland inn, will not, even in this educated age, agreeably surprise, or make themselves more acceptable to their customers, by addressing them in Latin.

But it was in the remotest district of the kingdom, the Isle of Skye, and other islands, that classical education was most general. There, the learning of the gentry was quite singular. Few of them went

* Another of the Bradwardine character is still remembered by the Highlanders, with a degree of admiration bordering on enthusiasm. This was John Stewart of the family of Kincardine, in Strathspey, known in the country by the name of John Roy Stewart, an accomplished gentlemen, an elegant scholar, a good poet, a brave soldier, and an able officer. He composed with equal facility in English, Latin, and Gaelic; but it was by his songs, epigrams, and descriptive pieces in the latter language, that he attracted the admiration of his countrymen. He was an active leader in the Rebellion of 1745, and during "his hiding" of many months, he had more leisure to indulge his taste for poetry and song. The country traditions are full of his descriptive pieces, eulogies, and laments on friends, or in allusion to the events of that unfortunate period. He had been long in the service of France and Portugal. He was in Scotland in 1745, and commanded a regiment composed of the tenants of his family, and a considerable number of the followers of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, who had been placed under him. With these, amounting in all to 400 men, he joined the rebel army, and proved one of its ablest partisans. Had the rebel commanders benefited by his judgment and military talents, that deplorable contest would probably have been lengthened, and much additional misery inflicted on the country. Colonel Stewart recommended opposing the passage of the Duke of Cumberland's army across the Spey. Had this advice been acted upon, allowing for the expeditious movements of the rebels, many men must have been lost in forcing the passage of that rapid river. He also opposed fighting on Culloden Moor, which with a level and hard surface, was well calculated for the cavalry and artillery of the royal army. When this advice was rejected, he proposed to attack before the army was formed in order of battle; this also was disregarded, and the attack delayed till the royal army was formed in two lines. It is said that the Irish officers attached to the rebel army, dreading a lengthened campaign in the mountains, opposed retiring farther north, seeing that, in such a field as Culloden, one-third of the Highlanders being absent, and those present, two days without food, and after a long and harrassing night-march to Nairn and back, with an intention of surprising the Duke's army, (as at Preston), the contest would soon be decided, and their lives safe from the laws, whatever was the result. The point was fortunately brought to an issue, and much calamity, the consequence of a lengthened civil war, saved to the country.

abroad, and except the three lairds, Macdonald, Macleod, and Mackinnon, few of them were proprietors. I believe it is rather unique for the gentry of a remote corner to learn Latin merely to talk to each other; yet so it was in Skye. It was remarked that, for a considerable period, the clergymen of the sixteen parishes of Skye, Harris, Lewis, &c., were men of good families, great learning, and consequent influence; their example, therefore, might diffuse and preserve this classical taste. Owing to the same cause, the Isle of Skye songs are sometimes filled with allusions to the heathen deities. While the younger sons of Highland gentlemen were educated for the church, law, or physic, the elder could not be neglected. The elder brothers of Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate to Charles II. and of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Advocate to George II. could not have been uneducated.

But various causes have contributed to a change of manners, and to remove numbers of the ancient race, and have put an end to all university education, except in a few cases, where young men are intended for the learned professions: consequently the last generation did not give their children the same education which they themselves had received. * Thus we see young men sent into the army and other professions with an education not extending beyond reading and arithmetic, and with manners unformed and as unlike the former race of gentlemen farmers in their general appearance and character, as in their education. Hence, many have been led to observe, that the youth of the second order of Highland gentry have more degenerated, and are more changed in every respect than the Highland peasantry. Many causes have tended to accelerate this change; one of which is, that three-fourths of the old respectable race of gentlemen tacksmen have disappeared, and been supplanted by men totally different in manners, birth, and education. Persons travelling through the Highlands will observe what description of persons the present tacksmen are. The character upheld by the officers of the Highland regiments in the Seven Years' War, and in that with America, show what sort of men the ancient race were. One half of the officers of those corps were the sons of tacksmen. Of these respectable officers I could give many names, but shall mention only a few:—Generals Simon Fraser, killed at Saratoga in 1777, and Thomas M. Fraser, killed at Dieg in 1804; Lieutenant-General

* The average annual salary of the parish schoolmaster was L.7, 10s. that is, L.5 the lowest and L. 10 the highest, with school fees, which were equally low, Latin being taught for half a crown the quarter, English and writing for one shilling. When the Lord President Hope was Lord Advocate, he brought a bill into Parliament to increase the salaries of this useful body of men. The bill was passed, and no schoolmaster can now have less than L. 10 salary, the maximum being L. 25. The opposition Mr Hope met with showed, that however much people may talk about the value of education, the estimate of its advantages does not appear to stand high in the opinion of those who pay the schoolmasters, or perhaps the value is better understood and more appreciated when cheaply obtained; otherwise why meet so important a measure by an opposition which has reduced the scale so low, that even with the increased emoluments, no man of talents will remain a parish schoolmaster except from necessity.

Simon Fraser, commanding the British troops in Lisbon; Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor-General of India; Sir Hector Munro; Sir Alexander Munro; Major-Generals John Small, Thomas Fraser, Francis Maclean, J. Stewart, P. Mackenzie, and a numerous list of brave soldiers and officers of talent and acquirements; as well as many accomplished civilians, Sir John Macpherson, Governor-General of India, the translator of Ossian, and many others.

T, Page 110.

THERE are many traits of the character, manners, and dispositions of the people, which I have not noticed. The most remarkable of these is that imaginary talent of seeing into futurity, commonly called the "Second Sight." The subject has been frequently discussed; and I shall, therefore, say little of these ideal flights of a warm and vivid imagination. But however ridiculous the belief of the second sight may now appear, it certainly had no small influence on the manners and actions of the people. The predictions of the seers impressed their minds with awe, and as they were generally such as brought to the remembrance death, a future state, retributive justice, the reward of honourable and virtuous conduct, and the punishment of the wicked, they certainly controlled the passions, and, as I have often had occasion to observe, supplied the defect of those laws which now extend to the most distant recesses of the mountains.

The impressions of a warm imagination appear so like realities, and their confirmation is so readily found in subsequent events, that we can scarcely wonder if popular superstitions have long maintained their ground, even against the advances of reason and science. Allowing the possibility of coming events being shadowed forth by supernatural agency to some favoured seers, the question naturally occurs, Why should those revelations be confined to the Highlanders of Scotland? Yet it must be owned, that the coincidences between events and their foreboding have, in many instances, been so curious and remarkable, that credulous minds may be excused for yielding to the impression of their prophetic character. It may not be improper to produce an instance or two for the amusement of the reader.

Late in an autumnal evening in the year 1773, the son of a neighbouring gentleman came to my father's house. He and my mother were from home, but several friends were in the house. The young gentleman spoke little, and seemed absorbed in deep thought. Soon after he arrived he inquired for a boy of the family, then about three years of age. When shown into the nursery, the nurse was trying on a pair of new shoes, and complaining that they did not fit. "They will fit him before he will have occasion for them," said the young gentleman. This called forth the chidings of the nurse for predicting evil to the child, who was stout and healthy. When he returned to the party he had left in the sitting-room, who had heard his observations on the shoes, they cautioned him to take care that the

nurse did not derange his new talent of the second sight, with some ironical congratulations on his pretended acquirement. This brought on an explanation, when he told them, that, as he approached the end of a wooden bridge thrown across a stream at a short distance from the house, he was astonished to see a crowd of people passing the bridge. Coming nearer, he observed a person carrying a small coffin, followed by about twenty gentlemen, all of his acquaintance, his own father and mine being of the number, with a concourse of the country people. He did not attempt to join, but saw them turn off to the right in the direction of the church-yard, which they entered. He then proceeded on his intended visit, much impressed from what he had seen with a feeling of awe, and believing it to have been a representation of the death and funeral of a child of the family. In this apprehension he was the more confirmed, as he knew my father was at Blair Athole, and that he had left his own father at home an hour before. The whole received perfect confirmation in his mind by the sudden death of the boy the following night, and the consequent funeral, which was exactly similar to that before represented to his imagination.

This gentleman was not a professed seer; this was his first and his last vision; and, as he told me, it was sufficient. No reasoning or argument could convince him that the appearance was an illusion. Now when a man of education and of general knowledge of the world, as this gentleman was, became so bewildered in his imaginations, and that even so late as the year 1773, it cannot be matter of surprise that the poetical enthusiasm of the Highlanders, in their days of chivalry and romance, should have predisposed them to credit wonders which so deeply interested them.

The other instance occurred in the year 1775, when a tenant of the late Lord Breadalbane called upon him, bitterly lamenting the loss of his son, who, he said, had been killed in battle on a day he mentioned. His Lordship told him that was impossible, as no accounts had been received of any battle, or even of hostilities having commenced. But the man would not be comforted, saying, that he saw his son lying dead, and many officers and soldiers also dead, around him. Lord Breadalbane, perceiving that the poor man would not be consoled, left him; but when the account of the battle of Bunker's Hill arrived some weeks afterwards, he learnt, with no small surprise, that the young man had been killed at the time and in the manner described by his father.

Page 111.

The notions entertained by the inhabitants of the Low country in this respect are very excusable, when it is considered that they formed their opinions regarding the natives of the mountains on information received from those who lived nearest the boundary, and who were supposed to be best acquainted with them. This, however, was a very doubtful source of intelligence; because, in the first place, the

borderers lived in a state of perpetual contention with their Lowland neighbours, and had thus the worst propensities of their nature called forth and exasperated; and, secondly, because their more powerful neighbours had been, for ages, in the habit of taking deep revenge for petty injuries. No one who knows any thing of human nature need be told, that there exists a strong propensity in the minds of those who oppress others by an undue exercise of power, to justify that proceeding to themselves, by exaggerating every provocation given by the objects of their hostility. Prejudice and party hatred are like streams, always enlarging in their progress by petty additions. A man incapable of direct falsehood, willingly and confidently repeats the tales of wonder told by others; and these seldom lose in the recital. That "oppression," which, we are told from the highest authority, "makes a wise man mad," * must have produced a similar effect on a proud high-spirited people, who had not even language in which to complain, and who would not have been listened to if they had. "Lions are not painters," as the fable says, and Highlanders are not writers of their own traditions; but if the tales of wrong and injustice preserved in traditions were unfolded, they might then "make justice and indignation start," &c.; but this blazon must not be. It would be visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, who may perhaps, even on this score, have enough of their own to answer for, when they appear at their last account.

Since the above was written, a new edition of "Letters from a Gentleman in the North" has been published by Mr Jamieson of Edinburgh. This edition has been enlarged, by several tracts and articles on the Highlanders, and the former state of the people. One of these is a kind of statistical report of the state of the Highlands about the year 1747. This paper is a perfect specimen of the spirit of the times, and of the jaundiced eye with which the Highlanders were viewed by their Lowland neighbours, who held them in the greatest contempt for their Jacobite principles, their heathenish belief in ghosts and fairies, their slothful habits, fabulous traditions, poetry and songs. The author was educated beyond the mountains, quite in opposition to the habits and principles of the Highlanders; and at a period when the stream of ribaldry ran strongly against them, and their true character was ill understood, it was difficult to state it in proper colours: the commonly received opinions of the times were, that their fidelity and ready obedience proceeded from a base and servile disposition, and their idle habits from an aversion to industry, when, in fact, they proceeded from want of employment or payment for labour. Had the author given in to the grave discussions which were not unfrequent at that period, on the propriety of exterminating the whole race, it might have excited less surprise, than that this mode of improving a people by extirpation and banishment should not only be discussed in more enlightened times, but actually acted upon and

* Of this we have too many instances among the peasantry in Ireland.

enforced, if not with the fury and violence with which those who call themselves the friends of liberty in America treat their free, independent, but unfortunate neighbours the Indians, the original possessors of their country, at least by means sufficiently effectual.

U, Page 114.

DUNCAN FORBES of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, was one of the most enlightened men of his time: Born in the Highlands, he lived much among his countrymen, gained an intimate knowledge of their habits, and, by his virtue, wisdom, and probity, obtained an influence over them almost incredible. His "pen and ink, and tongue, and some reputation," as he himself expressed it, contributed more than any other means to the suppression of the Rebellion,—breaking the union of the clans, overawing some, crossing and checking the intentions of others, and retarding and preventing their rising *en masse*, to which they had every inclination. That such services were neglected and slighted by Government, must remain an indelible stain on the memory of the men in power at that period. It is said, that when this great and good man was recommending clemency and moderation in the punishment of the misguided men about to suffer for their infatuation, and stating his services as a claim to be heard, he was contemptuously asked, "What were his services, and what they were worth?" "Some think them worth three Crowns," was the answer.

An idea of the importance of his services and of his influence may be formed by looking over his Memorial, already given in the Appendix, of the State and Number of the Clans, whose rising he prevented, or whose exertions he paralyzed. It has been thought by some, particularly by Jacobites, that those Chiefs who were persuaded by Culloden to relinquish, on the day of trial, the cause to which they were secretly attached, showed duplicity, if not cowardice, in so doing. This was not at all the case. The President knew too well the character of the persons he addressed, to endeavour to change their opinion, or induce them to dissemble. The arguments by which he prevailed on so many to remain neutral, while others risked all in a desperate cause, were drawn from his knowledge of the world, and of the resources and views of the opposite parties. He attempted no sudden conversions, but merely represented the folly of sacrificing their lives, and what was dearer to them, their clans, in a rash and unsupported enterprise, in which they were deceived by their French allies, deserted by many whose courage evaporated in drinking healths, and more particularly by the English Jacobites, who promised every thing and performed nothing. It was by a statement of obvious facts, and not by an attack on established principles, that he succeeded in rescuing, by persuasion, so many families from the destruction in which the inconsiderate and rashly brave were so suddenly involved. The sound arguments that pre-

vailed with the Chiefs, who could comprehend them, had no influence on their followers, who were, in this instance, more inclined to follow their feelings than listen to reason. Of this, the behaviour of the clan Grant was an instance. Eleven hundred men pressed forward to offer their services, on condition that their Chief would lead them, to support, what shey styled, the cause of their ancient Kings. Afterwards, when it was found necessary to pay a compliment to the Royal General, by meeting him at Aberdeen, all the Chief's influence could only procure ninety-five followers to attend him ; a Chief, too, much beloved by his people.

In the Isle of Skye, likewise, Sir Alexander Macdonald, (father of Chief Baron Macdonald), and the Lairds of Macleod, Rasay, and others, had 2400 men ready, when expresses arrived from Culloden. Macdonald remained at home with his men ; Macleod obeyed the summons of the President, but Rasay indulged the inclination of his people to join the rebels, contrary to the views and injunction of the chief. Though Macleod is described by this great law officer as the only man of sense and courage he had about him, his influence over his followers failed so completely, when they discovered that his opinion was opposite to their own, that he could not command the obedience of more than 200 men, although upwards 1500 men, consisting of his own people, the Laird of Rasay's, and other gentlemen, were ready at Dunvegan Castle. These, and many circumstances which occurred at that period, are of themselves sufficient to prove, that the Highlanders were not those slaves to the caprice and power of their Chiefs they have been supposed ; and that, on the contrary, as I have already noticed, the latter were obliged to pay court, and yield to the will and independent spirit of their clans. These facts also refute a general opinion, that those who engaged in the Rebellion were forced out by their Chiefs and Lairds, and that indeed on all occasions the principles or caprice of their Chief guided those of the clan, and that whatever side he took they followed. In Lord Lovat's correspondence with Culloden, he is full of complaints against his clan, whose eagerness to fly to arms he could not restrain. Although his is not the best authority, I have had sufficient evidence of his correctness in this instance from eye-witnesses. We learn also from the President, that Lord Lovat's eldest son (afterwards General Fraser) " put himself at the head of his clan, who are passionately fond of following him, and who cannot be restrained by my Lord's authority from following the fortunes of the Adventurous Prince, which not only may destroy the Master * and the family, but bring his own grey hairs with sorrow to the grave." †

To this same independent spirit we may ascribe the preference which the people now manifest for emigration to a foreign land, to

* In Scotland, the eldest son of a Lord or Baron of the House of Peers was styled Master. Thus, the Master of Gray, the Master of Rollo, the Master of Blantyre, &c.

† Culloden Papers.

remaining in the degraded state of cottars and day-labourers, to which the late changes have reduced such numbers of the once independent tenantry. When they have once resolved to remove to a foreign country, a set of "illiterate peasants," says Mrs Grant, "have gone about it in a systematical manner. They have themselves chartered a ship, and engaged it to come for them to one of their Highland ports, and a whole cluster of kindred of all ages, from four weeks to fourscore years, have gone in mournful procession to the shores; the bagpipes meanwhile playing before them a sad funeral air."

V, Page 116.

A HIGHLANDER would fight to the last drop of his blood at the command of his Chief; and if he thought his own honour, or that of his district or clan, insulted, he was equally ready to call for redress, and to seek revenge: yet, with this disposition, and though generally armed, few lives were lost, except in general engagements and skirmishes. This is particularly to be remarked in their personal encounters, duels, and trials of swordmanship. * The stories detailed of private assassinations, murders, and conflagration, deserve no credit, as is well known to every man of intelligence in the country, at least when reported to have occurred within the last century and a half. In earlier times, there were murders in the Highlands, as there were in the streets of Edinburgh in mid-day, but much of these may be attributed to the weakness of the laws, and a high spirited turbulence. The character of the Highlanders will be better understood by their actions, than by collecting anecdotes two and three hundred years old, and giving them as specimens of what was sup-

* A relation of mine, the late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, exhibited an instance of this. He was one of the gentlemen soldiers in the Black Watch, (but left them before the march to England), and one of the best swordsmen of his time. Latterly he was of a mild disposition, but in his youth he had been hot and impetuous; and as in those days the country was full of young men equally ready to take fire, persons of this description had ample opportunity of proving the temper of their swords, and their dexterity in the use of them. Bohallie often spoke of many contests and trials of skill, but they always avoided, he said, coming to extremities, and were in general satisfied when blood was drawn, and "I had the good fortune never to kill my man." His swords and targets gave evidence of the service they had seen. On one occasion he was passing from Breadalbane to Lochlomond through Glenfalloch, in company with James Macgregor, one of Rob Roy's sons. As they came to a certain spot, Macgregor said, "It was here I tried the mettle of one of your kinsmen." Some miles farther on, he continued, "Here I made another of your blood feel the superiority of my sword; and here," said he, when in sight of Benlomond, in the country of the Macgregors, "I made a third of your royal clan yield to clan Gregor." My old friend's blood was set in motion by the first remark; the second, as he said, made it boil; however, he restrained himself till the third, when he exclaimed, "You have said and done enough; now stand, defend yourself, and see if the fourth defeat of a Stewart will give victory to a Gregarach." As they were both good swordsmen, it was some time before Macgregor received a cut in the sword arm, when, dropping his target, he gave up the contest.

posed to have occurred within the fifty years preceding the Rebellion of 1745. In this Rebellion did they display any blood-thirsty atrocity? It were as just to take the character of the people of Scotland from the period and scenes described by Pitscottie in the extract I have quoted, as thus to collect all the revolting anecdotes and repetitions of centuries, and give them as specimens of the Highland character in the days of Rob Roy Macgregor. Even in the seventeenth century, when turbulence was at its height, less atrocity was shown by the Highlanders, than has been exhibited by enlightened nations of modern times, when living at free quarters in an enemy's country. Spain, Portugal, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Egypt, have ample reason to remember the murders, conflagrations and spoliation of the armies of France. The following statement shows the manner in which the Highlanders comported themselves, when ordered from their mountains, for the special purpose of keeping down the Republican spirit in the south-west of Scotland, and of living at free quarters on the Covenanters, and others inimical to the measures of Government. This was in 1678, when the "Highland Host," (as they were called,) of 8000 men, were ordered south, to "eat up" the Covenanters. In what manner they obeyed these instructions we learn from an eye-witness, whose account is preserved in Wodrow's MS. in the Advocates' Library. This writer, who evinces no friendship for this "Heathen and Unholy Host," describes their parties sent out for provisions, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, who were beaten and driven out of their houses if they refused to give what they demanded. After a detail of outrages, which indeed were to be expected, as it was for this very purpose that they were sent on the duty, he concludes, in a manner hardly to be expected, and certainly very different from the accounts we read of the proceedings of the modern Vandals when overrunning the Continent, and who, if they had forced their way into this country, and had, like the Highlanders, been ordered to live at free quarters, "to eat up," harass, and keep down the people, would not perhaps have left the country with such a report of their proceedings as the following. "Yet I hear not," says the writer in Wodrow's MS., "of any *having been killed*, though many were hurt; but I would not have you think that all the Highlanders behave after the same manner," (going about in parties to collect provisions and plunder.) "No, there is a difference both among the men and leaders. The Marquis of Atholl's men are generally commended, both as the best appointed and the best behaved. Neither do I hear of any hurt done by the Earl of Moray's men, but all of them take free quarters, and at their own discretion." Living in this manner, and sent for such a special purpose, none were killed even by the most turbulent. That numbers were hurt in defending their property was to be expected, and it is matter of surprise, that, in such circumstances, lives were not lost.

W, Page 122.

The tenants of Lochiel and Ardsheal supplied these gentlemen with money, after the year 1745, when their estates were forfeited, and they themselves in exile in France. When the Earl of Seaforth was in similar circumstances, after his attainder in 1716, he experienced the same generous and disinterested fidelity;* and Macpherson of Clunie, though an outlaw, and compelled to live for nine years in caves and woods, was in no want of money or any thing that could be contributed by his people, who, after his death, continued the same assistance to his widow and family. But it is needless to multiply examples of this attachment, which existed till a late period, without the least prospect of reward or remuneration, all being the free gift of men poor in substance, but of warm affections and liberal minds. Moreover, this generous disposition was not indulged without risk; for while they paid the full rents demanded by Government after the forfeitures, they were threatened with higher rents, and persecuted by the agents for sending the money out of the country. The disputes between the people and the Crown factors, on this subject, ran very high. A respectable gentleman, Mr Campbell of Glenure, factor on the estate of Ardsheal, was shot from behind a rock when riding on the high road. This happened in 1752, and was the second instance of a murder in these troublesome times. The first was that of Captain Munro of Culcairn in 1746, noticed in the Annals of the 42d regiment. He was shot in the same manner as Glenure, while riding at the head of a party of men marching through Lochaber. But this blow was intended for an officer whose party had, some time previously, burned the assassin's house, turned his family out in a storm of snow, and taken away his cattle; while his son, who had resisted, was killed. Considering the state of men's minds, and the disturbed condition of the country for so many years, it may be considered remarkable, that these were the only two instances of premeditated murder. The man who shot Culcairn was known; but, through some unexplained cause, he was not apprehended. It has never been fully ascertained who shot Mr Campbell. Suspicion fell upon a man of the name of Allan Stewart or Allain Breach, (as he was called, from the marks of the small-pox), who had been a sergeant in the French service, had come over in the year of the Rebellion, and

* When the rents were collected, for the purpose of being sent to Lord Seaforth in France, 400 of his old followers and tenants escorted the money to Edinburgh to see it safely lodged in the bank. Their first appearance there on this errand caused no small surprise, and strong animadversions on Government for allowing such proceedings. The same people, so generous to their chief in his adversity, preserved such control over him when in full power and prosperity, that they interfered and prevented his pulling down his Castle of Brahan, the destruction of which they considered derogatory to the respectability of the family and clan. In the year 1737, the tenants sent Lord Seaforth L. 800 in one sum, equal to L. 8000 in the present day, calculating the rents, and the value of the estate.

lived afterwards as an outlaw. He was never seen after the murder, and was supposed to have gone to France. A gentleman of the name of Stewart, a relation of the family of Ardsheal, was taken up, indicted, and tried at Inveraray, on suspicion of being art and part, (as the Scotch law terms it), or in the foreknowledge of the murder. The Duke of Argyll, then Justice-General, sat on the bench, and the Lord Advocate attended as prosecutor, the only instance of this officer presiding on any criminal trial, or of the Lord Advocate prosecuting at an assize. Mr Stewart was found guilty, and executed near the spot where the murder was committed, and his body hung in chains. The whole transaction caused a great sensation, and the justice of the verdict and execution was much canvassed. It is now believed that the result would have been different had the trial taken place at a later period. But whether or not Mr Stewart deserved his fate, it were well that all executions made such an impression on the minds of the people as this did, and still continues to make to this day. The talents and respectable character of the person executed, the public exhibition of his body, a thing hitherto unknown in that country, and the doubtful circumstance of his guilt, are still matters of deep reflection among the people. On Sundays, and at times when they pass in more than ordinary numbers, they assemble on or near the spot where the gibbet stood, and talk with solemn and impressive awe of the whole circumstances.

Turbulent and accustomed to blood as the Highlanders were supposed to be, the terror and awe inspired by public executions is very remarkable. This awe is not confined within the mountains. I have seen soldiers, fearless of death when before an enemy, for days previous to an execution become grave, thoughtful, and seemingly powerfully impressed with a kind of dread, which they could not shake off.

X, Page 132.

It may be curious to notice the similarity of action among men with very different principles in all things, except what concerns their interests. After the new system of managing lands and laying out farms had commenced in the Highlands, the ancient occupiers and cultivators were often overlooked by those who undertook to new-model gentlemen's estates. *Their* future happiness or misery formed no part of the new plans, and seemed as much disregarded as the fate of the ancient breed of horses and sheep. The old Highlanders were considered unfit for the new improvements; the length of time they held their lands gave them no claim; they had possessed them too long already; they must now give place to others. This was the language of many agents employed in these arrangements, and the language also of too many of those who employed them.—At the beginning of the French Revolution, when Dundee, Perth, and other towns, planted the tree of liberty, and the doctrine of equality of

property was held out to encourage the partisans of Revolutionary Principles, the late Mr Dempster of Dunichen observed, in the spring of 1791, that his farm-grieve, or overseer, had paid particular attention to a large field, ploughing and harrowing it twice, and laying down a double allowance of manure. He was preparing a third dressing, when Mr Dempster asked the cause of all this care bestowed upon one field more than the others. After some hesitation, the man answered, that every person had a right to attend to his own interest. Mr Dempster observed, that however true that might be, it could have no concern with that field. To this the grieve replied, that, as he had been a kind and generous master to him, he would explain the whole matter. He then told him, that, at a late meeting of Delegates of the Friends of the People, they had discussed much business, and, among other matter, had made a division of all the lands in the district, when this field, and some acres of pasture, fell to his share. His master told him he was happy to find him so well provided, and asked what part of the estate they had allotted to him. "Oh, as to you, Sir, and the other Lairds," replied the man, "it was resolved that you should have nothing to do with the land, and that none of the old Lairds and Proprietors were to have any. They and their families had had these lands long enough; their old notions were not fit for the new times; therefore they must all quit, and make way for the new system and new order of things; but as you have been always so good to me, I will propose, at the next meeting, that a portion be left for you."

Y, Page 142.

On reference to the proceedings of the Court of Justiciary in the northern counties, it will be found that the capital convictions at Inverness, from the year 1747 to 1817, have been fifty-nine. Of these, there were

10 men for murder,
9 women for child-murder, *
2 men for rape; one of them rape and murder near Elgin,
1 man for fire-raising,
12 men for cattle-stealing, †

* This crime is less frequent since the strictness of church discipline has been softened. Only one woman has been condemned since 1763.

† This was at the earlier period, before the nature and danger of "*lifting cattle*," as it was called, was properly understood by the Highlanders. None have been convicted of cattle-stealing since the year 1765. When it was known to be a crime, the practice ceased. Two of the above offenders were in the knowledge of all the Pretender's movements after the battle of Culloden. They gave him information, supplied him with provisions, were taken up on suspicion, threatened with instant execution, if they did not confess what they knew of him, and, at the same time, offered the tempting reward of L. 30,000. But all in vain. Neither the prospect of immediate death, or the offer of immediate wealth, had any influence over the

1 man for sheep-stealing, *
2 men for house-breaking and theft,
9 men for theft,
3 men for robbing.

Of these criminals eight were strangers, soldiers quartered in the different garrisons, and others, who committed crimes as they passed through the country, and were apprehended and tried there. This Circuit includes the lowland part of the counties of Moray and Orkney, (in the latter, crimes of magnitude are very rare), containing a population of 238,681 souls, out of which there were 59 persons (51 natives) convicted in the course of seventy years, making the proportion of one criminal to 283,180 souls. From 1756 to 1761, and from 1767 to 1773, there were no convictions. From 1773 to 1783, there was only one man convicted; his crime was murder. From 1794 to 1817, there were three convictions for murder, but none for robbery, housebreaking, or any other crime. In May 1817, a woman was condemned for theft.

The feudal powers and jurisdiction of the Duke of Argyll were abolished in the year 1748, and the first assize court was held at Inveraray in May 1749. From that period till 1817, the number of convictions has been eight. The crimes were,—

3 for murder,
1 for cattle stealing,
3 for theft, (two women, and one man),
1 man for forgery.

This last case happened in the year 1782. The offender's name was Macaffie. The forgery was committed in Dublin, but, attempting to pass his notes in Inveraray, he was apprehended, tried, and condemned. On some certified question of law, however, he was taken to Edinburgh, when the point was decided against him, and he was executed there. If we except this conviction of a stranger, and that of James Fullarton for theft in 1783, there were none condemned at Inveraray for a period of fifty-one years, from 1753 to 1804. There have been two convictions for murder since. One in 1805,† another in 1817. The Inveraray Circuit includes the counties of Argyle and Bute, containing a population of 82,261 persons.

minds of these poor men, in a case where they thought their honour was concerned. *They were afterwards hanged for stealing a cow!*

* This was at a later period, when the stock graziers got possession of the pasture grounds. Many sheep were stolen at that period. Four men were banished for this crime; one of them from Glengarry is in possession of considerable property in Botany Bay. He was taken up near Perth, where I saw him a prisoner. His appearance was remarkable; six feet three inches, stout, well formed, and with a florid handsome countenance.

† This was a travelling tinker from Athole. He was executed for throwing his wife into a river, where she was found drowned, near the King's House Inn, Glencrchy.

The population of that part of the Aberdeen Circuit, which may be properly called Highland, and which includes portions of the counties of Kincardine and Banff, amounts to 14,596 persons. From 1747 to 1817, there were two men condemned from that part of the country; one for murder in the year 1770, and another for fire-raising in 1785. From 1770 to 1784, there was no capital conviction in Aberdeen.

As the Highland parts of Perthshire constitute but a small part of that Circuit, which comprehends Perth, Fife, and Angus, I shall only notice the native Highlanders tried and condemned at Perth, from 1747 to 1817. The number was sixteen, of whom

5 men were convicted for murder,
4 men for cattle-stealing,
4 for theft,
2 women for child-murder,
1 man for rape.

The population of the Highlands of Perthshire is about 40,130, giving a greater proportion of criminals than either of the other circuits.

Proportion of Convicted Criminals to the Population in the different Districts in the Highlands, from 1747 to 1817.

	Population.	Convictions.	Proportions.
Inverness Circuit, - -	238,681	59 in 70 years,	1 to 283,180
Inveraray, - - - -	82,261	8 in 69	1 to 709,501
Perthshire Highlands, - -	40,130	16 in 70	1 to 175,569
Aberdeen, Banff, &c. - -	14,596	2 in 70	1 to 510,860
Highlands of Stirling & Dumbarton,	13,259	5 in 70	1 to 185,626
All the Highlands, - -	388,982	90	1 to 301,677
Proportion of England and Wales, for 7 years previous to 1817,	10,204,280	4226 in 7 years, or	1 to 16,898

Z, Page 146.

Of this there are numberless proofs in all parts of the Highlands. I remember many old people, who, in their youth, saw corn growing on fields now covered with heather. Among many traditions on this subject, there is one of a wager between my great grandfather and four Lowland gentlemen. These were the then Mr Smythe of Methven, Sir David Threipland, Mr Moray of Abercairney, and Sir Thomas Moncrieff. The object of the wager was, who could produce a boll of barley of the best quality, my ancestor to take his specimen from his highest farm, and Sir David Threipland not to take his specimen from his low farms on the plains of the Carse of Gowrie, but from a farm on the heights. Marshal Wade, who was then Commander in Chief, and superintending the formation of the Highland roads, was

to be the umpire. Methven produced the best barley, Sir Thomas Moncrieff the second, my relation the third, Abercairney the fourth, and Sir David Threipland the fifth and most inferior quality. This happened in the year 1726 or 1727. It is said that the season was uncommonly favourable for high grounds, being hot and dry. The spot which produced the Highland specimen is at the foot of the mountain Shichallain, and is now totally uncultivated, but of a deep rich soil, only requiring climate and shelter with planting to produce the best crops. Some hundred yards farther up the side of the mountain, and more than 1400 feet above the level of the sea, the traces of the plough are clear and distinct; also the remains of inclosures and mounds of stones, which had been cleared away from the lands, when prepared for cultivation in more ancient times. In the present state of the climate and the country, bare and unsheltered from the mountain-blast, those fields, once smiling with verdure, woods, (the underground roots of which still exist in vast quantities), and cultivation, now present the aspect of a black desolate waste. This extension of early cultivation was the more necessary from the numerous population, of which there are so many evident traces. Although the more remote ages are called pastoral, the value and importance of cultivation seem to have been well appreciated. Forest trees of large size have flourished on those high mountains, as is fully proved by their remains, which are still found in mosses more than 1500 feet above the sea. Recent experience, in several instances, has shown, the Scotch fir and Alpine larch will prosper in those high regions.* An experiment to try how far their shelter would improve the climate, so as to make the soil productive and cultivable, as in former times, would, in the opinion of many intelligent men, be preferable to the modern system of improving our mountains and glens, by removing the ancient hardy race, that have peopled, for so many ages, extensive tracts which are now to be left

* The larch is now spreading over the whole kingdom, and has proved a valuable acquisition to the produce of many barren moors in the Highlands, where the climate is found more favourable for this species of pine than in the plains. The wood is of an excellent quality. The Atholl frigate, built entirely of Atholl larch, is expected to shew that it will prove a good substitute for oak in ship-building.

The larch was accidentally brought to Scotland by a gentleman whom I have had occasion to mention more than once. Mr Menzies of Culdares was in London in 1737, and hearing of a beautiful pine shrub recently imported from the Alps, procured four plants; he gave two to the Duke of Atholl, which are now in full vigour at Dunkeld, and may be called the parents of all the larch in the kingdom; he gave a third to Mr Campbell of Monzie, and kept the fourth for himself, which unfortunately was cut down forty years ago. It had then been planted 45 years, and had grown to seven feet nine inches in circumference. The Duke of Atholl's plants were placed in a green-house at Dunkeld, where they did not thrive, and were thrown out, when they immediately began to grow, and quickly showed the consequence of being placed in a proper climate.

The Duke of Atholl sold one thousand larch trees of seventy years growth for L. 5000. If they had been planted and grown regularly, they would not have covered more than nine Scotch acres of the light soil on which they thrive best, allowing 22 feet square for each tree, more than ample space for the larch.

in the state of nature, never to experience the influence of human industry. These regions might be improved into arable productive soil by humane and considerate proprietors, who retain their people, which are the wealth and capital of the country, and, in the opinion of Sir Humphry Davy, on the Improvement of Moss and Moorland, there is "strong ground to believe that the capital expended (in the Highlands the manual labour of the people is their capital) would, in a very years, afford a great and increasing interest, and would contribute to the wealth, prosperity, and population of this island."

AA, Page 157.

It is said that a man is more comfortable as a day-labourer than as a small farmer. Experience is in opposition to this opinion, in so far as, where we see many thousand labourers become paupers, such is never the case with the occupiers of land. These may be poor and involved in difficulties, but they are never in want of food, or dependent on charitable aid. Ireland is stated as an instance of the misery of small farmers. This is no more a fair example, than that of the people placed on small allotments of moorland in the new mode introduced into the Highlands.

That part of Lord Breadalbane's estate, which is on both sides of Lochtay, contains nearly 11,000 acres of arable woodland and pasture, in sight of the lake, besides the mountain grazing; the whole supporting a population of about 3120 souls. Were he to divide the 11,000 acres into eight or ten farms, agreeably to the practice now in progress in the Highlands, placing the present population on small lots as day-labourers, would they be so independent as they now are, paying for the lands on the banks of Lochtay, high as they are, and notwithstanding a backward climate, as good a rent as is paid by many farmers in Kent or Sussex? Lord Breadalbane is sensible of this, and preserves the loyal race of men who occupy his land, without having occasion to establish associations for the suppression of felony, as in the *improved* districts in the North, * or establishing rates for the poor, as has been done in the fertile and wealthy counties of

* When protecting associations are found necessary in the North Highlands, under the new mode of management, I may notice the state of morals in this great property, maintaining a population of more than 8000 persons in Perthshire, besides 5000 in Argyleshire. From the year 1750 to 1813, there have been only two persons accused of capital crimes in Lord Breadalbane's estate in Perthshire, and both were acquitted. The first was a farmer tried on suspicion of murder. * The second was Ewan Campbell, (or Laider), noticed in Appendix EE. Macalpine, also mentioned in page 123, Vol. I. was tried for an illegal act, which would have subjected him to the punishment of felony, namely, for wearing the Highland garb. Some aberrations from the general rule of morality have lately occurred,—the concomitants, as a certain class of political economists say, of the progress of civilization.—*Swindling, fraudulent bankruptcy, and forgery, the consequences of civilization!!!*

* He was a married man, who lived at the foot of Ben Lawers. In autumn 1765, a servant girl in his family suddenly disappeared, and no trace of her could be dis-

Roxburgh, Berwick, &c. Should his Sovereign visit Scotland, and pass through the Earl of Breadalbane's territory, his Lordship might assemble, on a few hours' warning, 2000 men, in the prime of life, ready to receive his Prince at any of the great passes or entrances into his property, at Taybridge, Glenorchy or Glenogle. At the head of this loyal and hardy race of men, Lord Breadalbane may welcome his Sovereign, and, pointing to his followers, may say, such men as these are good supporters of the country and the throne, and, while their loyalty, principles, and ancient spirit, are preserved pure and undaunted, they will always be ready to "Follow me" * at the call of their King and Country. †

BB, Page 182.

To offer an agricultural comparison, taken from a Highland glen, may occasion a smile; but I may be permitted to mention the relative state of two glens high up in the Highlands, both of nearly the same extent and quality of pasture and arable land, with no difference of climate. The one is full of people, all of whom are supported by the produce. The other glen was once as populous, but is now laid out in extensive grazings, and the arable land turned into pasture. The population of the latter, compared with the former, is as one to fifteen, and the difference of rent supposed to be about four per cent. in favour of the stock-farming glen. But in the populous district, the surface is cleared, the soil improved, and the produce increased, merely by the strength of many hands, without expense to the landlord either in building houses or otherwise. In the grazing glen the soil remains in a state of nature, and large sums have been expended in building houses for the men of capital. The income-tax being removed, few direct taxes reach them, horses or carts being scarcely at all employed; whereas, in the populous districts, taxes are paid for horses, hearths, dogs, and for the manufactures which the people consume. The stock-farmer ought to send more produce to market than can be spared, where there are so many people to support, but does this additional marketable produce go to the land-

covered till the following spring, when the shepherds found her body floating in a small lake, nearly half way up the mountain. Owing to the length of time the body lay in the water, no close examination could be made, and no marks of violence were observed: but after the body was found, a report was spread that an improper intimacy between the deceased and her master had been observed. On this suspicion he was apprehended and tried at the Perth Circuit Court, and acquitted, as there was no evidence beyond this suspicious report. While he lay in jail, it was broke, and several prisoners made their escape, and as he refused to accompany them, saying he was conscious of his innocence, the circumstance acted powerfully in his favour; he, however, never returned to the country. His family followed him to the Low country, where he settled and died.

* See page 31, Vol. I.

† Since the above was written, a meeting of this kind happened in September 1819, when 1238 men of Lord Breadalbane's tenants, in the prime of life, and in the garb of their ancestors, assembled on the lawn in front of Taymouth Castle, when Prince Leopold honoured his Lordship with a visit. The number could have been doubled.

lord? Perhaps as much of this produce is laid out on the extended mode of living in the family and personal expense of the man of capital, as is consumed by the more numerous but more economical occupiers; but that even they can spare a full proportion, is evident from the rent and taxes they pay, and the money required for their necessary supplies; the land, at the same time, supporting a numerous population who improve the soil, and give nearly as good rents to the landlord, and pay more taxes; consuming manufactures in the same proportion, and adding to the employment of those who prepare them; and producing from their small spots of land a sufficiency to answer all demands; and, above all, to maintain a robust, active body of men, ready to turn out in defence of the liberty and honour of their country. With all this the earth is cultivated and grain produced, and industry, and the improvments of men, are allowed full play. In the grazing districts, again, with less than one-fifteenth part of this population, few taxes are paid, few manufactures consumed, the soil is left in the state of nature, and the country apparently waste.

Conversing on this point at different times with judicious stock-farmers and graziers of capital, I asked if they could pay a rent equal to that of the small tenants in the populous glens. They answered, "Yes, certainly." Following up this question, I asked if they could pay the rent, still keeping the people, having no cultivation, and turning all the land to pasturage. The answer always was, Certainly not more than half the rent. When further questioned, why then did they turn their own farms to pasturage, when they saw and acknowledged the superior advantage of cultivation? To this the only answer was, That pasturage was more easily managed; that, with ten men and twenty dogs, they would take care of all the sheep and cattle in the glen, which, under cultivation, supported 643 persons. In short, they fully acknowledged, that cultivating the land made this immense difference; but then they could not cultivate the farms without restoring the people, or employing a great many servants. They insisted, at the same time, that pasture is better adapted to wet climates, and more easily managed than cultivated fields, overlooking the strong and acknowledged fact before them, as well as many others of the same tendency. Their concluding argument was, that to improve the soil was the business of the proprietor, not theirs. If gentlemen allowed their lands to remain in a state of nature, without an attempt to improve or continue the cultivation, the loss was the proprietor's, and so long as they got their farms for the rents they could afford to pay in pasture, they asked for no improvement. *

* It may not be irrelevant to state, that, notwithstanding the recent depopulation of the higher glens, their inhabitants have always been more athletic, better limbed, and more independent in their minds, than the inhabitants of the lower glens; the soil in many of the higher glens is deep and rich, and when properly cultivated with lime, manure, and green crops, the corn is strong and productive, failing only in cold and wet autumns. The upper glens on Lord Breadalbane's, as well as those

CC, Page 188.

THE funds for the relief of the poor have been stationary in those districts where the inhabitants hold their lands. In the Highlands of Perthshire, even in 1816 and 1817, years of unprecedented pressure on the poor, when great sums were subscribed for their support in the South, there was no increased demand beyond what private benevolence supplied. The clergymen, who have the management and distribution of the funds for the poor, find no clamorous call for charitable aid; on the contrary, they are obliged to search for proper objects, who conceal their wants, suffering every privation, rather than humble themselves to ask for public charity, at the same time that they will gratefully receive private aid from any benevolent or more opulent neighbour. In a letter from a respectable clergyman in Athole on this subject, he says, " I have witnessed many singular instances, and have been astonished and gratified, to see how long poor creatures will struggle with their fate before they submit to that painful degradation. How eminently useful is it to step forward to their aid before the virtuous pride is altogether destroyed, and they are reduced to that last resource which they so justly and greatly dread!" * Another able and zealous clergyman writes: " I must always search for objects of charity in my parish. When questioning individuals on their state, I have seen a blush of shame and confusion spread over their countenances; and while they endeavoured to conceal their wants, and pointed out to me others more needful, I knew that they were in great necessity." †

In the parish of Mouline, containing a population 1947 souls, there are thirteen poor receiving permanent relief, and eleven occasional assistance, but no itinerant beggars in the parish. Indeed, the fund could not afford much, as the amount has not exceeded L. 22, 10s. on the average of the last five years. To this may be added the interest of small sums bequeathed by benevolent individuals some years ago. In the parish of Dull, with a population of 4236 persons, the number of poor is sixty-one, assisted by a fund of L. 92, 15s. annually. Weem parish has no itinerant beggars out of a population of 1484 souls. The amount of the funds is L. 24, 10s., on an average of five years, and the number of poor on the same average fifteen persons. In the parish of Logierait, the poor have lessened in late years, when there was a great increase of them in the Northern Highlands. The number of inhabitants is 3015, with little variation for several years. In 1812, the paupers were forty-one, and in 1817, the number was thirty-two persons. Dr Smith, in his " General Survey of the County of Argyle, drawn up for the Board of Agricul-

on many other estates, prove the superior appearance of the people and capability of the soil.

* Letter from the Reverend Mr Duff, minister of Mouline.

† Ditto from the Reverend Dr Irvine, Little Dunkeld.

ture," in speaking of the poor of Argyleshire, says, "The number supported by private or public contributions or otherwise is, in general, very inconsiderable, as they have a modesty and spirit that makes them endure absolute want before they can bring themselves to the mortification of receiving any public aid. This innate disposition keeps them from being any where a burden. In the island of Tyrie, in Argyleshire, there are 2446 persons, with fifty paupers. In the island of Coll, the number is 1193, and thirty-four poor receive aid. The annual distribution to each individual from the poor's fund is 3s." With such a fund, it is absurd to speak of the allowance to a pauper as a support.

DD, Page 190.

THE excuse for this manner of letting lands by auction is, that landlords cannot otherwise ascertain the value of their property. But are those who are thus called upon to offer the proper value the best judges? They are, in general, either the tenant in possession, distracted with the dread of being turned out, and, therefore, ready to give any rent rather than move from the scene of his past happiness; or it may be a speculator, supported by credit, without property to lose, who will risk any rent, in the expectation that fortune and favourable seasons will enable him to work his way; if he fails, he is no worse off than before, nay, perhaps, richer, as part of his creditors' money may remain in his hands; or, lastly, it may be a stranger from a distant country, ignorant of the quality of the soil and of its proper management, in an elevated country, and a boisterous uncertain climate. It is said, that while people are ready to take farms, the rent cannot be too high, and the landlord is justifiable in taking the best offer. In the same manner, it has been said, that while there are numberless candidates for army commissions, the pay of subalterns is not too small. That the pay of a subaltern is too small, I well know by years of hard experience, and I believe the numberless candidates are rather urged by a predilection for the profession, and by their want of other employment, than tempted by the sufficiency of military emoluments. From the same cause, and from the same desire of obtaining a settlement, candidates are induced to bid for land at whatever rent. Were it the practice to set up commissions to public sale to the highest bidder, or by secret and rival offers, the money to be paid in annual instalments, like the rents, instead of the whole down, thus affording some hope, that the delay would enable them to pay all, there is no doubt that the price of commissions would quickly augment; but what would be the consequence? Certain ruin to the unfortunate purchasers, their spirit broken down by poverty, their morals unhinged, and in the hope of retrieving their difficulties, gambling and other practices, discreditable to themselves and their profession resorted to. But, happily for the honour of the army, the destruction of principle consequent on such proceedings was

foreseen and guarded against, and all officers are strictly prohibited from giving more than the price established by regulations for their commissions. A different system would quickly ruin the army; and it is no less destructive and subversive of the best principles of the cultivators of the land, who have hitherto been conspicuous for their primitive manners and integrity.

Although all my observations apply to the Highlands only, I may take examples from the Lowlands, and give that of a nobleman whose character adds lustre to his high rank, and who, after having proved himself one of the most illustrious and able commanders of his country, when fighting her battles, has now, when his services in the field are no longer necessary, shown himself equally great, judicious, and generous, in the management of his almost princely estate, to which he succeeded a few years ago. * The former leases were let by public advertisement and acceptance of the highest offer; accordingly, great rents were promised, but irregularly paid, and sometimes by sequestrations. Tormented and disgusted with these proceedings, and shocked at the distress and deteriorated character and principles of the tenants, who were resorting to discreditable shifts to meet demands they could not fairly answer, he determined to act agreeably to the dictates of his honourable mind. As the terms of the leases expired, he called for no secret offer, he employed no land valuator or agent, he did not offer his farms by public advertisements; he examined every farm himself, and calculated the produce, and thus was personally able to ascertain how far the former rents were the cause of the failures and defalcations; he fixed the new rents at a reduction of the old, on an average of thirty per cent., although some were raised. So injudicious were the former rents, that while some were far beyond their value, others were too low. Every tenant obtained his own farm, except two, who, by their offers, were partly the cause of the former injudicious augmentations. The tenants can now bear up under low prices and taxes, as their moderate rents enable them to meet unfortunate contingencies, and their generous landlord is secured in a regular income, thus making him as independent as he made his tenants.

EE, Page 217.

Instances are common in the Highlands, even to this day, of the influence of public opinion operating as a powerful restraint on crimes, nay, even as a punishment, to the extent of forcing individuals into exile. Of these, two have occurred within my own remembrance. Several years ago, two men, one old and the other young, stepped into a small boat to cross Loch Tay. In the middle of the lake they were seen to stand up, as if struggling, and then quickly to sit or fall down, the people from the distance could not distinguish which.

* This was General the late Earl of Hopetoun.

When the boat arrived at the shore, the young man was missing. The account which his aged companion gave was, that the youth was in liquor, and wished to quarrel with him, and got up in the boat to strike him, but his foot slipped and he fell overboard. This story was not believed. The man was sent to Perth jail, tried at the ensuing assizes, and acquitted for want of evidence. The impression of his guilt, however, was not to be effaced from the minds of the people. This belief was farther confirmed by the character of the man, who was quarrelsome and passionate. On his return to Breadalbane no person would speak to him. He was not upbraided for his supposed guilt, nor was any attempt made to insult or maltreat him; but he found every back turned upon him, and every house he entered instantly emptied of its inhabitants. He withstood this for a short time, when he left the country, and never returned, or was seen afterwards. I was present at this man's trial. His name was Ewen Campbell, or Ewen Laider, or the Strong, from his great strength. The other instance happened some years afterwards in Strathbrane, the most southern valley in the Perthshire Highlands. The circumstances were in part similar to those which occasioned the late proposed trial by wager of battle in the case of Thornton, accused of the murder of Mary Ashford. A young woman was found drowned in a small pool of water used for steeping flax, having considerable marks of violence on the body, and traces of struggling being discovered on the grass round the pool. There was not a doubt but she had been murdered and forced into the water. Suspicions fell upon a young man supposed to have been her sweetheart. He was sent to Perth jail, tried, and acquitted for want of proof. In the minds of the people, however, there was proof sufficient. He happened to reach home late on a Saturday night, and next morning went to hear Divine service, and took his seat in one end of the church; but in a moment he had it wholly to himself. Every person moved away to a distance, and left the whole range of seats empty. When he came out after service, and stood in the church-yard, all shunned him, and when he walked homewards, those that were in his front hurried on, and those behind walked slow, leaving the road to himself. This was too much to bear, and his resolution not holding out so long as the old man's, he disappeared that night, and, like him, has never since been heard of.

The laws are now sufficiently strong to punish all crimes in the Highlands. When such was not the case, these were the institutions and habits of thinking which these illiterate people established for themselves, to punish and prevent transgressions.

FF, Page 221.

To extend the means of education, a knowledge of the Scriptures, and a consequent regard to religion and moral duties, great improvements have been lately made by the humane beneficence of indivi-

duals, who have raised a fund for the support of Gaelic schools, and have thus enabled the natives to read the Scriptures in a language which they understand. As the best books only are published in that language, the principles of the people will be protected from the contamination of seditious and improper tracts, and the advantages of education will be unmixed with the danger that threatens their best principles, by the abuse of those blessings which ought to be the result. The means of educating the Highlanders in the early part of the last century, and of instructing them in religious knowledge, do not seem to have been well understood or well conducted. The established clergy were directed to preach and exhort in English, and schoolmasters to teach in the same language. Thus, while the parishioners were compelled to listen to discourses and prayers of which they did not comprehend one sentence, their children were taught to pronounce and run over their letters with as little instruction. In conformity to this precious system, patrons of Highland parishes have, in many cases, appointed ministers from the Lowlands, totally ignorant of the only language understood by the parishioners.* In the year 1791, the case of the appointment of a clergyman, ignorant of the Gaelic language, to a Highland parish in Aberdeenshire, came, by appeal, before the General Assembly. But the Assembly, from the members of which, as the fathers of the church and supporters of religion, a different decision might have been expected, *sustained the appointment;* and thus, by giving countenance to an unprincipled practice, by which the very source of Christian instruction is dried up, patrons of parishes are encouraged to persevere in a flagitious system which deprives a whole population of the means of hearing Divine worship performed in an intelligible language. Yet, while religious knowledge was, in these cases, placed beyond the reach of the Highlanders, by those whose bounden duty it was to afford them every facility to acquire it, the state of religion, and the clear notions the people entertain of their religious duties, are very remarkable, particularly when those disadvantages, the scarcity of clergymen, and the general great extent of the parishes, are taken into consideration. The indifference shown to their religious instruction at the

* If it were proper to be otherwise than serious on such a subject, the appearance the Lowland clergy make in attempting to preach in Gaelic might occasion more than a smile. The mistakes they constantly commit, their perversion of the language and confounding of the meaning of words, which may be understood in two or more senses, occasion ridiculous scenes, which put the gravity of the aged to the proof, and throw the youthful into fits of laughter not easily controlled. When these are the means by which religious instruction is in so many cases conveyed to the Highlanders, their ignorance may cease to excite wonder; and, instead of seeing men expressing their grief and horror at the want of religion, knowledge of Christianity, and the vices which, they pretend, exist in the Highlands, it were well if a share of their horror and indignation were raised against those who deprive the inhabitants of the means of instruction, and some share of merit and approbation might be shown towards a people who, although under such disadvantages, are not altogether so ignorant as they are called.

Reformation is well known, and looked more like a total extinction, than a reform of religion; for, at that period, two, three, and in some cases four parishes, were united into one; numberless chapels were destroyed, * and tracts of forty or fifty miles in extent were left without a church, or minister of the gospel.

Although there are many thousand unable to read, and many more unable to understand what they read, (in English), the advantages of education, when combined with temporal comforts, are well understood, and when allowed to go hand in hand, they have answered the most sanguine expectations. In this manner, we see men, in the lowest situations as cottagers, giving an education to their children, which fits them for any profession. Many men of my intimate acqaintance, educated in this manner, have been, and now are, eminent in different learned professions. Others give equal promise. These men acquired the religious and moral habits, which paved the way to their present eminence, from the poor but well-principled parents. The number of persons thus educated from the poorest class of the people is, I believe, unparalleled. This commendable trait of character may be considered as part of that chivalrous independent spirit which animated the clans, and which, amidst poverty and frequent violations of law and regular government, developed many honourable points of character.

But to return to the subject of religious knowledge. They who suppose that knowledge is only acquired from books, will find some difficulty in believing that in the Highlands, men without any education, or any language but their own, can give a clear account of their faith. With a memory rendered tenacious and accurate, by their inability to read, and the consequent necessity of retaining in their recollection what they hear, they acquire a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, and on reference to any important passage, will readily point out the chapter and verse. Not only can they repeat whole chapters from recollection, but even recollect the greater part of a sermon. Men of this kind were not to be found in every family, but they were frequent; and by free communication of their acquirements, have greatly contributed to considerable intelligence, both civil and religious. But, as education extends, this faculty of a tenacious memory must diminish. When a man can find what he wishes to know by turning up a book, he is apt to think that he need not be at the trouble of retaining it in his memory. As education is becoming so general, it is to be hoped, that moral principles will be

* The churches of the adjoining parishes of Fortingall in Perthshire, and of Lismore in Argyleshire, are 78 miles distant. The parish of Appin was suppressed and annexed to Lismore, and Kilchonnan annexed to Fortingall. Nine chapels in these four parishes were totally suppressed; and thus, where thirteen clergymen were established formerly, the economy of the Reformers allowed only two; and this they called teaching the true gospel, where no teachers were left, no provision for clergymen, nor churches for Divine worship allowed. Four parishes were united under one clergyman at Blair Athole. Similar instances are frequent in the Highlands and Isles.

preserved and combined with increase of knowledge, and that the people will read and comprehend the Scriptures with at least the same advantage and instruction as when they were taught and explained by zealous and able clergymen, and by such intelligent persons as I have just noticed.

GG, Page 245.

That Highlanders may be rendered useless, and their best military qualities destroyed, by want of attention to their peculiar habits, was exemplified in the reign of Charles I., when two potent rivals, the Marquis of Montrose and the Marquis of Argyll, taking opposite sides in the Rebellion, each commanded an army of Highlanders. Montrose, whose numbers were on every occasion very inferior, never lost a battle. Argyll, with Highlanders equally brave, was constantly worsted. Haughty and overbearing, although a republican in principle and a puritan in religion, he kept aloof from his people, (who honoured him as their Chief, but could not love him as a man), and disregarded those courtesies by which a Highlander can be so easily managed. Montrose, on the contrary, knew every soldier in his army, and, while he flattered them by his attention to their songs, genealogies, and traditions, and by sharing in all their fatigues and privations, he roused them to exertions almost incredible. So extraordinary were the marches which he performed, that, on many occasions, the appearance of his army was the first notice the enemy had of his approach; and of his retreats, the first intelligence was, that he was beyond their reach. Before the battle of Inverlochy in February 1645, when the Marquis of Argyll had 3000 men, and Montrose only 1600, the latter marched thirty miles by an unfrequented route across the mountains of Lochaber, during a heavy fall of snow, and came at night in front of the enemy, when they believed him in another part of the country. "The moon shone so clear, that it was almost as light as day; they lay upon their arms the whole night, and, with the assistance of the light, they so harassed each other with slight alarms and skirmishes, that neither gave the other time to repose. They all earnestly wished for day, only Argyll, more intent on his own safety, conveyed himself away about the middle of the night, and having very opportunely got a boat, escaped the hazard of a battle, choosing rather to be a spectator of the prowess of his men, than share in the danger himself. Nevertheless, the chiefs of the Campbells, who were indeed a set of very brave men, and worthy of a better chief, and a better cause, begun the battle with great courage. But their first ranks discharging their muskets only once, Montrose's men fell in upon them furiously sword in hand, with a great shout, and advanced with such great impetuosity, that they routed the whole army, and put them to flight, and pursued them for about nine miles, making dreadful slaughter all the way. There were fifteen hundred of the enemy slain, among whom

were several gentlemen of distinction of the name of Campbell, who led on the clan, and fell on the field of battle too gallantly for their dastardly chief. Montrose, though an enemy, pitied their fate, and used his authority to save and give quarter to as many as he could. In this battle Montrose had several wounded, but he had none killed but three privates, and Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airley, while Argyll lost the Lairds of Auchenbreck, Glensaddell, and Lochnell, with his son and brother, and Barbreck, Inneraw, Lamont, Silvercraigs, and many others taken prisoners." *

Spalding, in his "History of the Troubles," states, that "there came direct from the Committee of Edinburgh certain men to see Argyll's forwardness in following Montrose, but they saw his flight in manner foresaid. It is to be considered that few of this army had escaped if Montrose had not marched the day before the fight twenty-three miles, (Scotch miles), on little food, and crossed sundry waters, wet and weary, and standing in wet and cold the hail night before the fight." Similar to this were six successive battles fought by Montrose, the loss on his side being equally small, and that on the side of the Covenanters proportionably great. † In those instances we find a body of men very inferior in numbers, of whom the Highlanders constituted the main strength, carry all before it, when commanded by a man of great military genius, to which he united, in a very eminent degree, the useful talent for properly understanding the character of those he commanded, and accommodating himself to their peculiar habits.

At the battle of Aldearn, a few weeks after that of Inverlochy, Campbell, Laird of Lawers, although upwards of seventy years of age, fought on the side of the Covenanters with a two-handed broadsword, till himself, and four out of six sons who were with him in the field, fell on the ground on which they stood. Such was the enemy which the genius and talents of Montrose overcame.

On that occasion the left wing of Montrose's army was commanded by his able auxiliary Macdonell, or Maccoull, (as he is called in Gaelic), still celebrated in Highland tradition and song for his chivalry and courage. An elevation of the ground separated the wings. Montrose received a report that Macdonell's wing had given way, and was retreating. He instantly ran along the ranks, and called out to his men that Macdonell was driving the enemy before him, and unless they did the same, the other wing would carry away all the glory of the day. His men instantly rushed forward, and charged the enemy off the field, while he hastened with his reserve to the relief of his friend, and recovered the fortune of the day.

* Bishop Wishart's Memoirs.

† These battles were those of Aldearn, Alford, Tippermuir, Killsyth, &c.

HH, Page 247.

As instances of the disposition of the Highlanders for war, and of the facility with which, in the most untoward circumstances, they comprehended and executed very difficult operations, I give the following details of some occurrences in Athole during the Rebellion of 1745. The actors were a few country gentlemen and their tenants, none of whom had ever faced an enemy till the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk. Some time previous to the month of March 1746, when the district of Athole was garrisoned by the 21st, or Scotch Fusileers, and another regiment, under the command of the veteran Sir Andrew Agnew, with a battalion of the Campbells, or Argyllshire Highlanders, Lord George Murray, commander-in-chief of the rebel army, wishing to dislodge those troops, and relieve his native district from their pillage and oppressions, marched from Invernessshire into Athole with a battalion of the Athole Brigade, and, as they passed through Badenoch, took along with him 300 Macphersons, under their chief, the Laird of Clunie. Halting at Dalnaspidel,* opposite Lochgarry, near the confines of Athole, on the evening of the 16th of March, he divided his men into a number of parties, and sent them off by different routes to attack and surprise all the posts occupied by the King's troops; many of the gentlemen's houses in the country, besides other stations, having small garrisons. Lord George marched to the Bridge of Bruar, two miles west from Blair Castle, the head-quarters of Sir Andrew Agnew, and waited the return of his detached parties. About break of day, and before any of them had joined at the place of rendezvous, he was informed, as related by Home in his History of the Rebellion, that "Sir Andrew Agnew had got his men under arms, and was coming to see who it was that had attacked his posts. When Lord George and Clunie received this notice, they had along with them only twenty-five private men, and some elderly gentlemen. They consulted together what should be done. Some advised that they should make the best of their way to Drummachtor; others were of opinion that it would be better to mount the hills that were nearest, and make their retreat where they could not be followed. Lord George differed from all who gave this opinion. "If I quit my post, (said he), all the parties I have sent out will fall into the hands of the enemy. It was daylight, but the sun was not up. Lord George, looking earnestly about him, observed a fold dike, (that is, a wall of turf), which had been begun as a fence for cattle, and left unfinished. He ordered his men to follow him, and draw up behind the dike, at such a distance one from another, that they might make a great show, having the colours of both regiments flying in the front. He then gave orders to the

* It was on this spot the Camerons, under Lochiel, and the Atholemen, attacked Cromwell's troops in 1653. See Article Lochaber Fencibles.

pipers (for he had with him the pipers both of the Atholemen and the Macphersons) to keep their eyes fixed on the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers appear, to strike up with all their bagpipes at once. It happened that the regiments came in sight just as the sun rose, and that instant the pipers began to play one of their most noisy pibrochs. Lord George and his Highlanders, both officers and men, drawing their swords, brandished them about their heads. Sir Andrew, after gazing a while at this spectacle, ordered his men to the right about, and marched them back to the Castle of Blair. Lord George kept his post till several of his parties came in; and as soon as he had collected three or four hundred men, secure of victory, and certain that his numbers would very soon be greater, he marched to Blair, and invested the castle. When all the parties had come in and made their report, it appeared that no less than twenty posts, great and small, had been attacked between three o'clock and five in the morning, and all of them carried."* Here we have a body of men taken from their ploughs, or from tending their sheep and cattle, and commanded by a few country gentlemen, without the least military experience; with nothing but the natural genius for war which marked the Highland character of that age, planning and successfully executing a combination of attacks and surprises of posts, several of which were strong and defensible, being ancient houses of gentlemen, having thick walls, small windows and loop-holes, and being defended by disciplined troops. Their operations were conducted with such secrecy, dispatch, and address, and each party marched with such precision to the different points of attack, that the whole were carried within the hours appointed, although they had to cross large and rapid rivers, high mountains, and deep glens, and although several of the posts were many miles asunder. I know not if the whole of the Peninsular campaigns exhibited a more perfect execution of a complicated piece of military service.

II, Page 253.

THIS nobleman, although of Lowland extraction, had been bred a Highlander. He was educated by John Duke of Argyll, in whose

* My grandfather's house was one of those attacked on that night. It was garrisoned by a captain and 100 men of the 21st regiment, and a detachment of the Argyle Highlanders. The rebels rushed on the picquets, and took them prisoners without the least noise. Proceeding to the stables and out-houses, where some of the men slept, they seized upon them in succession. Those in the house knew not what passed till they heard the noise, and saw the court in front of the house full of men, threatening to set it on fire if they did not surrender. After some parley they capitulated without a person being hurt on either side, except an unlucky girl, the daughter of one of the drummers of the 21st regiment, who slept in the house. When she heard the noise, she ran to one of the windows to look out, and being mistaken in the dark for an enemy, she was killed by a shot from the outside. The party who attacked was commanded by Mr Stewart of Bohallie, whom I have frequently mentioned.

castle of Inverary he passed his early years. He entered the army as an ensign in the Foot Guards in 1723. In 1733, he attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1739 was appointed to the command of the new Highland regiment.

In the years 1738 and 1739 he had served as a volunteer in the Russian and Imperial service in the wars against the Turks. At the battle of Crotzla, in Hungary, in July 1739, he was severely wounded in different parts of the body, and left on the field. When he recovered, he was carried to Belgrade, where he remained some months, but never sufficiently recovered from the effects of his wounds.

The moment he was able to move, his active mind not allowing him to be idle, he joined the army in Flanders in 1741, where he was appointed Adjutant General, and proved himself a most enterprising, intelligent, and successful partisan, ever on the alert, procuring the best information, counteracting the plans, and cutting off the supplies of the enemy. He was no less discerning and penetrating into their designs, than fearless and judicious in the attack, and displayed the greatest presence of mind in extricating himself from any unexpected difficulty. *

Rolt, in his Life of the Earl of Crawfurd, after recapitulating his numerous and important services, proceeds:

"From what has been thus represented, it is evident that the Earl of Crawfurd was born a soldier, and it was his ambition to die as such in the field of battle. His person was of a middle size, well shaped, finely proportioned, and very strong. His generosity was equal to his bravery, as many distressed widows of officers have experienced. His temper was serene and dispassionate. His judgment strong, his

* "Lord Crawfurd, so remarkable for his courage, and thirst of glory; exhibited a marked instance of presence of mind on the morning of the battle of Rocoux, and the 1st October 1746, where Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawfurd and Rothes, Brigadier Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct. Accompanied by some volunteers, and by his aid-de-camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, he had rode out before day to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, and fell in with one of their advanced guards. The sergeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the Earl first preceived them. Without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the sergeant, and, assuming the character of a French General, told him in that language that there was no occasion for such ceremony. Then he asked if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties, and being answered in the negative, "Very well," said he, "be upon your guard, and if you should be attacked, I will take care that you shall be sustained." So saying, he and his company retired before the sergeant could recollect himself from the surprise occasioned by this unexpected address. In all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake, for the incident was that very day publicly mentioned in the French army. The Prince of Imgray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with Marshall Count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with his compliments to his old friend the Earl of Crawfurd. He wished his Lordship joy of being a French General, and said he could not help being displeased with the sergeant, as he had not procured him the honour of his Lordship's company to dinner." *

* Smollett's Continuation of Hume.

discernment penetrating; he was splendid in his retinue, but temperate at his table, so that he was completely formed for a great commander. His Lordship had a most exact eye in the surveying of grounds, and a wonderful quickness in discovering the strength or weakness of his situations, either for encamping an army to such an advantage that it could not be attacked or annoyed without manifest loss to the assaulters, or from attacking an enemy that was encamped with the greatest advantage the ground could afford."

Lord Crawfurd's military genius was much improved by John Duke of Argyll, with whom he lived when absent from his studies. He was much at Inveraray, where, along with his warlike accomplishments, he acquired the language of the country, and became attached to the people, their manners, and their dress. "He was not more remarkable for his elegance in dancing than in his noble way of performing the Highland dance, habited in that dress, and flourishing a naked broadsword to the evolutions of the body, which is somewhat similar to the Pyrrhic dance.* He was so celebrated for his performance, that he was requested to perform before his Britannic Majesty, which he did at a numerous court, to the great satisfaction of the King and company. He also performed it at the request of General Linden, before a grand assembly at Cormorra, in Hungary, when he was habited in the dress of that country, which became the dance extremely well, when his Lordship gave them infinite pleasure."

In March 1747, Lord Crawfurd married Lady Jane Murray, daughter of the Duke of Atholl, but she did not live beyond the following October; and he died in December 1749, in consequence of the breaking out of his wounds, which indeed had never been properly healed. His active mind allowing no rest to his weakened body, his constitution sunk under the exertion.

* This dance was called Makinorsair. I have seen it performed by old men, but it has now disappeared. As arms were not in use in later times, an oaken staff supplied the place of the sword.

INDEX

TO

VOLUME FIRST.

INDEX TO VOLUME FIRST.

Abercromby, Lieutenant-General James, lands at New York, 304—succeeds to the command of the British army, 309—advances against Ticonderoga, 310.

——— James, an officer in the Black Watch, 305.

——— Sir Ralph, succeeds Lord Moira in Flanders, 423—commands an expedition to the West Indies, 429—assumes the command of the expedition to Egypt, 456—wounded, 486—his death, 487—incidents of his life, 487, *note*—particulars of his family, ib.

——— Sir Robert, commands a flank battalion in America, 379.

Aberfoyle, pass of, 5.

Abernethy, supposed the capital of the Picts, 15—subterranean ruins at, ib., *note*.

Aboukir, British fleet anchor in the Bay of, 462—the troops disembark in, 465.

Abraham, battle of the Heights of, 338.

Achius, King of the Scots, 16.

Acushnet river, shipping in, destroyed by the British, 399.

Agricola the Roman general, 15.

Airley, family of, their feud with the Argyle, 112.

Alexandria, battle of, 476—surrendered, 496.

Alleyne, Mr Foster, how he treats his negroes, 155, *note*.

Argyle, county of, 6.

——— Duke of, commands the Black Watch, 302—promoted into the 54th regiment, 305.

——— family of, their feud with the Atholl, &c. 112.

——— Marquis of, bond against, 33, *note*.

Army, British, state of, in Staten Island, 379—state of, before landing in Egypt, 460—states of the opposing army in Egypt, 498.

Arms, description of those of the clans, 71.

Arran, island of, 6.

Array, warlike, of the clans, 72.

Asylum, Caledonian, its institution, 238.
Athole, district of, 4, *note*, 5, *note*.
——— Duke of, his reason for exercising the power of pardon, 52—number of men he formerly brought into the field, 72.
——— family of, their feud with the Argyle, 112.
——— Marquis of, collects a body of men to assist King William, 67.
Athole-men, bond of, 33, *note*—encounter the Argyle-men, ib., *note*—take Dundee, 43—take Inverary, 44—refuse to serve King William, 67.
Attachment, local, striking instances of, 85, *note*, 97, *note*, 165.
Attack, mode of, used by the clans, 73.

Baden and Bavaria, transfer of their subjects between the sovereigns of, 156.
Ball, Captain, deputed to treat with the Black Watch, 265.
——— Robert, 40, *note*.
Bannockburn, clans who fought at the battle of, under King Robert Bruce, 30.
Barbadoes, great abundance of provisions in, 435, *note*.
Bards, their duties, 84—effects produced by, 85.
Bealmacha, pass of, 5.
Bel, or Baal, traces in the Highlands of the worship of, 9—anniversary of, ib., *note*.
Bisset, Commissary, the Duke of Atholl's baron bailie, 32.
Black Watch, origin of the name, 248—the companies independent, ib.—captains of, 249—respectability of, ib.—officers chiefly of the loyal clans, 251—how stationed, ib.—formed into a regiment, 252—embodied at Taybridge, 254—list of officers, 253—uniform of, ib.—numbered the 43d regiment, ib. march to England, 256—faith violated with, 258, 269, *note*—reviewed on Finchley Common, 259—tampered with, 260—desert, 264—enter Lady Wood, 265—some of them tried and punished, 268—embark for Flanders, 271—character of, ib.—at the battle of Fontenoy, 274—their conduct and mode of fighting, 281—loss sustained in the battle, 285—three new companies added to, 289—a company at the battle of Prestonpans, 290—employed on the coast of France, 294—employed in Flanders, 296—daily worship performed in the corps, 301—number changed from 43d to 42d regiment, 300—embark for America, 304—assault Ticonderoga, 310—their loss in killed and wounded, 315—remarks on the conduct of the men, 312—encomiums bestowed on the corps, 316—styled Royal Highland Regiment, 317. *See* Regiment, Royal Highland.
Blakeney, General, 265.
Bloomingdale, skirmish of, 383.
Bonnet, Highland, how worn, 80.
Bouquet, Colonel, attacked by the Indians, 364.
Brea-Mar, crossed by a great bed of limestone, 4, *note*.
Breadalbane, district of, 4, *note*.
Brandy Wine, battle of, 393.
Brodie, Laird of, a letter from President Forbes to, 77.

Brooklyn, battle of, 381.
Buonaparte, marches from Madrid against General Moore, 527—his force at Astorga, 531.
Burns, the poet, quoted, 104.
Burrel, his statement in the House of Commons respecting the poor-rates, 185, *note*, 188, *note*.
Bushy Run, the British attacked by the Indians at the pass of, 363.

Caddies of Edinburgh, their integrity and capability, 208, *note*.
Ceanmor, Malcolm, Gaelic used at Court till his reign, 16—he removes the Court south, 21.
Cairn, how raised, 99, *note*.
Cairo, taken by the British, 493.
Caledonian Mercury, quoted, 258, 283, 292.
Caledonians, scene of their stand for liberty, 4—early civilization, 17.
Cameron, clan, 24—at the battle of Killicrankie, 68—their charge at Culloden, 74.
——— John Dhu, a noted freebooter, 66.
——— of Lochiel, at the battle of Bannockburn, 30, *note*—joins Lord Dundee, 68.
——— second son of Lochiel, warns General Mackay of his danger, 67.
Campbell, Allan, son of Barcaldine, an officer in the Black Watch, 290.
——— Colonel Alexander, of Finab, an officer in the Black Watch, 249, 252.
——— Dugald, of Craignish, an officer in the Black Watch, 253.
——— Sir Duncan, of Lochnell, an officer in the Black Watch, 249.
——— James, son of Glenfalloch, an officer in the Black Watch, 285.
——— John, of Carrick, an officer in the Black Watch, 249, 253—his death and character, 285.
——— John, a soldier in Black Watch, presented to the King, 258, *note*—killed a captain, 312.
——— John, younger of Glenlyon, an officer in the Black Watch, 289—employed on unpleasant duty during the rebellion, ib.
——— John, of Strachur, an officer in the Black Watch, 306.
——— Colonel, of Glenlyon, an opinion entertained by, 109, *note*.
——— of Glenlyon, the commander at the massacre of Glenco, 106, *note*.
——— Laird of Glenorchy, the influence of the Elders of his clan over him, 59—distinctive names of, ib., *note*.
——— of Inveraw, an officer in the Black Watch, 289—promoted, 305—killed, 312.
——— General, of Monzie, Scotch spoken to his gate, 5, *note*.
——— of Achallader; he and Lord Breadalbane's tenants place great confidence in each other, 49, *note*, 232, *note*—Lord George Littleton's opinion of, 159, *note*.
Campbells of Dunstaffnage, Duntroon and Melford, the practice of, 31.
Canada, war in, 304—surrender of, 348.

Canal, Caledonian, the reluctance of the Highlanders to work at it accounted for, 209.
Celtic names of places, 11—where spoken at present, 14.
Celts, migrations of, 8—traces of them over a considerable part of Europe, 10—the warlike spirit of the Caledonian, 14.
Charles I., King, civil wars of, 103.
——— II., King, his gratitude to the Highlanders, 103.
——— Prince.—*See* Stuart, Prince Charles.
Charlestown taken by the British, 406.
Cherokees, expedition against, 349.
Chiefs, their sway, 24—their sway mild, 30—concluded treaties, 32—young chief obliged to give a specimen of his valour, 36, *note*—jurisdiction of, 49, 53—had power of life and death, 52—their power not uncontrolled, 51, 53—occasionally deposed, 58—their generosity, 50.
Clans, cause of the separation into, 23—community of customs, 24—their government patriarchal, ib., 24, 30, 50, 60—consequences arising from the system, 32—feuds of, 32, 44, 112—tendency of their warfare, 46—black-mail levied by, 41—creachs, 39—hostile expeditions, 42—their spoliations not thought immoral, 40, 45—compensation for injuries, how awarded by, 48—effects of their pride of ancestry, 50, *note*—compensation for juries, 51, 53—attached to their chiefs, 54, 127—instances, 62, 70, *note*, 128, *note*—their generosity to their chiefs, 53—description of their arms, 71—warlike array, 72—mode of attack, 73—example at Culloden, 74—distinguished by their tartans, 81—their bards, 84—pipers, ib.—effects produced on them by their poetry and music, 85—disgrace attached to cowardice by, 93. *See* Highlanders.
Clergy, Scotch, their character, 108.
Clinton, General, Commander-in-Chief in Canada, 397.
Clyde, river, 4, *note*.
Coat, Highland, 79.
Confectioner, a commander, why so called, 286, *note*.
Corunna, battle of, 532.
Cowardice, an extraordinary instance of, 471, *note*—disgrace attached to, by the Clans, 93.
Crawford, Lord, Colonel of the Black Watch, 248, 253—removed to the Life Guards, 256—in Flanders, 273, 285.
Creachs of the Clans, 39.
Cromwell, usurpation of, 103.
Crown Point evacuated by the Americans, 333.
Cullōden, battle of, exemplifies the mode of attack practised by the Clans, 74.
Cultivation of the soil, more extensive formerly than now, 19.
Cumberland, Duke of, sails for Hanover, 260, *note*—assumes the command of the British army, 272—commands at Fontenoy, 274—at Lafeldt, 297.

Dalrymple, Sir John, quoted, 95, 101, 105.
Daoni-si, or fairies, 10.

Dee, river, 4,
Deer-staking, the bow and arrow best fitted for, 72.
Dickson of Kilbucho, the kindness of the town of Peebles to, 509.
Disarming act, 119—oath ordered to be administered in the Highlands in consequence of, 121, *note*.
Dissertations, preliminary, the object of the prefixed, 238.
Distillation, illicit, 199—cause of, 201.
Dominique, colony of, surrenders to the British, 351.
Don, river, 4.
Druids, 9.
Dry fallow, its introduction into East-Lothian, 147.
Ducharmey, Madame, her heroism, 327.
Dumbarton, county of, 4, 6, 41.
Dundee, Lord, joined by a large party of Highlanders, 67, 68—killed at Killicrankie, 68.
Dunkeld, district of, 5, 25, *note*, 112.
Dunstaffnage, castle of, 19.

Edinburgh, reception of the 42d Regiment in, 510.
Edinburgh Review quoted, 110.
Egypt, expedition to, 459—British force employed, 460—disembarkation of the troops, 464—optical illusions in, 473—battle of Alexandria, 476—Cairo taken, 493—Alexandria surrendered, 495—states of both armies, 498—return of killed and wounded in the British army, 499—plague, 500.
Elgin, county of, 6.
Erig, or ransom, how awarded, 48.
Erskine, Honourable Henry, his Emigrant quoted, 197.
Eustace's Classical Tour quoted, 82.
Example, an instance of the power of, 443, *note*.
Excise-laws, in reference to the Highlands, 199—205.
Excise, officers of, 204, *note*.
Expeditions, on too small a scale in America, 400.

Falkirk, arms of the Clans at the battle of, 71,
Farms, bad effect of secret offers for, 132.
Farquharson, Alexander, an officer in the Black Watch, 309.
———— James, younger of Invercauld, an officer in the Black Watch, 289.
Ferguson, Dr, chaplain of the Black Watch, goes into action with the corps, 281, *note*.
Fletcher of Saltoun, his statement about the poor, 224.
Fontenoy, battle of, 272—remarks on the battle, 276. 285.
Forbes, Jamie, his feigned loss of recollection, 64, *note*.
——— Lord President, his memorial about the Clans, 27—description of a visit to Keurnachs, 46—his visit to the Duke of Athole, 52—his opinion of the Highland garb, 77—influence during the rebellion, 114—his objections to remove the Black Watch from Scotland, 256.

Fort Du Quesne, a British detachment defeated at, 323—taken by the British, ib.
Fort Lee taken by the British, 387.
Fortingall, district of, ores found in, 4.
Fort Loudon, taken by the Indians, 350—the garrison massacred, ib.
Fort Pitt, the Royal Highland Regiment winter at, 365.
Fort Royal, in Martinique; town of, surrenders, 354.
Fort Washington, taken by the British, 385.
Fort William Henry taken by the French, 307—the British garrison massacred, 308.
Forty-Second Regiment.—See Black Watch and Regiment, Royal Highland.
Frasers, a body of, refuse to comply with their chief's wishes, 67—their charge at Culloden, 74.
Fraser, Lord Lovat, his influence over his Clan, 30—an officer in the Black Watch, 249.
——— William, servant to Ensign Stewart of Garth, his familiarity with his master, 314.
Freicudan Dhu, the Black Watch so called, 248.
French of Guadaloupe, their opinion of the Highland soldiers, 330, *note*.

Gaelic language, 5, *note*—the counties in which it is spoken, 6, 136—very like the Hebrew, 10—when discontinued at Court, 16.
Galgacus, Caledonian, army of, 14,
Garb, Highland, 77—ornamental parts of, 79—ordinances regarding that of Ecclesiastics, 78, *note*—of the women, 81, *note*—suppression of, 119.
Garb of Old Gaul, the tune of, composed by General Reid, 370.
Garth, 4, *note*—ancient buildings on the estate of, 20.
Garters, Highland, 80.
George II., King, soldiers of the Black Watch presented to, 258, *note*.
German Town, Americans repulsed at, 396.
Glenco, an anecdote connected with, 106, *note*, 109, *note*.
Glenlochy, district of, 5.
Glenogle, district of, 5.
Glenlyon, ores in, 4—ancient buildings in, 20.
Glentilt, a marble quarry in, 4, *note*.
Gordon, Duke of, 24.
Gow, Neil, musician, 112.
Graham, Thomas, of Duchray, officer in the Black Watch, 305.
Graham Dalyell, John, his remarks on the chartullaries of Aberdeen, 78, *note*.
——— Colonel, of Balgowan, intelligence communicated by, 525.
——— General Samuel, 445—severely wounded, 446.
Grampians, 3—direction of, 4—composition of, ib.—names of the principal mountains, 5.
Grant, Allan, son of Glenmoriston, an officer in the Black Watch, 290.
——— George, soldier in the Black Watch, his evidence, 267.
——— James, an officer in the Black Watch, 306.
——— Colonel, of Ballindalloch, Captain in the Black Watch, 249.

Grant, Colonel, of Moy, 280, *note*.
——— Laird Humphry, confined by the Elders of his Clan, 58, *note*.
——— Laird of, his mode of punishing cowardice, 93.
——— Major, of the 42d Regiment, the attachment of his men to, 305, *note*.
——— of Laggan, Mrs, quoted, 51, 86, 93, 111, 193, 268.
Grose's Military Antiquities quoted, 256, 261.
Guadaloupe attacked by the British, 326—surrendered, 349.
Gustavus Adolphus, wars of, 77—dress of the Scotch officers serving under, 80, *note*.

Havannah attacked by the British, 356—the Moro stormed, 359—the town surrendered, 360.
Hay, Lord Charles, loses his temper at a council of war, 307.
Highlander defends his basket, 422, *note*.
Highlanders, their means of subsistence, 7, 90—an ancient people, 9—of Oriental origin, 10—like the Basques, 13—names by which they were known; 15—their honesty, 37 *note*, 92, 230 *note*, 222, 232, 416—effects of their position on those of the border counties, 41—their fidelity and honourable feeling, with instances, 54, 61, 106 *note*, 151 *note*, 178 *note*, 208 *note*, 305 *note*—presence of mind and address, with instances, 46, 273, 391 *note*, 397 *note*—spirit of independence, 58, 100—familiar with the idea of death, 85—wish to be interred where their friends are, 85—their filial affection, 91—chastity, 94—fond of poetry, 97—their memory formerly retentive, 98—attachment to the House of Stuart, 102—state under the Stuarts, 103—dislike of Cromwell's usurpation, ib.—the cause of their attachment to the Stuarts, 103—their religious sentiments, 106—charitable disposition, 141 *note*—the opinions they and the Lowlanders entertained of each other, 110—effects of fanaticism on, 138, 141—probable effects of the present system on, 220—influence of the conduct of the higher ranks on, 226—their conduct after the rebellion of 1745, and during the reign of Charles II., 221, 223—respect for the landlord on the decline, 127—capability of, 177, 210—instances, 167 *note*, 178 *note*, 229—military character, 243—recruiting of, 313, 373, 402.
——————— Lord Crawford's, Black Watch so called, 248.
——————— Lord Sempell's, Black Watch so called, 248.
——————— Fraser's, employed against Louisburg, 320—service in Canada, 336—in Newfoundland, 362—embark for America, 378—land in America, 380—two companies taken at Stonny Point, 400.
Highlanders, Montgomery's, employed against Fort Du Quesne, 322—in the expedition against the Cherokees, 349—sent against Dominique, 351—Martinique, 352—Havannah, 356—Newfoundland, 362.
——————— Loudon's, engaged at Culloden, 74—at the battle of Prestonpans, 290—embark in Scotland for Flanders, 295—employed in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, 299—join the allied army, ib.
Highlands, outline of, 3—boundaries of, 6—passes into, 5—when united to the Lowlands, 16—ancient population greater than now, 19—tumults in, 133—change of manners in, 126—agriculture of, 145, 180—checks to

improvement in, 231—cultivation of the soil the only object to which industry can be applied in the central, 239—education in, 221, *note*—222—change of tenantry in, 151—emigration from, 193—cause of illicit distillation in, 199.
Home's History of the Rebellion quoted and characterized, 75, *note.*
Huntly, Marquis of, joins the 42d regiment, 415—succeeds Sir Hector Munro as Colonel, 518, *note.*
Huntly, family of, their feud with the Argyle, 112.
Howe, General Sir William, Commander-in-chief in America, 379.
——— Lord, killed, 310—his character, ib.

Jackson's Systematic View quoted, 247, 272.
Jacobite songs, their merit and influence, 104.
James, the abdicated King, his letter to Stewart of Ballechin, 69, *note.*
Icolm-kill, college of, 17—furnishes England with bishops, 17, *note.*
Inch Ewan, stream of, the boundary between the Celts and Saxons, 102.
Indies, West, expeditions to, 324, 429.
Ingoldsby, B. General, his vindication of himself when at Fontenoy, 286.
Inverkeithing, battle of, 18.
Inverlochy, castle of, 18.
Invincibles, French, beaten in Egypt, 478—dispute about the captured colour of, 479, 505.
Johnson, Dr Samuel, remarks by, 18, 50, *note*—his opinion of the disarming act, 120—his Journey quoted, 144, *note*—his sarcasm respecting the want of old trees likely to prove true, 152, *note.*
——— Sir William, defeats a party of Indians, 334—takes the Fort of Niagara, ib.—his military genius, 335, *note*—his influence over the Indians, 348.
Irishmen, by adopting Mac instead of the O, admitted into the 42d regiment, 318.

Katrine, Loch, supposed origiu of the name, 40.
Kenmore, an affray at, 55.
Killicrankie, pass of, 5, 19—battle of, 67.
Kingdom, Celtic, 15.

Landlords, instances of the attachment of the Highlanders to, 128, *note*—129, *note.*
Lamont, Captain, his death and character, 305.
Language, Gaelic, 5—of Oriental origin, 10—when discontinued at Court, 16—adapted for social intercourse, 100—whisky-house a term unknown in, 204, *note.*
Lafeldt, battle of, 297.
Latham, Lieutenant, his fate a warning to young officers, 420, *note*
Leane, Donald Bane, freebooter, 45.
Lee, General, his opinion of British grenadiers, 397.
Leny, pass of, 5.

Letters of a Nobleman to his Son, quoted, 113.
Lieutenant, a wounded, saved by a sergeant, 445.
Lindsay, Rev. D. minister of Glenorchy, 105, *note*.
Lockhart, Colonel, his gallantry, 496.
——— papers quoted, 72.
Lohendhal, Count, lays siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, 299.
Loudon, Earl of, 115, *note*—170, *note*—commands in North America, 304—proceeds to attack Louisburg, 306—is recalled, 309.
Louisburg, the French fleet arrive at, 307—attacked by the British, 319—taken, 321.
Lovat, Lord, Captain in the Black Watch, 249—his influence over his clan, 30.
Lowlanders, 105—the opinion they and the Highlanders entertained of each other, 110.
Lowlands, 3, 7, 15, 37, 99, 104.

Macalpin, King Kenneth, unites the Scots and Picts, 16.
Macculloch, Dr, his Description of the Western Islands, quoted, 152.
Macdonald of Clanronald rejected by his clan, 58.
Macdonnell of Keppoch, 24—rejected by his tribe, 58.
Macgregor, Gregor, a soldier in the Black Watch, presented to the King, 258.
Mackintosh, clan of, their mode of attack at the battle of Culloden, 74.
——— Lady, embarks in the Rebellion, 114, *note*.
——— Laird of, an officer in the Black Watch, 289.
——— leader of a band of robbers, 37.
Macintyre, a family of, possessors of the farm of Glenco, 82, *note*.
Mackay, General, commands the King's troops at the battle of Killicrankie 68.
Mackenzie, clan of, their influence over their chief, 59.
——— General, his system of discipline, 457, *note*.
——— a young gentleman of that name personates Prince Charles, 61.
Mackerras, Major, his death, 162.
Maclaggan, Mr, chaplain of the Black Watch, 302.
Maclean, Sir Hector, supported by his clan, 5.
——— Lachlan, concerned in an affray at Loch Tay, 56, *note*.
Macnab, a family of that name long in the same farm, 82, *note*.
Macnaughton, John, his fidelity, 55.
Macpherson of Clunie, the tried fidelity of his clan, 62—the circumstances of his defection, 62, *note*.
——— corporal in the Black Watch, compared with Xenophon, 266—shot, 269.
Malcolm, Colonel, killed, 438—his character, ib. *note*.
Manners, Highland, change of, 123—effects of the Union on, 126.
Marmorice, Bay of, British fleet in, 459.
Martin, his Description of the Western Islands, quoted, 17, *note*—36, *note*—81, *note*—100, *note*—127, *note*.

Martinique, island of, British troops sent against, 325—landing effected, ib.—abandoned by the British, ib.—attacked by Major-General Monckton, 352—the Morne taken, 353—capitulates, 354.
Memoirs of an English Cavalier, quoted, 77.
Menzies of Culdares, makes a present of a charger to Prince Charles, 55.
Merchant's History of the Rebellion, quoted, 259, *note*.
Military character, what it depends on, 242—importance of, 243—of the Highlanders, ib.
Minorca, capture of, 455.
Moira, Lord, sails with an expedition to Flanders, 422.
Moore, General Sir John, commands a brigade in the West Indies, 431—engaged in the capture of St Lucia, 437—his great zeal, 411, *note*—joins the expedition for Egypt at Minorca; 456—in the battle of Alexandria in Egypt, 477—assumes the command of the British army in Portugal, 522—encounters difficulties in Spain, 522—wounded at Corunna, 534—his death and character, 539.
Munro, George, of Culcairn, an officer in the Black Watch, 249, 253—shot by a Highlander, 280, *note*.
——— Sir Hector, commands a detachment in the Highlands, 66—appointed Colonel of the Royal Highlanders, 412—his death and character, 518, *note*.
——— John, an officer in the Black Watch, 253—his account of the battle of Fontenoy, 278.
——— Sir Robert, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Black Watch, 253—commands them at Fontenoy, 278, 281—killed in the battle of Falkirk, 279, *note*.
——— a soldier of the name strikes his officer, 516.
Murray, Sir Patrick, an officer in the Black Watch, 289.

Names of places, Celtic, Gothic, and Danish, 6, *note*—11.
Negroes, their treatment compared with that of the Highlanders, 154—expert marksmen, 287, *note*.
Newfoundland, St John's, taken by the French, and retaken, 362.
Niagara, Fort of, attacked by the British, 333—taken, 334.
Nimeguen, the British troops attacked by the French at, 423.

Parish relief established in England, 157.
Peasantry of England, cause of their degradation, 157.
——— of Ireland, cause of their discontent, 217.
Peebles, reception of the 42d regiment by the town of, 519.
Pennant the Tourist, quoted, 107, 148.
Pensioner, his account of himself and the Highlands, 512.
Perth, the town of, petition Lord Drummond, 52.
Pentland Frith, 6.
Picts, 15, 16.
Pinkerton, his misrepresentation of the Highland character, 207.
Pisquata, severe duty of the Highlanders at, 390.
Plaid, belted, 79.

Poetry, traditional, recitations of, 98.
Portugal, war in, 521.
Presence of mind, instances of, 46, 273, 391, *note*—397, *note*.
Prestonpans, battle of, arms of the clans at, 71.
Prince Town, the attack at, 389.
Proprietors, their absence much felt in the Highlands, 184, *note*.
Proverbs, the origin of one, 54.
Provisons, the importance of supplying the troops with good, 356, *note*.
Purse, Highland, used by the ladies as their reticule, 80, *note*.

Quebec, surrender of the town to the British, 341.

Rece's History quoted by, 71.
Rebellion, strength of the clans at, 28—Home's History of, 75—feelings which led the clans to engage in, 111—influence of the ladies in inciting to, 114.
Regiment, Royal Highland, a second battalion raised, 317, 324—officers of, 318—operations of the second in the West Indies, 325—operations of both in Canada, 331–347—employed against Havannah, 356—leave Havannah, 361—act against the Indians, 363—embark for Ireland, 366—their character in America, 367—killed and wounded during this war, 368—land at Cork, 370—uniform of the corps, 371—much respected in the Highlands, 373—companies added to, 374—internal economy of, 375—in Scotland, ib.—embark for America, 378—land in Gravesend Bay, 381—at Brooklyn, 383—advance to Bloomingdale, 383—employed against Fort Washington, 385—have severe duty at Pisquata, 390—at the Battle of Brandy Wine, 394—sent to attack General Wayne's camp, 395—in the expedition to New Plymouth, 399—proceed against Elizabeth Town, 400—contaminated by depraved men sent as a draft, 402—at the siege of Charlestown, 406—desertions to the enemy at Paulus Hook, 408—killed and wounded during the war, 409—how armed, 410—second battalion made the 73d, 412—in Scotland, 413—their reception, ib.—joined by the Marquis of Huntly and a fine band of Highlanders, 415—sent to Ross-shire, 416—embark for Flanders, 422—join the Duke of York's army at Malines, 423—attacked by the French at Gildermalsen, 425—return to Britain, 427—receive a draft from Highland corps, ib.—injured by the draft, 428—embark for the West Indies, 431—five companies go to Gibraltar, 434—the other five disembark at St Lucia, 437—service there, 438, 439—a sudden change in the health of the men, 440—employed in St Vincent, 443, 451—the troops at Gibraltar, 454—an inhabitant murdered by one of, ib.—a change in the moral habits of, ib.—proceed against Minorca, 455—sail from Minorca for Egypt, 459—land there, 464—suffer from imprudent curiosity, 471—at the battle of Alexandria, 477—attacked by the Invincibles, 478—land in Britain, 504—reviewed by the King, 507—their reception in Edinburgh, 510—recruited in a new manner, 512—presented with a piece of plate by the Highland Society of London, 507—in Gibraltar, 517—in Portugal 521—march for Spain, 522—in the battle of Corunna, 532—return to Britain, 542.

Reid, General, assumes the patronymic as his surname, 100, *note*—his musical talents, 370, *note*—money left by, for an endowment in the University of Edinburgh, ib.
Religion, of the Highlanders, on what founded, 106—cordiality of the adherents to the National, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic, 107.
Rent-day dinners, 232, *note*.
Reticule, like the Highland purse, 80, *note*.
Reserve, army of, 512.
Robertson, Dr, his View of Agriculture in Inverness quoted, 178.
———— Mr, of Achlecks, avoids complying with the disarming act, 250, *note*.
Rott's Life of the Earl of Crawford, quoted, 273.
Ross-shire, disturbances in, 416—effects of them on the recruiting, 418.

Saxe, Marshal, commands the French army in Flanders, 272—his conduct at the battle of Fontenoy, 276—his account of the battle, quoted, 277—commands at Lafeldt, 279.
Scone, emblems of royalty removed to, 17.
Scotch, moral character and education of, 222.
Scotland, picture of, after the death of James I., 47, *note*.
Sempill, Lord, appointed Colonel of the Black Watch, 256.
Severus, Emperor, 15.
Shaw, Farquhar, private in the Black Watch, shot for desertion, 269.
—— Rev. Dr, his MS., History of the Rebellion, quoted, 75.
Shichallian, 4, *note*, 5, 88, *note*, 97, *note*.
Sight, an instance of the superiority of, 478, *note*.
Sinclair, Sir John, 506.
——— sergeant, in the Royal Highlanders, 506.
Skye, Island of, 6, *note*.
Smuggling, its consequences, 199.
Society, Highland, of London, when formed, 237—its objects, 238—the Caledonian Asylum instituted by, 238—present a superb piece of plate to the Royal Highlanders, 507.
———————— of Scotland, origin of, 234—objects of, 235—liberality of, 235—its attention to the comfort of emigrants, 236.
Society, Royal, their transactions quoted, 146, *note*.
Soldier, Highland, stratagem used by, 397, *note*—another, 273.
Spain, war in, 523–542.
Stair, Earl of, his property saved, 106.
Staten Island, British army land in, 378—state of the army when there, 379.
Stewart, Alexander, a follower of Rob Roy's, afterwards servant to the Laird of Garth, 293.
———————— a freebooter, 45.
——— Donald, pardoned by the Duke of Athole, 52.
——— Duncan, an officer in the Black Watch, 309.
——— James, an officer in the Black Watch, ib.
———————— assistant chaplain in the Black Watch, ib.

Stewart, Patrick, an officer in the Black Watch, 306.
——— of Ballechen, his proceedings at Inverary, 44—Athole-men place themselves under his command, 67—letter of the abdicated King to, 68, *note*.
——— of Bohallic, a private in the Black Watch, 249.
——— of Crossmount, his great age, 73, *note*.
——— of Garth, 25.
Stewarts of Appin, their charge at Culloden, 74.
——— their distinctive appellations, 26, *note*.
Stewart, a race of the name long possessed of the same farms, 82, *note*.
Stirling, Thomas, an officer in the Black Watch, 309—takes possession of Fort Charters, 366, *note*.
St Kilda, Island of, 6.
St Lucia, attacked by the British, 437.
Stuart, the exiled royal family of, causes of the attachment of the clans to, 102.
Stuart, Prince Charles, personated by one Mackenzie, 61—his treatment from some men in Lochaber, 65.
Strathfillan, ores found in, 4.
Surnames of clans changed, 25, *note*: 26, *note*—derived from patronymics, 100, *note*,
Sutherland, Lord, the late, twenty-first Earl in succession, 107.
Tacitus, his account of the Caledonians, 14.
Tartan, each clan had its distinctive pattern, 81.
Theft, rare among the Highlanders, 37.
Ticonderoga, siege of, 310, 332.
Townsend, Brigadier-General, in America, 309, 337—assumes the command on the Heights of Abraham, 341—enters Quebec, 343—returns home, 344.
Trenton, the British army at, 388.
Truis, Highland, by whom worn, 79.
Tullibardine, Marquis, deserted by the Athole-men, 67.
Tumults in the Highlands, 133, 416—in the Lowlands, 417.
Turenne, Marshal, a saying of his controverted, 242.

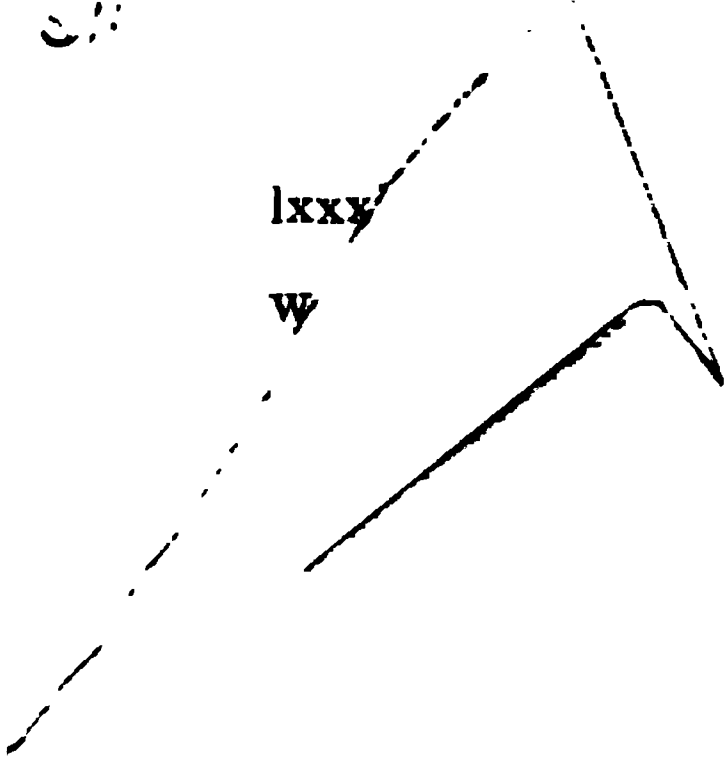
Union, the effects of, 126.
Vincent's Island, petty warfare in, 443.
Volley, circumstance connected with one, 444, *note*.
Wade, Field-Marshal, 249, 258, *note*—his letter regarding a feast given by Kearnachs, 46—reviews the Black Watch, 259.
Waldeck, Prince, commands the Dutch at Fontenoy, 272.
Walker, Dr, quoted, 177, 210, 211, 212.
War, how carried on in America, 304, 308, 388, 395—how after the French Revolution, 519.
Washington, the American General, 304, 383—defeats the Hessians at Trenton; 388—attacks the British at Germantown, 396.
Waverley, the author of, quoted, 112, 160.

Wellesley, Honourable Colonel Arthur, commands a brigade in Flanders, 423 —in Portugal, 521.
Whig, the term not applied by the Highlanders in a political sense, 267, *note.*
White, Major-General, sent against Demerara and Berbice, 437.
——— Mr John, his introduction of the green crop system into Perthshire, 147.
——— Plains, an attack on the American position at, 385.
Whisky, when brought into general use in the Highlands, 200—ale formerly the universal beverage, 204.
Wife, a soldier's, instance of heroism and of attention to the wounded in, 446.
William III., King, confirmed the attachment of the Highlanders to their former kings, 103—a reply of his respecting the Highlanders, 267—never forgiven by the Highlanders for Glencoe, 268, *note.*
Wolfe, General, in America, 309, 319—takes Louisburg, 321—ordered to attack Quebec, 331—commences the attack on Quebec, 337—his death, 341.
Wright, Dr William, sent with Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to the West Indies, 429—his experience in the diseases of the West Indies, ib.

Young, Dr Thomas, attached to Sir R. Abercromby's expedition for the West Indies, 429—his zeal, ib.
York, Duke of, commands in Flanders, 419—his attention to the soldier's comfort, 542, *note.*

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

Printed by J. Hutchison,
for the Heirs of D. Willison.


lxxx
w

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building

Dec 7 8 1910		
1918		